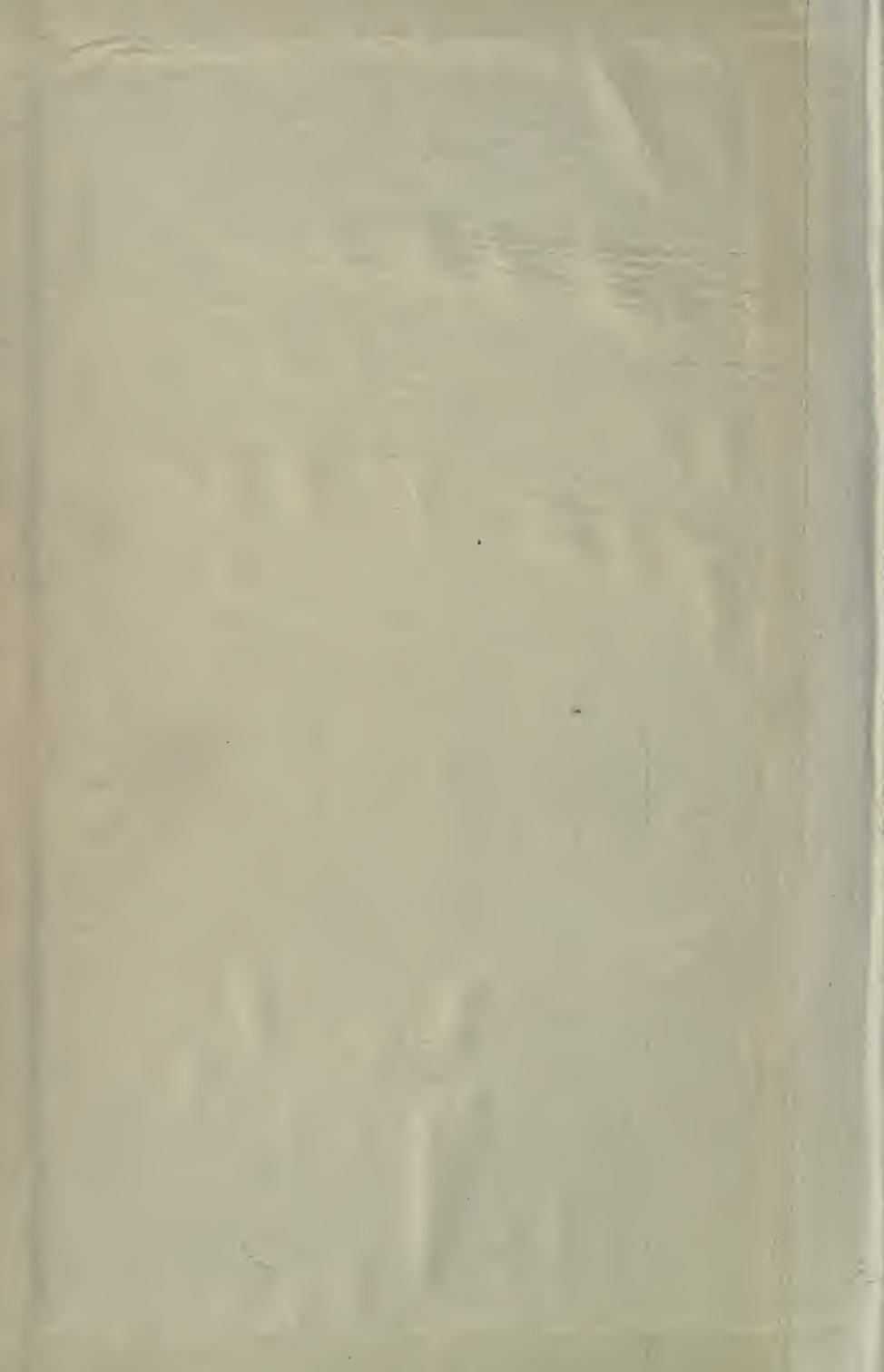


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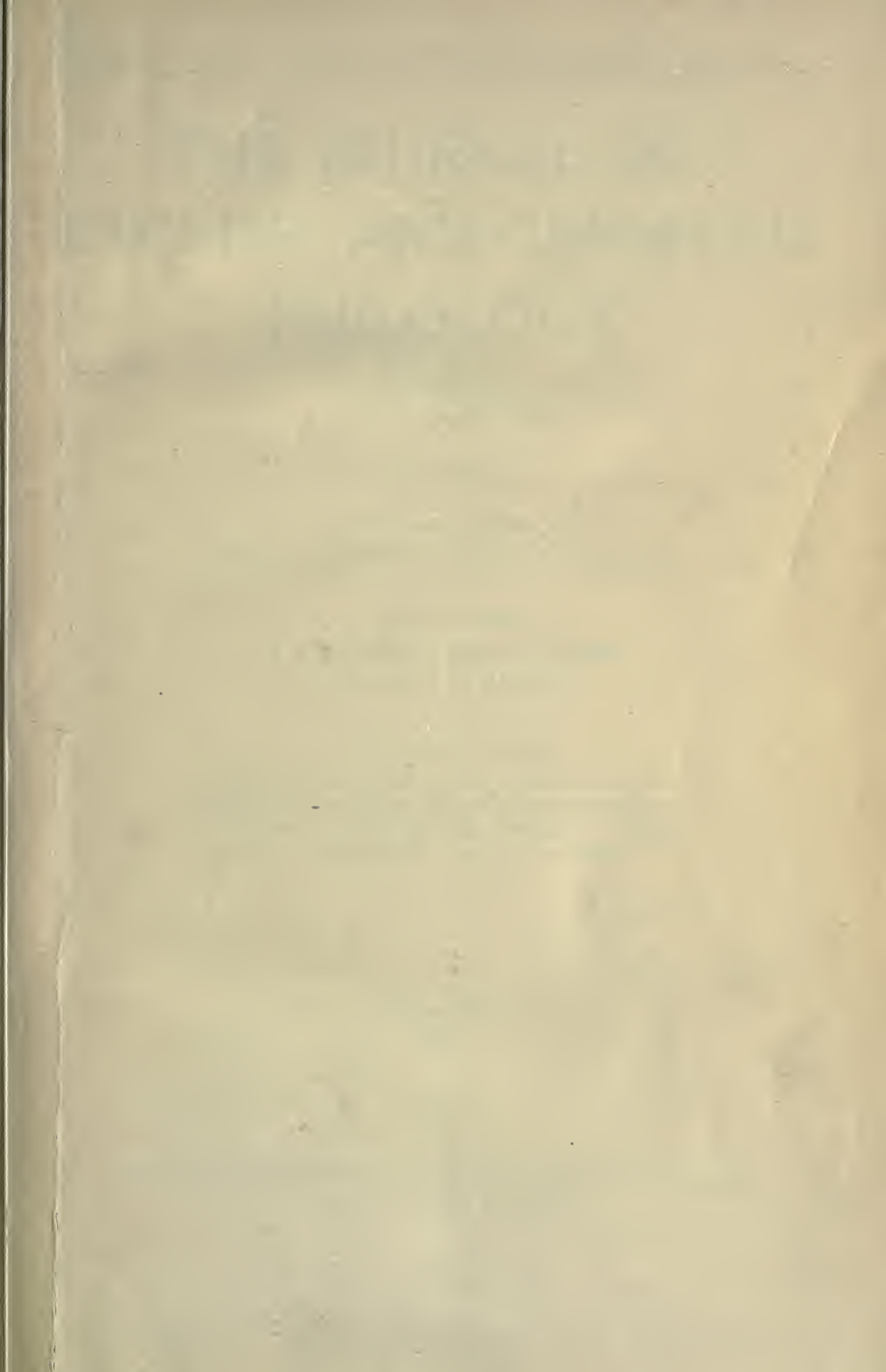




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# DIE DEUTSCHE LAUTVERSCHIEBUNG UND DIE VÖLKERWANDERUNG

## I. ALLGEMEINES

1. Trotz mehrerer neuerer Arbeiten—namentlich Gartner, Zur zweiten Lautverschiebung, PBB XXXVI 562 (mit dem ich in wesentlichen Punkten übereinstimme), mit Anmerkung von Braune, und Feist, Die germanische und die hochdeutsche Lautverschiebung, PBB XXXVI 307 (gänzlich verfehlt)—ist der ursächliche Zusammenhang der hochdeutschen Konsonantenverstärkung und der verwandten Erscheinung im Germanischen noch keineswegs hinreichend aufgeklärt.<sup>1</sup> Die geographische Verteilung der einzelnen Akte ist freilich längst untersucht, namentlich durch Braunes grundlegende Forschungen. Das Überwiegen dieser Lautänderungen im Süden im Vergleich mit dem Lautstand des Nordens des germanischen Sprachgebietes springt so klar in die Augen, dass seit langem der Schluss als gerechtfertigt, wenn nicht gar als selbstverständlich galt, dass die zweite Lautverschiebung in den Bergen des Südens entstanden sei und sich allmählich nach Norden ausgebreitet habe—wenn auch die Art und Weise, in der man sich eine solche Ausbreitung des Lautwandels zu denken hat, nicht recht verständlich ist.—Da die *germanische* Lautverschiebung gänzlich in vorhistorische Zeit fällt und sich einheitlich über das gesamte germanische Sprachgebiet verbreitet hat, liess sich bei ihr ein ähnlicher Schluss nicht mit der gleichen Bestimmtheit ziehen. Immerhin meint Hans Meyer, ZfdA XLV 101ff., dass auch sie von einem Bergland (Skandinavien) ausgegangen sein müsse.<sup>2</sup> Damit führt er beide

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. auch Kauffmann, ZfJPh. 46, 333 ff., und Nachschrift dieses Artikels.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. dagegen Behaghel, GddS 234 und Fussnote: "Von den Gebieten, die die zweite Lautverschiebung erfahren haben, ist nur ein verhältnismässig kleiner Teil so beschaffen, dass tagtägliches Steigen notwendig wird, und die Siedlungsgeschichte lehrt, dass die eigentlich gebirgigen Gegenden verhältnismässig spät besiedelt worden sind; es kann daher unmöglich daran gedacht werden, etwa diese Gegenden zum Ausgangspunkt der Bewegung zu machen. (Fussnote: Einem freundlichen Schreiben von Sven Hedin entnehme ich die Mitteilung, dass er zwar die Einwirkung von Kälte und Höhe auf die Sprache für wahrscheinlich hält, dass er aber weder bei seinem Diener noch bei sich selbst eine Verstärkung der Expiration beobachtet habe.)"



Lautverschiebungen auf gleiche oder ähnliche Ursachen zurück, ohne indessen eine Kontinuität zwischen ihnen anzunehmen. Vielmehr teilt er die anscheinend allgemein geltende Meinung, dass es sich um zwei von einander unabhängige Erscheinungen handle, deren auffallende Ähnlichkeit zwar auf ähnliche bedingende Verhältnisse, aber keineswegs auf einen inneren Zusammenhang schliessen lasse. So hatte auch Scherer beide Vorgänge auf ähnliche Ursachen, nämlich auf die Berührung der Germanen und später der Deutschen mit höheren Kulturen zurückgeführt. Dagegen hatte Jakob Grimm eine einheitliche Erklärung zu finden versucht, indem er in seinem bekannten Vergleich mit den einander folgenden Wagen (GddS 276) ein gleichmässig fortwirkendes dynamisches Element annimmt, das jede der beiden Lautverschiebungen im Grunde nur als eine Phase eines andauernden Lautwandels erscheinen lässt. Darin wenigstens scheint mir seine Darstellung allen späteren überlegen. Ihre Schwäche liegt natürlich in Grimms grundsätzlicher Ablehnung jeder physiologischen Begründung. An Meyers Artikel dagegen ist gerade die physiologische Analyse anzuerkennen, wenn mir auch die aus inneren wie äusseren Gründen herangezogenen Parallelen der Konsonantenverstärkung in der südafrikanischen Bantusprache, dem Magyarischen und dem Armenischen mehr als zweifelhaft sind.<sup>3</sup>— Auf Feists Artikel brauche ich wohl nicht näher einzugehen.— Sieht man von Grimm (und etwa noch von Max Müllers merkwürdiger Erklärung, die Hans Meyer mit gutem Recht als "mystischen Unsinn" bezeichnet) ab, so darf man wohl die Auffassung von zwei getrennten Lautverschiebungen als allgemein ansehen.

2. Ausser Behaghel (s. o.) macht auch Bremer eine bemerkenswerte Ausnahme von der Meinung, dass die hochdeutsche Lautverschiebung vom Süden ausgegangen sei und sich allmählich nach dem Norden verbreitet habe. Wenn er sich auch leider nicht näher darüber ausspricht, glaube ich doch annehmen zu dürfen, dass seinen Ausführungen auf Seite 926 f. der Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme im wesentlichen dieselben Ansichten

<sup>3</sup> Den Vergleich mit der Bantusprache vermag ich nicht zu beurteilen. Was die Magyaren betrifft, so scheint es mir ausgeschlossen, dass sie sich so lange in den Karpathen aufgehalten hätten, dass sich an eine dadurch veranlasste Lautverschiebung denken liesse; die armenischen Tenues, die aus Medien hervorgingen, werden mit Kehlkopfverschluss gesprochen, stellen also nicht eine Expirationsstärkung, sondern eine Expirationsschwächung dar.



zugrunde liegen, die der vorliegende Artikel darzustellen versucht. Nach Bremer ist zwar die hochdeutsche Lautverschiebung nicht vor dem fünften Jahrhundert *vollendet*, doch "ist der physiologische Ansatz zur Verschiebung jedenfalls beträchtlich früher zurückzudatieren. Einen Anhaltspunkt gewährt die Tatsache, dass die langobardische Sprache die Lautverschiebung durchgeführt hat . . . Es bleibt nur übrig, den Ansatz, das erste physiologische Stadium der Lautverschiebung in eine Zeit hinaufzurücken, in welcher die Langobarden noch lebhaft Beziehungen zu den anderen hochdeutschen Stämmen unterhielten . . . so dürfen wir in runder Zahl wohl die Zeit um Christi Geburt als spätesten Termin für das *Aufkommen* dieser (d. h. der aspirierenden) Sprechweise ansetzen . . . so viel scheint mir sicher, dass die Langobarden vor ihrer Auswanderung an die Donau nicht nur aspirierte Tenuis gesprochen haben wie ihre sächsischen Nachbarn, sondern dass ihre Aussprache bereits den Keim zu der hochdeutschen Verschiebung der Tenuis wie der Mediae in sich trug, und dass dieser Keim den swebischen Stämmen schon im ersten Jahrhundert nach Christo gemeinsam war."

3. Bremer sieht sich zu seiner Annahme vorwiegend durch die Tatsachen der ethnographischen Entwicklung gezwungen. Unabhängig von ihm war ich schon vor einer Reihe von Jahren durch physiologische und ethnologische Erwägungen zugleich zu einer Auffassung der Lautverschiebung gekommen, die von der hergebrachten derart grundsätzlich verschieden ist, dass sich ein schrittweiser Vergleich der beiden Anschauungen überhaupt nicht mehr durchführen lässt.—Sie lässt sich in folgenden Sätzen zusammenfassen:

Erstens: Beide Lautverschiebungen sind Phasen eines kontinuierlichen Lautwandels. Sie sind aus einer einheitlichen phonetischen Tendenz (einer "physiologischen Grundlage") hervorgegangen, die erst in historischer Zeit durch anders geartete Tendenzen durchkreuzt wurde. Sie sind nicht lediglich eine Gruppe lose verbundner Lautgesetze einer vergangenen Zeit, sondern eine dauernde Begleiterscheinung alles rein germanischen Sprachlebens, die dieses ebenso scharf charakterisiert, wie etwa die immer wiederkehrende Palatalisierung die slavische Sprachentwicklung. Es besteht grosse Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass die Lautverschiebung schon in urindogermanischer Zeit begann und in

gewissen Tendenzen des Neuhochdeutschen und vielleicht auch anderer germanischer Sprachen fort dauert oder wieder aufgelebt ist.

Zweitens: Die geographische Verteilung der zweiten Lautverschiebung ist allerdings chronologisch zu interpretieren, doch nicht in der üblichen Weise (nämlich, dass der Lautwandel im süddeutschen Bergland begann und sich in rätselhafter Weise nach dem Norden verbreitete). Vielmehr ist ihr Ausgangspunkt im germanischen Stammlande zwischen Elbe und Oder zu suchen; von dort hat sie sich über das westliche und südliche Deutschland im Gleichschritt mit der deutschen Besiedlung dieses Landes ausgedehnt, überall bald nach der Germanisierung zum Stillstand kommend.

Drittens: Als rein germanische Erscheinung steht das Auftreten der Lautverschiebung in umgekehrtem Verhältnis zu gewissen ungermanischen Erscheinungen des deutschen Sprachlebens, insbesondere zum Umlaut<sup>4</sup> und der Artikulationsschwächung mancher Konsonanten, die in der althochdeutschen Zeit oder bald danach auftritt.

4. Zur Begründung dieser Sätze sind einige physiologische Vorerwägungen unerlässlich, doch verweise ich für Einzelheiten, um Wiederholung nach Möglichkeit zu vermeiden, auf meinen Artikel "Forchhammers Akzenttheorie und die germanische Lautverschiebung" im elften Bande dieser Zeitschrift. In Abschnitt drei jenes Artikels ist eingehend dargestellt, dass die Entwicklung von *t* zu *p*, *dh* zu *ð*, *d* zu *t* die Folge einer konstanten, intensiven Wechselwirkung zwischen kräftiger Artikulation und beträchtlicher Muskelspannung der artikulierenden Organe ist. In AJPPh. XXXIII 195 ff. und MPh. XI 71 ff. habe ich den gleichen Gedanken in weiterem Rahmen ausgeführt. Damit erübrigt sich wohl ein nochmaliges Eingehen auf die physiologischen Vorgänge bei der germanischen Lautverschiebung.

Festzuhalten ist, dass dieser Lautwandel in der Zeit einer germanischen Gemeinsprache—wie eng oder weit man nun diesen Begriff fassen möge—vor sich ging. Den letzten der drei Einzelvorgänge, das Stimmloswerden der stimmhaften Verschlusslaute, muss man ziemlich spät, vielleicht für das zweite Jahrhundert vor Christo, ansetzen, denn sonst liesse sich nicht verstehen, dass bei den Goten, deren vorläufige Wanderung nach Osten

<sup>4</sup> Nicht in diesem Artikel behandelt; vgl. Verf., *Sounds and History of the German Language* (New York 1916) II 38.

(siehe §6) um 300 v. Ch. stattfand, noch Spuren des älteren Zustandes zu finden sind: Das Unterbleiben der Verschiebung in den beiden Partikeln *du* und *dis-*, statt *\*tu* und *\*tis-*, (wohl auch in got. *und*; vgl. dagegen *untē*) ist ohne Zweifel nur so zu deuten, dass nach den allgemeinen Gesetzen des Lautwandels bei derartigen tonlosen Wörtchen der Übergang im allgemeinen später eintrat als beim durchschnittlichen Sprachgut. Wir finden beim Mittelfränkischen *that, it, wat (up)*, die weiter unten zu besprechen sind, dieselbe Erscheinung, und in zahlreichen Eigentümlichkeiten der althochdeutschen Schreibweise treten uns verwandte Fälle entgegen. Einen Rückschluss auf das Indogermanische habe ich in dem oben angeführten Artikel in MPh. XI gegeben.

5. Dies führt uns zunächst zu gewissen Grundzügen des Lautwandels, die sich zwar nur empirisch beweisen lassen, uns aber so auffällig auf Schritt und Tritt begegnen, dass man sie unmöglich ablehnen kann, sondern sie zum mindesten als "pragmatische Wahrheiten" gelten lassen muss. Der eine Grundsatz betrifft die Chronologie spontaner Lautveränderungen: Stärkung der Artikulation ergreift in der Regel nicht auf einmal die betreffenden Laute in allen Worten oder Stellungen, in denen sie vorkommen, sondern beginnt in Wörtern oder Stellungen habituell emphatischer Aussprache und wird erst allmählich auf Durchschnittstellung und zuletzt auf Laute in relativ tonloser Stellung übertragen. MPh. XI 78 habe ich auf gewisse Andeutungen dieses Grundsatzes vor der germanischen Lautverschiebung hingewiesen; da aber diese vor der Zeit unserer ältesten Dokumente liegt, lässt sich kein einwandfreies Bild darüber gewinnen. Für die zweite Lautverschiebung ist weiter unten Material beigebracht. — Der zweite Grundsatz ist geradezu ein Axiom der Sprachmischung, dem man höchstens dann widersprechen kann, wenn man sein Gesichtsfeld auf die Augenblicksbilder beschränkt, die uns die schriftlichen Denkmäler vergangener Zeiten vorführen, dem man aber unbedingt beipflichten muss, wenn man es auf eine bekannte Gegenwart überträgt: Bei einer auf Auswanderung beruhenden Sprachmischung hört die alte Richtung der Sprachentwicklung ganz oder teilweise auf, und unter Umständen treten dafür neue, anders geartete Tendenzen



ein.<sup>5</sup> Ein Verweis auf alltägliche Sprachvorgänge etwa bei uns Deutschen in Amerika wird dies hinreichend bekräftigen, obwohl es sich hier natürlich nicht um Rassen- und Sprachmischung im Sinne der Völkerwanderungszeit handelt. Zum Beispiel: Im heutigen Neuhochdeutsch ist eine starke Neigung zum Entwickeln von velaren Verschlusslauten (*g, k*) aus den entsprechenden Spiranten (in *Tage, Tag, liegen, liegt*) unverkennbar—vgl. namentlich Braunes Schrift Über die Einigung der deutschen Schriftsprache. Wer wird nun einen Augenblick glauben, dass diese Entwicklungsrichtung auch im Deutsch der Ausgewanderten in Amerika festgehalten wird? Diese behalten natürlich—oft genug noch für die nächste Generation—die alten Spiranten bei; aber die ältere Sprachform des Deutschen wird bei ihnen mit amerikanischer Satzmelodie, amerikanischem *r* und *l*, usw. verbunden. Für ganze Völker gilt aber, mutatis mutandis, der gleiche Grundsatz. Als zB. die Goten nach dem Schwarzen Meer zogen (und wohl schon früher), gaben sie den sprachlichen Zusammenhang mit den übrigen Germanen auf; damals muss die Entwicklung der Medien schon im grossen und ganzen vollendet gewesen sein (wie lange dieser Prozess dauerte, bis er die ganze Sprache durchdrang, können wir nicht wissen), aber tonlose Sprachelemente wie *du* und *dis-* waren davon noch nicht ergriffen. Nach der Wanderung der Goten hörte die Lautverschiebungstendenz bei ihnen auf, und diese Wörtchen blieben in der alten Form erhalten.—Man mag die Frage aufwerfen, warum sich nicht ähnliche Beispiele bei den Labialen und Velaren finden, da doch nach §7 auf Grund des Zeugnisses der zweiten Lautverschiebung die Verstärkung der Dentale noch vor diesen beginnt; die Antwort darauf ist einfach die, dass zufällig der gotische Sprachschatz keine ähnlich tonlosen Wörter mit idg. *b* oder *g* besitzt.—Als analogen Fall vgl. die Erhaltung des tonlosen *be-* im Bair., Behaghel GDS §290, sowie wahrscheinlich *-ga* für *-ka* in urnord. *haitega* (Streitberg, UG. S. 262).

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. Wundt, Elemente der Völkerpsychologie, S. 58: "Dass bei solchem Kampf einer überlegenen Minderheit mit einer weniger kultivierten Mehrheit jene den hauptsächlichsten Wortvorrat und unter günstigen Umständen selbst die Sprachform bestimmt, diese dagegen auf den Lautcharakter den entscheidenden Einfluss ausübt, ist eine Beobachtung, die sich noch auf weit höheren Stufen der Sprachentwicklung aufdrängt."—Der allgemeine Zusammenhang der Stelle lässt übrigens den Ausdruck "kultiviert" in etwas anderem Sinne als sonst, nämlich fast als gleichbedeutend mit "geistig überlegen," erscheinen.

## II. DIE ETHNISCHEN VERHÄLTNISSE

6. Um die in §3 aufgestellten Sätze zu erweisen, sollen im folgenden die einzelnen Akte der hochdeutschen Lautverschiebung ethnographisch und chronologisch dargestellt werden. Für die Chronologie der Auswanderung stütze ich mich dabei vollständig auf Bremers Ethnographie und Lamprechts Deutsche Geschichte; zu selbständigen Forschungen auf diesem Gebiet fehlen mir Sachkenntnisse, Zeit und Bibliotheksmaterial. Die für uns wesentlichsten Tatsachen, wie sie aus den genannten Werken hervorgehen, sind in kurzem Umriss diese:

Bei der Ausbreitung der Germanen aus dem alten Stammlande zwischen Elbe und Oder war die Wanderung der *Nordgermanen*, die nach Bremer schwerlich später als um das Jahr 300 v. Ch. begonnen haben kann (natürlich vorerst nach Schleswig und Dänemark) die erste Ausbreitung, die eine wirkliche Trennung germanischer Stämme bedeutete. Um dieselbe Zeit oder etwas früher verliessen die *Goten* Holstein, ohne jedoch vorläufig den Zusammenhang mit dem Stammvolk zu verlieren. Im ersten Jahrhundert nach Christo haben die Nordgermanen Norwegen und das mittlere Schweden, die Goten die Weichsel erreicht. Nordwestdeutschland zwischen Elbe und Rhein wurde zwischen 200 und 100 v. Ch. und zum Teil noch früher besetzt. Der Vorstoss der germanischen Cimbern von der Nordseeküste aus hatte nur vorübergehende historische Bedeutung und keinerlei sprachliche Wirkung. Bald danach stürzte Ariovist das Reich der keltischen Bojer in Böhmen, das er um 73 v. Ch. zu seinem Zuge an den Rhein verliess. Seine Markomannen-Sweben hatten sich zum Teil der oberrheinischen Heerfahrt angeschlossen, zum Teil Böhmen besetzt gehalten. Ariovist wird nun allerdings Herr von Süddeutschland, und "hätten nicht die römischen Waffen den Germanen Einhalt getan, so würden sich damals die Germanen zweifellos allmählich zu Herren von Gallien gemacht haben, und die Deutschen würden heute in Frankreich wohnen" (Bremer I. c. S. 795). Seine Niederlage brachte eine bedeutende Verzögerung der Germanisation. "Beurteilt man die mit Cäsars Namen verknüpfte Wirksamkeit der Römer in Gallien vom deutschen Standpunkt aus, so kann man sagen, sie habe entscheidender als sonst irgend etwas die Deutschen auf Deutschland gewiesen" (Lamprecht I 105). Die rechtsrheinischen "*Suevi qui trans*



Rhenum venerunt, domum reverti coeperunt," gaben also den Landstrich auf, den sie zu Ariovists Zeiten wohl überflutet, aber nicht dauernd in Besitz genommen hatten (Bremer S. 796). Hingegen waren inzwischen am Mittelrhein germanische Stämme, namentlich die Sugambri und Ubier, fest ansässig geworden. So haben zu Cäsars Zeit die Germanen nördlich vom Main die Rheingrenze teils fest in der Hand, teils schon überschritten (Bata-ver). Auch hatten sie in der Pfalz und im unteren Elsass ziemlich festen Fuss gefasst, aber das Land südlich vom Main war teils keltisch, teils unbewohnt, wenn auch Cäsars Angabe "circiter sescenti milia passuum vacare dicuntur" sicher übertrieben ist. In den ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderten wurde durch den römischen limes, der vom untern Main nach Regensburg führte, und durch die Militärgrenze an der Donau ihrem weiteren Vordringen Halt geboten, aber bis an diese Grenze wenigstens ist der Boden des heutigen Deutschland damals deutsch geworden. 213 steht das Kernvolk der Westgermanen, die Alemannen, d. h., die svebischen Stämme mit Ausnahme der Langobarden, Thüringer und Markomannen, am limes, den sie in der Folgezeit mehrmals durchbrechen. Dauernd sind sie freilich erst seit 409 am Oberrhein ansässig. Der andere Hauptteil der Sveben, die Markomannen, hielt noch Jahrhunderte lang seine Verbindung mit den andern svebischen Stämmen aufrecht, erscheint noch zu Zeiten Attilas unter diesem Namen und nahm zu Anfang des sechsten Jahrhunderts—also nach der Zurückziehung der römischen Garnisonen—die Provinz Vindelicien als "Baiern" in Besitz, sich bis an den Lech ausdehnend. Natürlich hat nach allen den vor der grossen "Völkerwanderung" besetzten Gebieten mehrfach späterer Nachschub (z. B. der der Burgunder) stattgefunden, doch lässt sich im grossen und ganzen die Germanisierung von West- und Süddeutschland als territorialer Prozess mit dem Öffnen eines Fächers von Nordwest nach Südost vergleichen, wobei der Drehpunkt im Stammlande an der Elbe und Havel zu denken ist und die Nordseeküste und die Ennslinie die äussersten Radien darstellen. Den Zusammenhang mit dem Stammland durch Nachwanderungen verlor zuerst die ingwäisch-sächsische, dann die istwäisch-fränkische und zuletzt die svebisch-oberdeutsche Gruppe.—Dieses Allgemeinbild bleibt richtig trotz mancher Verschiebungen, die im Völkergewirr der grossen germanischen Wanderung eintreten. Freilich schiebt sich im ersten christ-

lichen Jahrhundert die ingwäische Gruppe weiter nach Süden, sodass die späteren Sachsen nunmehr auch Westfalen besiedeln, während die beiden andern Gruppen weiter nach Süden, gegen die römische Grenze zu und über diese hinaus drängen und gedrängt werden; freilich werden im Verlaufe des Durchbruchs der Vandalen, Alanen, Burgunden, Westgoten im Anfang des fünften Jahrhunderts die nördliche und die südliche Hälfte auseinandergedrückt, sodass sich Franken (Niederfranken) weiter nach Nordwesten, Alemannen ins Elsass und die Schweiz ergiessen. An der Reihenfolge der Siedlung ändert das nichts Wesentliches, und auf die Reihenfolge kommt es für unsre Untersuchung vorwiegend an. Dass die Zusammenfassung zu Stammesverbänden zum Teil einen andern Eindruck erweckt, tut nichts zur Sache; so erscheinen allerdings die Alemannen unter diesem Namen schon 213, die Franken erst 235—beide Stammesverbände entstanden als solche um die Mitte des zweiten Jahrhunderts; Stamm-bildung und Ansiedlung waren eben nirgends gleichzeitig.<sup>6</sup>—Die

<sup>6</sup> Die sozialen und ökonomischen Bedingungen der Siedlung sind namentlich bei Lamprecht I 87 ff. dargestellt. Sie sind für die Sprachgeschichte nicht unwichtig. Im wesentlichen läuft es darauf hinaus, dass meist keine Vertreibung der keltischen Bevölkerung, sondern eine Vermengung mit ihr stattfand; die Germanen rückten ein "in den Besitz keltischen Landbaus, keltischer Wirtschaftsorganisation, in die Kenntnis und den Gebrauch der keltischen Fluss-, Berg- und Ortsnamen" (Lamprecht l.c.). "Am Niederrhein, rechts wie links des Stroms, haben die Germanen auch ihre volkstümliche Wirtschaftsverfassung mit dem Ziel gemeinsamen Anbaus sehr wohl der keltischen Vorkultur der Einzelhöfe anzupassen gewusst; die Einzellage der keltischen Ansiedlungen hat die Entstehung germanischer Markgenossenschaften nicht gehindert, und wir erblicken in dem Hofsystem von den östlichen Grenzen Westfalens bis zur Maas noch heute die dauerndste und offenbarste Kunde einst keltischer Siedlung." Das war im Nordwesten möglich, weil nach Massgabe der Bevölkerungsdichtigkeit jener Frühzeit die Zahl der germanischen Einwanderer im Verhältnis zur Grösse des besetzten Gebietes gering war; die ingwäischen Siedler bildeten einen Bauernadel. Die istwäischen Ansiedler, die in immer grösseren Zügen kamen und sich seit Cäsars Zeiten im weiteren Vordringen gehemmt sahen, dürften sich in ähnlicher Weise wie die Ostgermanen der Völkerwanderungszeit niedergelassen haben, ein bis zwei Drittel des Landes für sich beanspruchend. "Sie (auf die Cimbern bezogen, die freilich nicht zu dieser Gruppe gehörten) halten fest an ihrer einfachen, ursprünglichen Forderung: Sie wollen Land . . . Sie fordern es aus Not, um Gottes willen, sie sind bereit, zum Entgelt zu dienen und die Schlachten einer ihnen fremden Welt politischer Interessen zu schlagen" (Lamprecht S. 98)—das letztere freilich nur im römischen Gebiet, einer überlegenen Organisation gegenüber. Im eroberten keltischen Mitteldeutschland werden sie die Gemeinfreien, neben

unbestreitbare Siedlungsfolge Niederdeutsch—Fränkisch—Oberdeutsch bedeutet im Sinne von §5, dass das Sächsische (mit dem das Niederfränkische fast zu einer Art Sprachgemeinschaft verschmolz) die älteste, die mittel- und oberfränkischen Mundarten die mittlere und das Oberdeutsche die jüngste Sprachschicht darstellt, soweit charakteristisch-germanische Lautänderungen in Frage kommen. Das Kriterium für charakteristisch-germanische Beschaffenheit einer Lautänderung liegt im Vorkommen physiologisch gleicher oder ähnlich beschaffener Lautänderungen im urgermanischen oder gemeingermanischen Sprachleben.

denen aber die Kelten noch in leidlicher Unabhängigkeit wohnen, und ähnlich werden die Verhältnisse wohl auch in Marobads Bojerland gewesen sein. Die Alemannen aber verlassen die Heimat in grossem Völkerzuge, der den Weg zum Hereinbrechen der slavischen Sturmflut freigibt, und ebenso müssen wir uns den markomannischen Zug nach Vindelicien denken. Die ohnehin dünn besiedelten Striche Süddeutschlands werden mit einem Male gründlich besetzt, was an Kelten nicht in die Berge weicht, wird leibeigen.

In meinem eben bei Holt erscheinenden Buche "The Sounds and History of the German Language" (II 6) wird darauf verwiesen, wie sich diese Siedlungsweise in den Stammesnamen wiederpiegelt. Den Namen "Germanen" selbst vor allem kann ich nicht als keltisch betrachten, wie es die herrschende Meinung will, sondern ich ziehe ihn zu germ. \**garwa-*, \**gǣru-* (idg. \**ghor-u-*, \**ghēr-u-*), setze also eine germanische Form \**gēr(u)manniz* (oder *-manōz*—vergleiche got. *manasēps*) an, mit Latinisierung in *-mani*, wie sich ja auch *Alamani*, *Μαρκομανοί* findet. Sie sind die "bereiten, gerüsteten Männer," die waffenfähige Jungmannschaft, die bei Übervölkerung nach Art des römischen *Ver Sacrum* ausgeschiedt wurde, Neuland zu finden oder zugrunde zu gehen—der Göttin *Gärmanǣbis* geweiht, oder auch ihr opfernd (\**gārmanniz*, mit *ā < æ*, ist als regelrechte spätere Form zu erschliessen).—Der Bauernadel des Nordwestens, der seiner geringen Zahl wegen das Waffentragen für sich allein in Anspruch nehmen musste, erscheint als *Ingvaeones* ("Ängeln"), das von Löwenthal, Arkiv f.N.Ph. XXXI 153 sicher mit Recht zu gr. *ἔγχος* "Speer" gestellt wird, also—ebenso wie, nach meiner Ansicht, die griechischen Dorer, deren Siedlungsart ähnlich war—als "Speerträger," und später als "Sachsen, Schwertträger"; auch der Name der Langobarden wird von Kögel ähnlich, nämlich als "(Helle)bartenträger," erklärt.—Die "Franken," als Gemeinfreie, Nachkommen der *Istvaeones*, der "Stammechten," bedürfen nach dem oben Gesagten keiner weiteren Erläuterung.—"Alemannen" bedeutet am wahrscheinlichsten das "Gesamtvolk," und die Sweben=Schwabensind das "Volk selbst" (und nicht "die Schläfrigen" oder "die Unsteten"); ihr Name ist ebenso wie das keltische *Teutones* der Ausdruck der Gesamtwanderung—es ist kein heiliger Lenz mehr, sondern das ganze Volk reisst sich von der Mutterschole los.—Dass die Grenzer, die Markomannen, den keltischen Bojernamen auf Baiern übertragen haben, ist ja allbekannt.



### III. DIE DEUTSCHE LAUTVERSCHIEBUNG

#### A. Die stimmhaften Spiranten

7. Der sprachliche Niederschlag der westgermanischen, bzw. deutschen Siedlung ist nun am Gange der deutschen Lautverschiebung im einzelnen nachzuweisen.

Von den Ergebnissen des germanischen Zyklus der Lautverschiebung kommen zunächst *þ*, *ð*, *z* in Betracht. Hier ist vor allem die Tatsache festzustellen, dass bei Lautveränderungen, die auf Artikulationsverstärkung beruhen, die Laute des energischsten, agilsten, gewissermassen empfindlichsten Organteils zuerst, die des passivsten Organs zuletzt ergriffen werden. Dies bedingt die theoretisch wie empirisch leicht zu erweisende Reihenfolge Dental—Labial—Velar.<sup>7</sup>

I. Dem entsprechend vollzieht sich der Übergang von *ð* zu *d* (wie das Gotische lehrt, zuerst in Anlaut-, dann auch in Inlautstellung) allgemein westgermanisch; das bedeutet, dass diese Verschiebung—oder doch ihre "physiologische Grundlage," nach Bremers Ausdruck—vor der westgermanischen, aber (wenigstens im Inlaut) nach der nordischen und ostgermanischen Wanderung erfolgte. Nach §6 haben wir also diesen Übergang auf das zweite (oder erste) Jahrhundert vor Christo anzusetzen, und damit haben wir einen Anfangspunkt für diese Übergangsperiode von der germanischen zur deutschen Zeit gewonnen. Ziemlich zugleich damit, jedenfalls auch gemeingermanisch, erfolgt der Wandel von anlautendem *þ* zu *b*; dass die Anlautveränderung der stimmhaften Spiranten der Inlautveränderung vorausgeht, ist physiologisch begründet: die Muskelspannung, durch die sie hervorgerufen wird, ist naturgemäss im Anlaut (und nach Konsonanten) grösser als im nachvokalischen Inlaut oder Auslaut.

II. Nach physiologischen Bedingungen wie nach der geographischen Verbreitung, und folglich, nach unsrer Theorie, auch chronologisch, folgt zunächst inlautendes (auslautendes) *þ* und, in ungemein charakteristischem Parallelismus, anlautendes *γ*; sie bleiben Spiranten in den ingwäischen und dem nördlichsten Teile der istwäischen Gebiete—bis zur Westgrenze des Rheinfränkischen. Mithin dürfte diese Verschiebung nicht allzulang vor

<sup>7</sup> Die urgermanische Entwicklung von *mþ*, *nð*, *ny* zu *mb*, *nd*, *ng* und die gleichgeartete Entwicklung der Geminaten lasse ich, weil sie eben urgermanisch ist, hier beiseite; ihre Erklärung liegt ja auf der Hand.

Christi Geburt erfolgt sein. Die Erhaltung von  $\delta$  (das später labiodental wird) im mfr. ist uns sowohl durch ahd. Dokumente (Trierer cap., Braune gr. §134, lb. 15) wie auch durch die heutigen Dialekte bezeugt; für anlautendes  $\gamma$  sind wir wohl auf die letzteren fast ausschliesslich angewiesen; möglich bleibt immerhin, dass die Isidorischen Schreibungen *ghi-*, *ghe-* (*chi-*) auch für das rhfr. des 8. Jahrhunderts auf spirantische Aussprache wenigstens vor Vordervokal hinweisen.—Interessant ist die Tatsache, dass die Entwicklung zum Verschlusslaut (die Zeit lässt sich leider nicht feststellen) auch in Holstein und den sich daran anschliessenden Kolonisationsgebieten—Mecklenburg, Pommern, Rügen—eingetreten ist (vgl. Wilmanns DG. I 96); Holstein ist altes Langobardenland, so ziemlich der einzige Teil Deutschlands, der nie keltisch und nie ganz slavisch gewesen ist; wenn es auch infolge der politischen Vereinigung im grossen und ganzen die Entwicklungsstufe der sächsischen Sprachgemeinschaft aufweist, so ist es doch in diesem und manchem andern Punkte in der Richtung germanischer Sprechweise weiter gegangen als die Nachbardialekte im Westen und Süden.

III. Für in- und auslautendes  $\gamma$  liegt die Sache fürs ahd. schwierig. Nach Massgabe der heutigen Dialekte wäre es nur im Oberdeutschen, also im Swebenlande, zum Verschlusslaut geworden, und das Fehlen bestimmter Belege dafür in der ahd. Zeit ist schliesslich kein Gegenbeweis. Immerhin ist es vollständig denkbar, dass etwa inlautendes Verschluss- $g$  ebenso einer späteren Schwächung zum Spiranten unterlegen wäre wie inlautendes  $b$  (nur ist dann auffällig, dass dieses auch im Bairischen geschwächt wurde, inlautendes  $g$  aber nicht; ferner widerspricht es der Parallele, dass bei  $b$  die Schwächung nur den Inlaut, bei  $g$  auch den Auslaut betroffen hätte). Mich für diese Frage mit einem *non liquet* begnügend, setze ich rein hypothetisch den oben angegebenen Stand der heutigen Dialekte auch für das ahd. an. Dies würde nebenbei zur theoretisch zu postulierenden Anordnung vollständig passen; wir hätten dann wohl diesen Lautwandel auf ungefähr 200 n. Ch. anzusetzen—die Zeit, in der sich die Alemannen noch nicht lange von der swebischen Gemeinschaft losgelöst hatten und eben den limes, als erste Siedlungsetappe, erreichten. (Über die bairischen Stämme sind wir in dieser Hinsicht schlecht unterrichtet; dass zu Armins und Marobads Zeiten noch enge, auch



sprachliche, Verbindung mit dem semnischen Stammland bestand, ist sicher—reichte doch Marobads direkte Machtsphäre bis an die mittlere Elbe; wann sie aufgehört hat, wissen wir nicht, aber da die Baiern im Sprachcharakter den Alemannen recht ähnlich sind, kann man vielleicht auch bei ihnen an das Ende des zweiten Jahrhunderts als Zeit der Trennung denken. Wahrscheinlich ist damals, nach der alemannischen und hermundurischen Wanderung, der alte Semnenverband überhaupt in die Brüche gegangen.

Die Zeit der Verschiebung der stimmhaften Spiranten reicht also von etwa 100 v. Ch. bis 200 n. Ch. (wobei beim terminus ad quem, wie gesagt, nur das Zeugnis der heutigen Dialekte in Betracht gezogen ist). Der Fruchtboden dieser Entwicklung war das deutsche Stammland, und jeder Volksteil machte sie mit, so lange er dort wohnte, und nicht viel länger. So haben die Ingwäer nur etwas über ein Drittel, die Istwäer etwas über zwei Drittel und die Sweben (Oberdeutschen) den ganzen Kreis dieser Lautänderung aufzuweisen.

#### B. *Die Tenues*

8. Die Lautverschiebung entspringt nicht lediglich aus "Verstärkung" der Expiration, noch aus "Verstärkung" der Muskelspannung in der Sprache ganz im allgemeinen. Wohin würde eine Sprache mit solch fortwährender Verstärkung kommen! Wohl mag man sie als "Artikulationsverstärkung" in gewissem Sinne bezeichnen, aber damit spricht man dann von der Wirkung, nicht von der Ursache.—Lautverschiebung im germanischen Sinne ist das Ergebnis konstanter, intensiver Wechselwirkung zwischen diesen beiden Faktoren, die man kurz als den Druckfaktor und den Spannungsfaktor bezeichnen mag. Dass der eine nicht mit Notwendigkeit den andern bedingt, zeigt zB. das Französische mit seiner scharfen Spannung und seinem geringen Druck. Der durch diese Wechselwirkung periodisch wechselnde Lautstand der Sprache bedingt manchmal ein Überwiegen der deutlich wahrnehmbaren Folgen des einen oder des andern Faktors; so wird in einer Sprachzeit, wo die Spiranten überwiegen (urgermanisch), für den Druckfaktor ein geringeres, für den Spannungsfaktor ein grösseres Wirkungsfeld sein; hat dieser neue Verschlusslaute kräftiger Artikulation gebildet, so tritt jener wieder stärker hervor. So ergeben sich Sprachperioden von anscheinend verschiedener phonetischer Richtung—dem Auf- und Abschwanken einer Wage

vergleichbar — die aber keineswegs scharf abwechseln, sondern sich vielfach decken. Denn nie ist einer der beiden Faktoren abwesend. In diesem Sinne ist die Lautverschiebung nichts als das Ergebnis ruhiger, konstanter Entwicklung, und nicht eine plötzliche Sprachrevolution von elementärer Gewalt. Ich glaube nicht an Erdbeben in der Sprachentwicklung.

Der Druckfaktor hatte im Urgermanischen das Stimmloswerden von idg. *b, d, g* bewirkt, das Zusammenwirken beider Faktoren ihren Übergang von lenes zu fortes. Durch Spannung wurden *ḃ, ḡ, ȝ* zu *b, d, g*, durch Druck und Spannung zusammen wurden die einfachen germanischen *tenuēs p, t, k* < idg. *b, d, g* zu aspirierten fortes (vgl. Sievers PG. I 312; Bremer PG. III 926, worauf in §2 verwiesen wurde): "Da sich die aspirierende Sprechweise schwerlich gerade unmittelbar vor dem Abzug der Langobarden und Semnen verbreitet haben wird, so dürfen wir in runder Zahl wohl die Zeit um Christi Geburt als spätesten Terminus für das Aufkommen dieser Sprechweise ansetzen. Da ferner die hochdeutschen Stämme die Verschiebung weiter fortgebildet haben, so dürfen wir nach allen Analogien schliessen, dass bei diesen die aspirierende Sprechweise aufgekommen ist (?), und wenn diese auch bei den nördlicheren Stämmen spätestens um das erste Jahrhundert nach Christo Eingang gefunden hat, so werden wir sie den hochdeutschen Stämmen schon für das erste Jahrhundert vor Christo zuschreiben dürfen." Mit dem Vorbehalt, dass ich in der "aspirierenden Sprechweise" einfach eine notwendige Fortsetzung der germanischen Lautverschiebung sehe, schliesse ich mich dem allgemeinen Grundsatz dieser Datierung an, möchte aber doch sie noch etwas weiter hinaufrücken, nämlich noch vor die Verschiebung von *ḡ* zu *g* (wenigstens im Inlaut), weil sie anscheinend auch die nordischen Stämme erreichte. Zum mindesten ist sie allgemein westgermanisch und darf darum nicht später als 100 v. Ch. angesetzt werden.

I. Wie bei den stimmhaften Spiranten, so muss auch bei den aspirierten fortes die Entwicklung beim Dental einsetzen, denn der Druck ist dort am stärksten, wo ihm die grösste Spannung entgegentritt. Doch ist diese in nach-vokalischer Stellung, im Verhältnis zum Druck und auch absolut, geringer als im Anlaut (vergleiche nhd. *Pein—Kneipe*). Darum ist in dieser Stellung die nächste Entwicklung, nämlich die Sprengung des Verschlusses, zuerst durchgeführt worden; die stimmlosen Verschlusslaute *p,*

*t*, *k* wurden zu den stimmlosen Spiranten *f*, *z*, *x*; ihre Reihenfolge nach Artikulationsstellungen ist nicht mehr historisch festzustellen, doch lässt sich auch hier annehmen, dass der Dental der erste, der Velar der letzte war. Für die Datierung gibt uns mfr. *dat*, *it*, *wat*, usw., nebst dem in Teilen des Mittelfränkischen vorhandenen *up* einen Anhalt. Bei der Germanisierung des mfr. Landstriches, im letzten vorchristlichen Jahrhundert, muss die Entwicklung schon so ziemlich vollendet gewesen sein; sie war also wohl wenig früher als die Verschiebung von *-b-*, *z-* zu *-b-*, *g-*, die oben auf die Zeit von Christi Geburt oder etwas früher angesetzt wurde; da einige der ältesten römischen Handelslehnwörter (wie *chouffōn*, *behhāri*, *chuhkina*, *retih*, *tunihka*) sie bereits aufweisen, wird man sie frühestens in Cäsars Generation hinaufrücken dürfen.<sup>8</sup>

II. In nachvokalischer Stellung stand wahrscheinlich nie eine affricata als Zwischenstufe zwischen dem Verschlusslaut und der spirans.<sup>9</sup> Die relativ geringe Muskelspannung, die dieser Stellung eigen ist, bedingte unmittelbare Lösung des Verschlusses ('sprunghafter Lautwandel'). Der Übergang vom Verschlusslaut zur affricata aber ist ein allmählicher Prozess, der Generationen oder Jahrhunderte in Anspruch nehmen mag. Die lenis wird fortis, und zwar von Generation zu Generation in immer höherem Grade, die fortis wird immer mehr aspiriert, bis sich nicht mehr leicht entscheiden lässt, ob wir es noch mit einer aspirata oder schon mit einer affricata zu tun haben,<sup>10</sup> und endlich kommen wir zu einem Stadium zweifelloser affricata. Nirgends finden wir beim Übergang von nachvokalischem *p*, *t*, *k* zu den stimmlosen Spiranten eine affricata erhalten, was doch sicher anzunehmen wäre, da wir im mfr. sogar die oben erwähnten Reste der Verschlusslaute besitzen.—Wie lange ein solcher Übergang notwendigerweise dauern müsste, entzieht sich jeder theoretischen Beurteilung, doch gibt uns die geographische Verbreitung einen frühesten

<sup>8</sup> Freilich würden einige kirchliche Lehnwörter (*biscōf*, *kirihha*, *psaffo*) auf eine weit spätere Zeit hindeuten; doch liegt bei diesen zweifellos Lautsubstitution vor, die bei *biscōf* jedenfalls durch die volksetymologische Umdeutung veranlasst oder doch unterstützt wurde, während bei *kirihha* wohl die Anlehnung an *-ch*-Suffixe im Spiel gewesen sein dürfte; bei *psaffo* musste *ff* eintreten, weil die hochdeutschen Dialekte intervokalisches *p* nicht kennen (ausser bei gelehrten Wörtern; *psaffo* aber war Volkswort).

<sup>9</sup> Anders zB. Wilmanns DG. §43.

<sup>10</sup> Dies ist bei den heutigen dänischen Aspiraten der Fall.



Anfangstermin, die Geschichte einen terminus ad quem an die Hand. Den ersteren erreichen wir auf folgende Art: Im Niederdeutschen ist es bei der von Bremer erwähnten aspirierenden Sprechweise geblieben. Dagegen war bei den südlich von der Benrather Linie, also ungefähr seit 100 v. Ch., erfolgten Niederlassungen die Aspirierung schon so stark geworden, dass die Affrizierung notwendig erfolgen musste und nur eine Frage der Zeit war. Dem geographischen Ausweis nach hat also ein unzweideutiger physiologischer Ansatz zur Affrizierung wenigstens beim *t* schon im ersten vorchristlichen Jahrhundert existiert. Aber die Behandlung von Lehnwörtern des vierten und fünften Jahrhunderts scheint zu zeigen, dass die eigentliche, von *t* scharf unterschiedene Affrikata *ts* frühestens zu Ende des fünften Jahrhunderts erreicht wurde; z.B. hat das 357 von den Alemannen zerstörte *Tres Tabernae* jetzt den Namen *Zabern* (vgl. a. *Zarten*, *Zürich*, *Zülpich* < *Tarodunum*, *Turiacum*, *Tulbiacum*), und der *Attila* des fünften Jahrhunderts (kann mir jemand mitteilen, warum Lamprecht stets die Form *Atilla* gebraucht?) ist den Deutschen als *Etzel* bekannt. Also mag der Übergang etwa sechshundert Jahre gedauert haben.<sup>11</sup>

III. *p* in Anlautstellung (ähnlich nach Konsonanten und in Geminat—die Einzelheiten erklären sich von selbst) wird nur im Ostfränkischen (bzw. Rheinfränkischen) und Oberdeutschen, *k* selbst im Oberdeutschen nur teilweise zur Affrikata. Wir sind nicht gerade zu der Annahme gezwungen, dass hier das Endstadium der Affrikata später als beim *t* erreicht wurde, aber jene extreme Aspirierung, die ihre Vorbedingung ist, muss beim *t* schon vor Christi Geburt, beim *p*, im Einklang mit §7 II, um 100 n. Ch. und beim *k*, entsprechend §7 III, vielleicht um 200 n. Ch. erreicht worden sein.—Es ist übrigens fraglich, bis zu welchem Grade Schreibungen wie *ph*, *kh* als Affrikaten aufzufassen sind.

Man kann also sagen, dass die Entwicklung der nachvokalischen und der anlautenden *tenues* mehr oder weniger gleichzeitig begann, aber sich in verschiedenem Tempo fortsetzte. Nachvokalisches *p t k* wurde ohne phonetische Zwischenstufe zu Spiranten, sobald einmal ein gewisses Mass von Aspirierung erreicht war. Anlautendes *p t k* durchlief eine lange Reihe von Übergängen, erreichte

<sup>11</sup> Doch mag auch bei *Etzel* Lautsubstitution vorliegen (nach dem Muster von Kosenamen wie *Heinz*—*Heinzel*); in diesem Falle wäre es möglich, die Beendung dieses Lautwandels schon ins 4. Jh. zu setzen.



aber eine entscheidende Stufe in derselben Reihenfolge, die aus physiologischen und geographischen Gründen für die anderen bisher behandelten Laute zu postulieren war.

### C. *Die Medien*

9. Die Entwicklung der Tenuis zur Affrikata zeigt, dass der Druckfaktor noch beträchtliche Zeit nach der Trennung vom Stammland fort dauern mag, wenn auch der Spannungsfaktor schon seine Kraft eingebüsst hat. Daran ist nichts Merkwürdiges. Wirkt doch der Druckfaktor auch in der Beibehaltung und Weiterentwicklung des dynamischen Akzentes und seiner Folgen weiter.—Wir finden die gleiche Erscheinung bei der Behandlung der aus den stimmhaften Spiranten entstandenen neuen Medien. Auf niederdeutschem Gebiet sind sie im allgemeinen bis auf den heutigen Tag reine Medien geblieben (vom Auslaut abgesehen), ebenso wie dort die Aspirierung der Tenuis auch nicht zur Affrizierung führte. Auf hochdeutschem Gebiet aber bewirkte die Fortdauer des Druckfaktors, bzw. sein Überwiegen über den Spannungsfaktor (der Stimmbänder) die Öffnung der Glottis, d. h. das Aufgeben des Stimmtons; die so entstandene lenis wurde im weiteren Verlauf teilweise, bei Fortdauer der Muskelspannung, zur fortis. Wieder finden wir dies beim Dental am frühesten und daher am Allgemeinsten durchgeführt. Zwar ist mitteldeutsches *d* (ebenso wie *b* und *g*; Sievers l. c. 312) weder ausgeprägte fortis, noch ausgeprägte lenis, doch ist *t* < *d* heute fortis in ausgedehnten Teilen von Oberdeutschland (vgl. Behaghel l. c. 225), wenn auch *b* und *g* fast durchwegs als lenes zu betrachten sind; aber das ist sicher nicht der ursprüngliche Zustand. Das Zeugnis der althochdeutschen Schreibung ist zu konsequent im Einklang mit der ganzen Art und Weise der deutschen Lautentwicklung, als dass man ihm ohne weiteres misstrauen dürfte. Man findet im Rheinfränkischen (von der Auslautstellung, die eine Frage für sich ist, vorläufig abgesehen) *d* neben *t* (das letztere überwiegt besonders im Südrheinfränkischen, während im Ostfränkischen und Oberdeutschen *t* im allgemeinen durchgeführt ist. Die Sache bedarf noch einer näheren Untersuchung, doch weist schon die Folgerichtigkeit dieser geographischen Verteilung darauf hin, dass es sich um phonetische, nicht um zufällige orthographische Unterschiede

handelt.<sup>12</sup> Einstweilen dürfen wir wohl annehmen, dass das Ostfränkische die fortis *t* im Prinzip durchgeführt hatte, dass aber auch im Rheinfränkischen ein feines Ohr bereits Unterschiede zwischen einer schwächeren und einer stärkeren lenis machen konnte. Misst man der *t*-Schreibung so viel Gewicht bei, so liegt kein Anlass vor, daran zu zweifeln, dass auch die oberdeutschen *p*- und *k*-Schreibungen fortis zu bedeuten haben. In einer Hinsicht liegt hier sogar der Fall noch günstiger, weil man bei den mitteldeutschen *t*-Schreibungen annehmen mag, es habe der Gegensatz gegen das eben aus *th* in Bildung begriffene stimmhafte *d* mitgewirkt für die Wahl eines anderen Schriftzeichens, während ein

<sup>12</sup> Die Einzelheiten einer späteren Arbeit vorbehaltend, möchte ich hier wenigstens einige Andeutungen geben: Lenis und fortis sind ja relative Begriffe, und Braune hat im Grunde sicher recht, wenn er Ahd. Gr. §163 Anm. 3 bemerkt: "Die Erklärung des rheinfränkischen Schwankens zwischen *d* und *t* ist wohl darin zu suchen, dass diese Mundart eine stimmlose media sprach, welche von der stimmlosen tenuis (oberdeutsch-ostfränkisch *t*) durch geringere Intensität geschieden war, und welche andererseits von der stimmhaften media *d* (die aus *th* hervorging) durch den Mangel des Stimmtons abstand. Deshalb schwankt die Orthographie zwischen *d* und *t* in der Bezeichnung dieses Lautes." Ich glaube aber, dass hinter diesem Schwanken der Ansatz zu einem bestimmten System noch sehr wohl zu bemerken ist. So ist es sicher nicht zufällig, dass O. im Anlaut, der Stelle relativ grösserer Spannung, *d*, im In- und Auslaut dagegen *t* durchführt; die Schreibungen *truhtin*, *tōd* (Substantiv; Adjektiv *dōt*) mögen in ähnlicher Weise, wie unten für T. vermutet, grösserem Nachdruck auf diesen Worten entsprechen.—Das ältere Weissenburger Denkmal, Wk., zeigt analoge Eigentümlichkeiten; zwar überwiegt hier *t* auch im Anlaut, doch findet sich ein "Schwanken" (auch im Inlaut), das auf die Wahl von *d* bei geringerem, *t* bei grösserem Nachdruck hinweist; als Beispiel sei die Schreibung des Adjektivs "*tot*" im Symbolum Apostolicum angeführt: . . . *in crāci bislagan, toot endi bigraban* . . . *in thrīten tage arstual fona tootēm* . . . *ci ardeilenne quecchēm endi dōdēm*. Der Unterschied im Satzton ist hier deutlich genug.—Aber auch im Tatian, besonders beim Schreiber ζ, ist Satzton als halb-bewusste Grundlage der anscheinenden Unregelmässigkeit des anlautenden *d* zu fühlen. Beispiele: 107, 1 *ther lag zi sinen turum fol gisweres* . . . 148, 6 *inti bislozzano wārun thio duri* (nachdrucklose Hinzufügung; schon die Inversion bezeichnet das Subjekt als tonlos); 148, 2 *fmvi fon thēn wārun dumba inti fmvi wison* . . . 148, 5 *thio tumbun thēn spahun quādun*; 13, *gisāhumes sīna diurida* . . . 6, 3 *Tiurida sī in thēn hōhistōm gote*.—Auch das Ludwigslied, das sonst *d* im Anlaut festhält, hat in betonter Stellung *truhtin* (4 und 59), wo freilich der Einfluss des gerollten *r* beigetragen haben mag.—Es steht anscheinend so im Rheinfränkischen und Ostfränkischen, dass zwar verschiedene Schreiber die Grenzlinien für die Schreibungen *t* und *d* verschieden ansetzten, zum Teil willkürlich, dass aber Fälle des Zweifels gern nach Massgabe des Satztons entschieden wurden.

ähnlicher Grund für die Verwendung von *p*, *k* statt *b*, *g* nicht vorlag.

Was nun die Datierung betrifft, so ist auch die Verschiebung von stimmhafter media zur stimmlosen fortis das Ergebnis einer allmählichen Entwicklung—haben wir doch sowohl in den ahd. Denkmälern als auch in den heutigen Dialekten die Zwischenstufen deutlich vor uns—, und wir können daher keine bestimmten Daten, sondern nur Grenzpunkte angeben; es liegt in der Natur der Sache, dass selbst diese unbestimmt sein müssen, weil sich eben keine der Stufen fest definieren lässt. Die Entwicklung war kontinuierlich; sie begann, sobald überhaupt Verschlusslaute entwickelt waren, und kam zum Abschluss, als sie zu Beginn unserer literarischen Belege inhibiert und sogar rückentwickelt wurde. Es lässt sich also weiter nichts sagen, als dass die stimmhaften Medien, wo immer sie aus den stimmhaften Spiranten hervorgegangen waren, Neigung zum Aufgeben des Stimmtons und zu weiterer Verstärkung zeigten; dass diese Neigung, die auf dem Druckfaktor beruhte, zwar, wie alle Lautverschiebungserscheinungen, einige Zeit nach der endgiltigen Niederlassung zum Stillstand kam, immerhin aber beträchtlich später als die Verschiebung der inlautenden und etwas später als die Verschiebung der anlautenden *tenuis*; denn der Atemdruck, der zur Entwicklung von *b > b̥ > p* erforderlich ist, ist bedeutend geringer, als der, welcher die Entwicklung von *p > p' > pf* herbeiführt. Vielleicht dürfen wir daher das *Aufhören* der Verschiebung der Medien für die Dentale auf das sechste und siebente Jahrhundert, für Labiale und Velare auf das achte Jahrhundert ansetzen. Zwar zeigt sich eine äusserlich ähnliche Erscheinung noch weit später, nämlich das Aufgeben des Stimmtons im Auslaut. Schon im neunten Jahrhundert (Isidor, Otfrid) bereitet sie sich vor, aber erst im mhd. dringt sie vollständig durch. Ich glaube aber, dass sie von der eigentlichen Lautverschiebung zu trennen ist, wenn sie auch durch diese unterstützt wurde: im Auslaut, dem ja oft Pause folgt, ist ein vorzeitiges Übergehen in die Atemstellung auch ohne besonderen Druck verständlich genug; finden wir doch selbst im Russischen, das von jeder Artikulationsverstärkung weit entfernt ist, die gleiche Erscheinung, dass *b*, *d*, *g* im Auslaut stimmlos werden.

10. Soweit reicht die hochdeutsche Lautverschiebung im eigentlichen Sinne. In der folgenden Tabelle, die mich freilich, was Übersichtlichkeit betrifft, nicht ganz befriedigt, habe ich



versucht, meine Ergebnisse graphisch darzustellen. Die obere Querspalte enthält die Daten und Tatsachen der äusseren Geschichte, die untere die Namen der deutschen Dialektgebiete, die in den betreffenden Zeiträumen germanisiert wurden. Sie gibt daher zugleich an, wie weit sich jeder Verschiebungsakt erstreckte, nämlich auf die in derselben Spalte und rechts davon angegebenen Dialekte.—Die letzten beiden Längsspalten können natürlich keine Dialektbedeutung haben, weil die Stammesbildung zu der Zeit schon vollzogen war.

Punktierte Linien bezeichnen allmähliche Entwicklung; die Stelle der Eintragung des Endresultates gibt den Zeitpunkt der Vollendung, bzw. des Aufhörens der Entwicklung an. 'bedeutet Aspirierung,<sup>h</sup> jene extreme Aspirierung, die als bedingende Vorstufe der Affrizierung gelten muss. pf, ts, k<sup>h</sup>, beziehen sich demnach nur auf die Dialekte, die diese Vorstufen aufzuweisen haben. Für b, d, g > p, t, k habe ich dasselbe anzudeuten versucht, indem ich die punktierten Linien in der Dialektspalte beginnen liess, für welche fortes (in der ahd. Zeit) gelten.

	200	100	Ch. G.	100	200	300	500
Urgermanische Zeit	Besetzung der Nordseeküste	Erreichung des limes	Auffüllung des mitteld. Hinterlandes	Besetzung des Mittelrheins	Durchbrechung des limes	Völkerwanderung	Früheste ahd. Zeit
ð	d		.....	.....	.....	.....	d > t
þ	b-		-b-	.....	.....	.....	b > p
γ			g-	<sup>1</sup> -g-.....	.....	.....	g > k
-t-		zz					
-p-		ff					
-k-		xx					
t-	t'	t <sup>h</sup>					.....tz
p-	p'		p <sup>h</sup>				.....pf
k-	k'			k <sup>h</sup>			.....k <sup>h</sup>
	Niederdeutsch	Mittel-fränkisch	Rhein-fränkisch	Ost-fränkisch	Oberdeutsch		

<sup>1</sup>Auf Grund der heutigen Dialekte angesetzt; vgl. 7 III.

#### D. Die stimmlosen Spiranten

11. Es bleibt noch die verwickelte Frage der Behandlung der germanischen stimmlosen Spiranten f, þ, χ. Da diese streng genommen nicht mehr zur deutschen Lautverschiebung gehören, will ich mich auf das Wesentlichste beschränken.



Eine nach Art dieser germanischen Laute entstandene stimmlose Spirans nimmt physiologisch eine ganz andere Stellung ein als alle bisher behandelten Laute. Denn sie ist das Ergebnis zweier Maxima, eines Maximums von Spannung und eines Maximums von Druck ("Maximum" selbstverständlich als die unter normalen Sprachgewohnheiten einer gegebenen Sprache gebräuchliche Höchstnorm verstanden). Eine weitere Steigerung ist eigentlich nicht mehr möglich. Um einen Alltagsvergleich zu gebrauchen, könnte man sich eine germanische Spirantenentwicklung unter dem Bilde eines Dampfkessels vorstellen, dessen Sicherheitsventil durch Überdruck geöffnet wird. Je nach den Verhältnissen sind nun verschiedene Bedingungen der Weiterentwicklung denkbar: durch Abnahme oder Zunahme des Dampfdrucks und durch Abnahme oder Zunahme des Ventilwiderstandes. Im Falle der germanischen Spiranten treten folgende Entwicklungen ein:

(a) Durch Hemmung in der Glottis—Annäherung und Spannung der Stimmbänder—wird der Atemdruck verringert. Das ist Verners Gesetz, worüber ich im elften Bande dieser Zeitschrift gehandelt habe.<sup>13</sup>

(b) In der germanischen Zeit waren die aus *p*, *t*, *k* entstandenen Spiranten fortes, in der althochdeutschen Zeit aber treten sie uns unzweideutig als lenes entgegen. Die physiologische Grundlage dieser Entwicklung ist mir nicht vollständig klar; vielleicht haben

<sup>13</sup> Lotspeichs Bemerkungen zu diesem Artikel in JEGPh. XIV 348 enthalten eine dankenswerte Klarstellung. Zwar hatte ich selbstverständlich nie angenommen, dass "the width of the glottis on an unaccented vowel is about identical with that on a voiceless consonant" (meine wörtliche Zitierung von Sievers' Definition der Murmelstimme auf Seite 4 meines Artikels hätte mich eigentlich vor diesem Missverständnis schützen sollen), aber darin hat L. sicher recht, dass mein Artikel in diesem Punkte an Klarheit zu wünschen übrig liess. In meinem Bestreben, die Vorteile von Jespersens System zu benützen, wobei ich indes ausdrücklich bemerkte "leider lässt sich die Muskelspannung nicht in ähnlicher Weise graphisch darstellen," hatte ich nicht bestimmt genug ausgesprochen, was ich nun nachträglich besonders hervorheben möchte, dass ganz gewiss für den Kontrast zwischen betonter und unbetonter Silbe, also auch für die Beurteilung von Verners Gesetz die Muskelspannung der Stimmbänder der primäre, die daraus resultierende Glottisverengung (bzw., bei unbetonter Silbe, teilweise Glottisöffnung durch Stimmbandentspannung) der sekundäre Faktor ist.—Die Frage der Formulierung des Verner'schen Gesetzes, ob es nämlich auf Unbetontheit der vorhergehenden oder auf Betontheit der nachfolgenden Silbe ankommt, behalte ich mir zur Erörterung bei späterer Gelegenheit vor.

wir darin den Anfang jener Wirkung des fortdauernden Expirationsdruckes zu erblicken, die sich im Übergang von  $\chi$  zu  $h$  zeigt. Jedenfalls müssen wir mit der gegebenen Tatsache rechnen.

Im Falle des  $\chi$  ist der Zungenwiderstand wegen der verhältnismässigen Passivität der Hinterzunge am geringsten; ihr Nachgeben dem Atemdruck gegenüber verursacht Entwicklung zu  $h$ , wo die Spirans nicht durch Konsonant oder Pausa geschützt war.

$f$  wird vor allem, zwecks eines verstärkten Widerstandes gegen den Atemdruck, vom bi-labialen zum labio-dentalen Spiranten entwickelt und wird dann auf einem grossen Teile des Sprachgebietes (Nord und Nordwest—Behaghel l.c. 222) stimmhaft im In- und Anlaut. Das ist im Grunde der gleiche Vorgang wie die Entwicklung unter Verners Gesetz; doch konnte bei der fortis-Artikulation der germanischen Spiranten dieser Übergang nur dort eintreten, wo die Stimmbänder dem intensiven Atemdruck der fortis intensive Stimmbandspannung entgegensetzten, nämlich im Übergang von einer unbetonten zu einer (relativ) betonten Silbe; vgl. Verf., JEGPh. XI.

Noch klarer zeigt sich dieser Grundsatz im Falle des  $\beta$ . Germanisch wurde es nur unter dem Einfluss des Worttons stimmhaft, denn es war fortis; althochdeutsch aber ist es lenis, und wir haben Belege im Überfluss (namentlich im Tatian sind sie auf jeder Seite mit Händen zu greifen) dafür, dass der Übergang in Silben ohne Satzton früher eintrat als in satztonigen Silben (vom Inlaut ist hier abgesehen; seine frühe Entwicklung von  $th$  zu  $d$  erklärt sich in analoger Weise). Das ist nur verständlich, wenn man bedenkt, dass eine lenis in tonloser Satzstellung ganz besonders wenig Atemdruck besitzt; die schlaaffe Glottisstellung der tonlosen Silbe nun, die nicht nur der Stimmhaftigkeit (Glottisverengung durch Stimmbandspannung), sondern auch der eigentlichen Stimmlosigkeit einer fortis (Glottisöffnung durch Atemdruck) gegenüber ein Minus darstellt, wird auf diese schwächste lenis leicht übertragen. Von den enklitischen Artikel- und Pronominalformen (vgl. Tatians häufiges *ther dâr* usw. ist ohne Zweifel der Übergang von  $\beta$  zu  $\delta$  ausgegangen, aber die stimmhafte (vielmehr halbstimmhafte) Spirans konnte sich unter diesen Akzentverhältnissen nicht halten, sondern ging bald oder sofort in den Verschlusslaut  $d$  (lenis, meist stimmlos) über, der sich rasch von der grossen Menge dieser tonlosen Formen auf die verhältnismässig geringe Zahl anderer Stel-

lungen und Wörter übertrug. Hierüber mehr in einem späteren Artikel.—Vgl. dazu auch Behaghel GDS, §289, 2.

Wir haben es hier mit einem Vorgang der Artikulationsschwächung zu tun, und es ist begreiflich, dass er sich in genau der umgekehrten Richtung abspielt, die wir an den mehrfach erwähnten mittelfränkischen Pronominalformen beobachten konnten: in der Lautverschiebung ist *that* ein Nachzügler, bei der Verschiebung des *th* geht es voran.

#### IV. DIE SPÄTERE ZEIT

12. In der weiteren Entwicklung des durch die hochdeutsche Lautverschiebung geschaffenen Lautsystems zeigen sich merkwürdige Strömungen und Gegenströmungen. Einerseits tritt nicht nur der in den bisherigen Auseinandersetzungen dargelegte Stillstand nach der endgiltigen Niederlassung jedes deutschen Stammes auf. Es ergeben sich sogar zum Teil rückläufige Tendenzen. In gewissem Sinne mag man schon die eben besprochene Entwicklung des *p* zu *ð* und *d* als solche betrachten, obwohl sie in Verners Gesetz und der Entwicklung der germanischen stimmhaften Spiranten eine Parallele findet. Ganz klar aber liegt Rückentwicklung vor in der Aufgabe der Affrikata *kx* im grössten Teile des Oberdeutschen und in der Rückbildung der oberdeutschen fortis *p* und *k* und, teilweise, *t* zu lenis. Rückbildung gegen die Richtung der Lautverschiebung ist es auch, wenn mit Ausnahme des Alemannischen überall dort, wo sich der Verschlusslaut *b* entwickelt hatte (Oberfränkisch und bairisch) derselbe wieder in den bilabialen Spiranten *ð* überging (was natürlich im Bairischen nur auf dem Rückweg von der fortis über die lenis geschehen konnte). Die Sachlage lässt keinen strikten Beweis zu, doch bin ich überzeugt, dass die Ursache dieser Rückbildungen in der Vermischung der deutschen Eroberer mit der eingesessenen keltischen Bevölkerung lag.<sup>14</sup>

Als keltischen Einfluss betrachte ich auch, wie ich IF. XXXIII 377 (Die Stabilität des germanischen Konsonantensystems) näher begründe, die Entwicklung des germanischen *t* zu einem Sibilanten (Rillenlaut). Das *z* des Ahd. und Mhd. (das ursprünglich wohl auch das zweite Element der Affrikata war) dürfte fast sicher nicht nur durch die mehr dentale Artikulation, sondern auch

<sup>14</sup> Behaghel GDS. S. 235 f. deutet den Verlust der Aspiration in ostmittel-deutschen Gebieten als slavischen Einfluss.



durch flachere Rille vom alten *s* verschieden gewesen sein; es ist nicht einmal unwahrscheinlich, dass es in sehr früher Zeit—im ersten Jahrhundert—wirkliches *þ* bzw. *tþ* war, das durch den Einfluss keltischer Sprechgewohnheit zuerst zu einem flachen und allmählich zu einem engen Rillenlaut wurde.

Eine merkwürdige Stellung zu den Ergebnissen der Lautverschiebung nimmt die gegenwärtige Ausspracheeinigung ein. Natürlich beruht sie äusserlich auf der Schreibung, also gewissermassen auf einem Durchschnitt der Aussprache der hochdeutschen und teilweise der niederdeutschen Stämme. Vielfach aber werden diese Schreibungen im Sinne der Lautverschiebung umgedeutet; so erscheint nicht nur *k*, sondern auch, gegen den Gebrauch der hochdeutschen Mundarten, *p* und *t* als Aspirata—ein Laut, der sich aus ahd.-obd. *tuon*, *peran* jedenfalls entwickelt hätte, wäre die Lautverschiebung nicht durch den Siedlungsprozess zum Stillstand gekommen. Ferner werden für die Medien *b* und *g* fast durchwegs Verschlusslaute verlangt, obwohl sie ausserhalb des alemannischen nur noch da und dort in den Mundarten vorkommen.—Natürlich ist das eine künstliche Regelung, und ihre Gründe sind vielgestaltig; in der Grundlage aber beruht sie doch auf einer unbewussten Auswahl durch die Gesamtheit der Gebildeten. Was aber immer die ausschlaggebenden Ursachen sein mögen: die Tatsache bleibt, dass die heute entstehende Aussprachenorm in ihren Endergebnissen eine Art Wiedererwachen der Sprachrichtung darstellt, die zur Lautverschiebung geführt hat. Sie ist dem deutschen Sprachgeist gemäss, und das sichert ihre bleibende Berechtigung.

NACHSCHRIFT. Der vorliegende Beitrag war schon Ende 1914 in der gegenwärtigen Form fertig (das Wesentlichste vom Inhalt wurde schon im Dezember 1912 bei der Tagung der Central Division der MLA vorgelesen), doch wurde seine Veröffentlichung durch äussere Gründe verzögert. Der seither erschienene Artikel von Kauffmann, Das Problem der hochdeutschen Lautverschiebung, ZfdPh. XLVI 333, trifft zwar in einer Grundanschauung mit meinen Ausführungen zusammen, kommt aber trotzdem zu einem ganz entgegengesetzten Schlusse. Sich teilweise an Scherers Erklärung der Lautverschiebung anschliessend (vgl. §1 meines Artikels) nimmt Kauffmann eine ethnisch-soziale Grundlage der hochdeutschen Lautverschiebung an, einen sozial und ästhetisch bedingten "Sprechstil." Die Vermischung mit den rhäto-



romanisch-keltischen Elementen in West- und Süddeutschland ist seiner Ansicht nach als Ursache der neuen Sprechweise zu betrachten. Hier berühren sich seine und meine Anschauungen in einem wesentlichen Punkte, insofern als auch ich in dieser Völkermischung die Ursache der Vielgestaltigkeit der deutschen Dialekte sehe. Doch erblickt er in dieser Mischung den Anfang, ich aber das Ende der hochdeutschen Lautverschiebung; mit andern Worten, er sieht fremdsprachlichen Einfluss als Ursache derselben an (wie es ja auch Feist in dem eingangs erwähnten Artikel tut), während ich sie für den charakteristischsten Ausdruck deutsch-germanischer Sprachentwicklung halte, der in Zeiten nationaler Höchstspannung (wie vor und während der Völkerwanderung) sich mit grösster Wucht äusserte, dagegen bei längerer Berührung mit fremden Volkselementen seine Kraft ganz oder teilweise, dauernd oder zeitweilig, einbüsste.

Kauffmanns Artikel enthält eine solche Fülle wertvoller Einzelbemerkungen, dass ich es aufrichtig bedaure, das Wesentliche seiner Grundanschauungen so bestimmt ablehnen zu müssen wie nur möglich. Mit Recht oder Unrecht (von meinem Standpunkt ist das mehr Sache der formellen Auffassung) zieht er einen scharfen Schnitt zwischen der (hochdeutschen) Tenuisverschiebung und der (oberdeutschen) Medienverschiebung. Die erstere führt er auf romanische Erscheinungen zurück, die in der Tat nur orthographische Ähnlichkeit mit den entsprechenden hochdeutschen Vorgängen besitzen, nämlich Palatalisierung (und Assibilierung) darstellen, also phonetisch das gerade Gegenteil der Lautverschiebung sind (vgl. Verfasser, IF XXXIII 377 ff.); für die letztere verweist er mit mehr als angreifbarer Logik auf die vulgärlateinische Schwächung der intervokalischen (teilweise auch anlautenden) Tenues zu Medien, nimmt also auch hier eine Lautschwächung als unmittelbaren Ausgang einer Lautstärkung an. Es scheint mir, dass dies vom methodischen Standpunkte entschieden zu verwerfen ist, so bestechend auch manches in Kauffmanns Ausführungen erscheinen mag.—Im einzelnen gehen unsere Darstellungen so weit auseinander, dass eine vergleichende Erörterung kaum mehr möglich ist.

Doch war mir Kauffmanns Artikel aus zwei Gründen von ungewöhnlichem Interesse: Einmal weil er die Wichtigkeit ethnisch-politischer Sprachbetrachtung so stark in den Vordergrund stellt; ferner aber, weil er gerade durch seine Schwächen die Notwendig-

keit zusammenhängender physiologischer Sprachbilder grell erkennen lässt; ich meine das nicht nur im statischen Sinne, für gegebene Zeiten lebender Sprachen (eine oder die andere Phonetik, am meisten wohl Bremers Deutsche Phonetik, erfüllt ja diesen Zweck), sondern weit mehr noch in dynamischer Auffassung: als Darstellung der physiologischen Richtungen, die sich, einzeln sowohl wie als Gesamtbild, aus den einzelnen "Lautgesetzen" ergeben. Solche physiologische Bewegungsbilder der Sprache (und zwar zunächst einzelner Dialekte) scheinen mir gegenwärtig zu den vornehmsten Aufgaben der Sprachwissenschaft zu gehören.

E. PROKOSCH.

*Austin, Texas.*

## BAYARD TAYLOR'S ADAPTATION OF SCHILLER'S DON CARLOS

Schiller's *Don Carlos* first appeared in completed form in Leipzig in 1787; it contained 6282 lines. The version of 1801 had cut this number down to 5448. The version of 1805, the basis of later reprints, reduced the number to 5370.

It is difficult to determine the number of English translations of Schiller's drama, because it is difficult to draw the line between translations and adaptations. One thing is certain: Schiller's *Don Carlos* was accessible to English readers within the first ten years after its appearance in Germany. The *Biographica Dramatica* refers to a translation of the year 1795; this translation is, however, of extremely doubtful authenticity, for apparently not a trace of its existence can be discovered. The year 1798 saw the publication of two translations of *Don Carlos*—one usually attributed to G. H. Noehden and J. Stoddart, the other usually attributed to a certain Symonds. Both books were published in London. During the nineteenth century numerous other translations appeared—B. Thompson, London, 1801; G. H. Calvert, Baltimore, 1834 (the first translation of a Schiller drama by an American); J. W. Bruce, Mannheim, 1837; J. Towler, Karlsruhe, 1843; C. H. Cottrell, London, 1843; R. D. Boylan, London, 1847 (the best of the *Don Carlos* translations); T. S. Egan, London, 1867; A. Wood, Edinburgh, 1873.

Counting only those versions which may be classed unmistakably as translations rather than as adaptations, we can see that Schiller's *Don Carlos* was translated into English more often than any other drama of Schiller's except *Wilhelm Tell*. The adaptations also are of interest. The first seems to have been that by William Dunlap for a performance of the drama at the Park Theatre in New York on May 6, 1799; this is the only time that Schiller's *Don Carlos* was performed in English, either in England or America, between the publication of the drama in 1787 and the performances by Richard Mansfield in the autumn of 1905. A second adaptation for the English stage was that by Simon Sabba, published at Paris in 1821; I can find no record that the adaptation was ever put on the stage. A third adaptation (usually classed as a translation) was published anonymously

in London in 1822; the author states in his preface that he had to retrench one-half of the original, leave out the underplot, make many changes, and compose an entirely new catastrophe. The fourth adaptation is that made by Bayard Taylor at the suggestion of the actor Lawrence Barrett; Taylor completed his work in 1877, but it has never been published or performed on the stage. The fifth adaptation is that used by Richard Mansfield for his performance of Schiller's play during the season 1905-1906; it is based on R. D. Boylan's translation.

It has been my good fortune to be allowed to examine Bayard Taylor's manuscript adaptation of Schiller's *Don Carlos*. The following facts in connection with the manuscript may be of interest.

In looking through magazines and newspapers for *Don Carlos* titles, I noticed once or twice references to a *Don Carlos* by Bayard Taylor. A careful examination of the biographies of Taylor, however, threw no light on the subject. Finally I was referred by the late Professor James Morgan Hart of Cornell University to Mrs. Bayard Taylor's book (*On Two Continents, Memories of Half a Century*, by Marie Hansen Taylor, with the coöperation of Lilian Bayard Taylor Kiliani, New York, 1905). On pages 271, 272 of that book the following passage appears: "Concentration of thought had always been one of his [Taylor's] eminent characteristics, of which he reaped the benefits at the present time, when he undertook, in addition to the many and varied tasks with which he was burdened, to translate Schiller's *Don Carlos* and adapt it to the American stage. The suggestion came from Lawrence Barrett, who believed himself peculiarly fitted to impersonate the hero, and succeeded in persuading Taylor to furnish the English version of the tragedy. Thus the few leisure hours that were at his disposal must be devoted to the accomplishment of this great task. The poetic character and the sublimity of the subject, however, excited his interest to such a degree that he scarcely noticed the strain on his intellectual faculties. It was an easy task, moreover, for the translator of *Faust* to render Schiller's smooth iambic verse into his native tongue—he even enjoyed doing so. Only the circumstance that he was required to shorten the idealistic work of the German poet and to adapt it to the stage representation in such a fashion as the actor wished, was an irksome condition which caused him considerable difficulty. Many were the deliberations we held with



German friends upon the knotty points before Taylor was able to steer safely to port, avoiding both Scylla and Charybdis."

At Professor Hart's suggestion I wrote to Mrs. Taylor. I shall quote from her letters those passages that contain information about the *Don Carlos* adaptation. The first letter, dated New York, July 22, 1911, contained the following paragraph: "Thank you for the interest you take in my husband's translation of *Don Carlos*. Unfortunately the MS of it (I have the original) does not belong to me, but to the heirs of L. Barrett, who I have found take no interest in its practical use. I had made efforts during Mrs. B's lifetime to induce her to try and get some first-class actor interested in the translation for producing it on the stage. But it was in vain. Then, after her death, I got the permission of the heirs to have the manuscript printed and published, hoping that by so doing it would find its way to the stage. The publishers, to whom I sent the MS returned it. So, I have given it up to try and put it to some use."

From a letter of July 28, 1911: "*Don Carlos*, as you will have seen in my book, was translated for performance on the stage, and at Mr. Barrett's request some scenes were transposed and others curtailed."

From a letter dated Kennett Square, Chester County, Pa., Aug. 17, 1911: "I wish to say that you have, of course, my permission to mention Mr. Taylor's *Don Carlos* in your edition, and that I will with pleasure show you the MS of *Don Carlos* when you call on me after November."

New York, Jan. 14, 1912: "Did I not tell you that Mr. Taylor's translation of *Don Carlos* was a stage adaptation? I had not looked at it myself for many years, but have examined it lately. The result was that I found the translation, as it is now, not fit to be made public. There is, as Mr. Barrett demanded, such a transposition of scenes and intermingling even of the acts, not to speak of the condensing of the text in various places, that the translation is only fit for dramatic representation."

On April 29, 1912, Mrs. Taylor generously offered to send her husband's manuscript to Cambridge—an offer which I gladly accepted. About the middle of May 1912, the manuscript arrived in Cambridge and was placed for safe-keeping in the Treasure Room of the Harvard Library where it remained until the following December. During those six months I had frequent

opportunities to examine the manuscript. The present article is printed with the permission of Mrs. Taylor and of her daughter, Mrs. Kiliani.

With Bayard Taylor's Manuscript adaptation of Schiller's *Don Carlos* there came also Lawrence Barrett's outline (in his own handwriting) giving his ideas of how Schiller's play was to be adapted to the American stage—two large foolscap sheets (7 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. by 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  in.) written on both sides and a small sheet (5 in. by 8 in.) with only a few lines written on it.

As Taylor followed closely Barrett's suggestions, I give the actor's outline in full.

#### SYNOPSIS—DON CARLOS

The whole of Act first to take place in the Royal Gardens of Aranjuez. The play to open with a dialogue between Alva and Domingo which betrays the story of Carlos's early betrothal to Elizabeth and the subsequent rupture of the same, and marriage with the king. Their suspicions of his treason to the king and their hostility generally are in this dialogue displayed. They are interrupted by the entrance of the Queen and Court and they retire. Then the scene goes forward as in original from entrance of royal party—deferring interview between Carlos and Posa until later on. The scene between the Queen, Mondecar and Eboli continued until the talk about the child which gives a reason for the retirement of the party into Pavilion. Here enters Carlos meeting Domingo or in his company. Then enter Carlos to Posa—till the end of their interview which breaks off at the approach of the court. Carlos is placed in retreat by Posa. Olivarez—the court usher enters. A few words between him and Posa who requests an interview with the Queen at which the Royal party returns. Olivarez presents Posa to her Majesty. Then the scene as in the text. Then Carlos and the Queen. The interruption by the King's entrance. The Prince and Posa secrete themselves in Arbor. Then scene as in original only shortened very much and action hurried to close Act. At exit of King, Carlos and Posa return and in a few strong speeches—very brief—the Prince devotes himself to the cause of Flanders and the Act closes.

#### Act Second

Scene First. Audience chamber. Act opens as in text—only dialogues closer—and some of the patriotic speeches of Posa's be ended with the appeal of Carlos to his father, showing him not only a lover but a Patriot and a possible military hero. At the exit of King, Carlos returns with page in same scene. The dialogue with page and quarrel with Alva here take place. The Queen enters, separates them, then retires after speaking a line to allay Alva's suspicions excited by what has just transpired. Then enter to Alva Domingo who finds Alva amazed and overjoyed at what he has discovered. Go to the dialogue now which is printed in text *after* the scene of Carlos with Eboli (between Domingo and Alva). Find material there for the scene here spoken of. Let it be understood in this dialogue that Eboli is their creature and will

work in their interests, but that she loves the prince and still holds back from conspiracy against him. Represent them as awaiting her signal of coöperation. Bring in the plan, as if already formed, to open the Queen's cabinet and abstract the letters and jewels. Then let the scene close as in suspense awaiting the consent of Eboli to join them, and their determination to crush the Prince even by the ruin of the Queen's honor. They are ignorant of the coming interview between Carlos and Eboli.

Scene Second. Apartment of the Princess. Moonlight effect at back of scene. The scene as in text between Carlos and Eboli. But open with a silliogy betraying her love for the Prince, and her hope that his acceptance will save her from joining Alva and Domingo in their conspiracy. She speaks of the Queen's stolen letter as if already in her possession, which she will not give up to Alva in case her suit with Carlos prospers. She has no suspicion of his love for the Queen yet and wishes to avoid the embraces of the King. At the exit of Carlos Eboli in rage exclaims that she is lost but he shall share her ruin. Then enter Alva and Domingo and in a few hurried lines she gives her adhesion to their cause and the letters of the Queen. Thus the act ends (somewhere in the act the audience will be made to know of the postal espionage and of Posa's plan to evade it by sending letters through Germany).

#### *Act Third*

In one scene which is the King's cabinet. Scene opens as in the text. At the end of speech in which the King resolves to see Posa let him retire to robe himself. Scene with nobles as in original. They exit. Then enter Posa. His scene with the King very much shortened only giving so much as is necessary for the plot. The King goes off after announcing to Lerma and the Court the promotion of Posa. Then enter the Queen. Go to the dialogue which occurs in the fourth act of the text where Posa tells her his reason for taking office. She commends and goes out with him. Then to the scene between Lerma and Carlos who enter together. This also is in Act 4 of text, following exit of Posa and the Queen. Then return Posa at exit of Lerma. The audience are now acquainted with Posa's plans clearly. Carlos in doubt and the act ends with warm speech of Carlos embracing Posa.

#### *Act Fourth*

Begin with King looking at picture and so on through scene with Queen as in text. Then on through the scene with Posa. Keep audience in mind that Posa is working for Carlos. King exits with Posa at lines about "bringing back slumber to sleepless pillow." Then follows same scene at exit of King the scene of Carlos and Lerma. This scene written up strongly for Carlos embracing at first indignant denial of Posa; treason, in powerful and dramatic speeches, then as strongly denunciatory when convinced of his friend's treachery. He runs off to find Eboli in a transport of fear for the Queen. Then enter Alva, Queen and Domingo as in text. They leave the Queen alone. Now introduce here the scene in which Eboli declares herself the mistress of the King. The Queen leaves her in disgust. Carlos rushes wildly in. Then his interview with Eboli which should be strengthened greatly—he half mad, raving about treachery and his love, with accusation of the King—all very powerful. At the



height of his passion fill the stage with grandees and Posa in the centre arresting Carlos. A great speech for Carlos denouncing Posa. At the end dashes down his sword with powerful line to end the act.

#### Act Fifth

A Prison. Open the scene between Carlos and Posa with stronger language of accusation on the part of Carlos than the text gives. Make Posa's explanation short and very pointed making the reconciliation more effective. End the scene as in the text with Lerma and Carlos only with more rapidity of movement.

Scene Second. A chamber. Begin with King's entrance at the words "Restore me back the dead" and while retaining all that belongs to the plot as in text add also the revelation of Alva to Feria in the previous scene of original, only it is told to King not Feria. Then end scene with "I fain would have a word with this same ghost" (as in my text).

Scene Third. (cut out Inquisitor.) Between Queen and Carlos, greatly strengthened, full of passion and despairing love on both sides, with renunciation at last and patriotic declaration. Arrest of Carlos by King. Stage filled with grandees.

#### END

The foregoing synopsis shows how Barrett proposed to make Schiller's *Don Carlos* an actable play. Certain dramatic motives are to be more strongly emphasized—the suspicion cherished by Alba and Domingo against Carlos, the power of Alba and Domingo over Eboli, Eboli's love for Carlos, Carlos's love for the Queen, Carlos's denunciation of Posa when the latter is suspected of treachery. Dialogues are in most cases to be shortened; the language is to be made stronger. The audience is to be reminded continually that Posa is working for Carlos. The scene with the Inquisitor is to be omitted. In other words, the plot is to be simplified as much as possible. *Don Carlos* is to be a play, not a dramatic poem.

Lawrence Barrett, in making his synopsis, had before him R. D. Boylan's translation of Schiller's *Don Carlos*. This is shown by the three quotations that he makes—"Bringing back slumber to sleepless pillow" (end of Act IV, Scene 12), "Restore me back the dead" (beginning of Act V, Scene 9), "I fain would have a word with this same ghost" (end of Act V, Scene 9). Of interest it is to note that twenty-eight years later, when Richard Mansfield decided to play *Don Carlos*, he, too, followed Boylan's translation.

Baylard Taylor's manuscript adaptation of *Don Carlos* comprises 125 unruled sheets in Taylor's own handwriting. The last sheet is signed "Bayard Taylor, Jan. 14, 1878, New York."



It will be remembered that in 1878 Taylor was appointed minister to Germany; he died in Berlin on December 19th, 1878. His adaptation of *Don Carlos*, therefore, was practically his last extensive piece of literary work.

The difficulties of presenting in an article of limited scope an adequate summary of Taylor's adaptation must be apparent. My plan will be as follows: first, to show what scenes in Schiller's *Carlos* correspond to the scenes in Taylor, also to show in what way Taylor has cut down the length of the original; secondly, to quote important passages from Taylor's adaptation; thirdly, to show how Taylor translated those lines that have become familiar quotations from *Don Carlos*; fourthly, to sum up and emphasize the importance of Taylor's attempt to make Schiller's *Don Carlos* actable on the American stage.

First, then, a comparison of the arrangement of scenes in Taylor and in the original of Schiller. In the left-hand column are described the acts and scenes in Taylor's version, in the right-hand column the corresponding scenes in Schiller's original.

<i>Taylor</i>	<i>Schiller</i>
Act I takes place in the royal gardens of Aranjuez.	Act I, Sc: 1-2 takes place in the royal gardens, Sc. 3-9 in "eine einfache ländliche Gegend, von einer Allee durchschnitten, vom Landhause der Königin begrenzt."
Act I has 8 scenes.	Act I has 9 scenes.
Act I, Sc. 1 (68 lines) Alva and Domingo.	Act II, Sc. 10 (first 107 lines)
Act 1, Sc. 2 (63 lines)	Act 1, Sc. 3
The scene ends with the Queen's decision to go to the Infanta since Olivarez says it is not yet time for the child to be brought in. There is no announcement of Posa's arrival (as in the original).	
Act 1, Sc. 3 (86 lines) Domingo and Carlos.	Act 1, Sc. 1
Act I, Sc. 4 (119 lines) Carlos, Posa.	Act 1, Sc. 2
At the end of this scene Posa hurries Carlos into concealment.	

Act 1, Sc. 5 (60 lines).

The Queen and her ladies return from the pavilion. The story of the two rival families at Mirandola is omitted.

Act 1, Sc. 4

Act 1, Sc. 6 (98 lines)

Queen and Carlos.

Act 1, Sc. 5

Act 1, Sc. 7 (59 lines)

King, Queen, Alva, Lerma, Domingo, Grandees, Ladies.

Act 1, Sc. 6

Act 1, Sc. 8 (44 lines)

Long speeches all cut out.

Carlos, Posa (10 lines)

Enter Lerma (7 lines)

Carlos, Posa (27 lines)

Act 1, Sc. 7, 8, 9

Act 1, Sc. 7 (20 lines)

Act I, Sc. 8 (8 lines)

Act I, Sc. 9 (87 lines)

Total lines in Act 1—597.

Total lines in Act I—1014

Act II takes place in the royal palace at Madrid.

Act II, Sc. 1-3 takes place in the royal palace, Sc. 4-6 in the anteroom of the Queen, Sc. 7-9 in Eboli's cabinet, Sc. 10-13 in the royal palace, Sc. 14-15 in a Carthusian monastery.

Act II, Sc. 1 (145 lines)

King, Carlos, Alva.

Only 20 lines are from Sc. 1 of the original.

Act II, Sc. 1, 2

Act II, Sc. 2 (19 lines)

King, Alva.

Act II, Sc. 3

Act II, Sc. 3

Posa, Carlos (25 lines)

Page enters (28 lines)

Alva enters (52 lines)

Queen enters (3 lines)

Act II, Sc. 15, 4, 5, 6

Act II, Sc. 15

Act II, Sc. 4

Act II, Sc. 5

Act II, Sc. 6

Act II, Sc. 4 (72 lines)

Alva, Domingo.

In this scene Alva and Domingo decide that Eboli—whom the King loves while she loves Carlos—must get the Queen's portfolio. Up to this time Eboli's love had not been mentioned.

Act II, Sc. 10 (last 23 lines)

Taylor also takes lines from a number of other scenes; most of the lines are Taylor's own.

Act II, Sc. 5 (253 lines)

Eboli in soliloquy (30 lines) which is based on her words to the page.

Carlos enters. The dialogue (223 lines) follows.

Act II, Sc. 6 (83 lines)

Eboli soliloquises (11 lines)

Domingo enters (36 lines)

Alva enters (33 lines)

After Eboli's exit (3 lines)

Total lines in Act II—680.

Act II, Sc. 7, 8

Act II, Sc. 7

Act II, Sc. 8

Act II, Sc. 9, 11, 12, 13

Act II, Sc. 9 (61 lines)

Act II, Sc. 11

Act II, Sc. 12

Act II, Sc. 13

Total lines in Act II—1459

Act III, Sc. 1 (148 lines)

King alone (7 lines)

King, Lerma (20 lines)

King, Alva (53 lines)

King, Domingo, then Alva (43 lines)

King alone (25 lines)

Act III, Sc. 2 (56 lines)

Audience scene (9 lines)

King enters (47 lines)

Act III, Sc. 3

Posa, Alva (6 lines)

Posa alone (14 lines)

King, Posa (145 lines). Posa's long speeches about liberty and humanity are cut out or reduced to a minimum. Only so much of the scene is retained as is necessary for the action.

Act III, Sc. 4 (75 lines)

Ladies, Queen, Olivarez (2 lines)

Enter Posa (1 line)

Posa, Queen (72 lines)

Act III, Sc. 5 (34 lines)

Carlos, Lerma

Act III, Sc. 6 (51 lines)

Total lines in Act III—529.

Act III, Sc. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

Act III, Sc. 1 (11 lines)

Act III, Sc. 2 (63 lines)

Act III, Sc. 3 (127 lines)

Act III, Sc. 4 (135 lines)

Act III, Sc. 5 (43 lines)

Act III, Sc. 6, 7

Act III, Sc. 6 (14 lines)

Act III, Sc. 7 (75 lines)

Act III, Sc. 8, 9, 10

Act III, Sc. 8 (10 lines)

Act III, Sc. 9 (24 lines)

Act III, Sc. 10 (380 lines)

Act IV, Sc. 1, 2, 3

Act IV, Sc. 1 (22 lines)

Act IV, Sc. 2 (3 lines)

Act IV, Sc. 3 (126 lines)

Act IV, Sc. 4 (49 lines)

Act IV, Sc. 5 (65 lines)

Total lines in Act III—882

(The last three scenes of Taylor's Act III—160 lines—are based on the first five scenes of Act IV in Schiller's original.)

(Total lines in Act III plus the first five scenes—265 lines—of Act IV is 1147.)

Act IV, Sc. 1 (95 lines)  
 King, Clara Eugenia (6 lines)  
 Enter Lerma (4 lines)  
 Enter Queen (77 lines)  
 King, Alva, Domingo (6 lines)  
 Enter Posa (2 lines)

Act IV, Sc. 2 (61 lines)  
 King, Posa

Act IV, Sc. 3 (52 lines)  
 Carlos, Lerma

Act IV, Sc. 4 (131 lines)  
 Queen, Alva, Domingo (41 lines)  
 Eboli, Queen (46 lines)  
 Carlos and Eboli (33 lines)  
 Enter Posa (27 lines)

Total lines in Act IV—339  
 (last five scenes of Act III plus  
 Act IV—499 lines)

Act IV, Sc. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11  
 Act IV, Sc. 7 (9 lines)  
 Act IV, Sc. 8 (6 lines)  
 Act IV, Sc. 9 (140 lines)  
 Act IV, Sc. 10 (8 lines)  
 Act IV, Sc. 11 (3 lines)

Act IV, Sc. 12 (100 lines)

Act IV, Sc. 13 (73 lines)

Act IV, Sc. 14, 19, 15, 16  
 Act IV, Sc. 14 (65 lines)  
 Act IV, Sc. 19 (54 lines)  
 Act IV, Sc. 15 (40 lines)  
 Act IV, Sc. 16 (14 lines)

Total lines in Act IV—1133

Act V, Sc. 1 (274 lines)  
 Posa, Carlos (39 lines)  
 Enter Alva (18 lines)  
 Carlos, Posa (89 lines)  
 King, Carlos, Grandees (62 lines)  
 Enter Officer (19 lines)  
 Enter Mercado (23 lines)  
 Enter Lerma (24 lines)

Act V, Sc. 2 (107 lines)  
 Grand Hall in Palace. Whole Court  
 assembled.  
 Feria, Alva (4 lines)

King, Domingo, Alva, etc. (103  
 lines)

Scene with the Inquisitor entirely  
 omitted.

Act V, Sc. 3 (73 lines)  
 Carlos, Queen, later King

Total lines in Act V—454

Total lines in Taylor's  
*Don Carlos*—2599.

Act V, Sc. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 (458 lines)  
 Act V, Sc. 1 (72 lines)  
 Act V, Sc. 2 (30 lines)  
 Act V, Sc. 3 (137 lines)  
 Act V, Sc. 4 (121 lines)  
 Act V, Sc. 5 (25 lines)  
 Act V, Sc. 6 (36 lines)  
 Act V, Sc. 7 (38 lines)

Act V, Sc. 8, 9 (188 lines)

Act V, Sc. 8 (60 lines)

(Note how Taylor has cut down  
 this scene.)

Act V, Sc. 9 (128 lines)  
 Act V, Sc. 11 (89 lines)

Total lines in Act V—883

Total lines in Schiller's *Don Carlos*  
 —5370.



The important thing to be kept in mind is that Taylor has succeeded in condensing Schiller's drama to less than half its original length.

I shall now quote important passages from Taylor's adaptation. The acts and scenes are numbered as in Taylor. First of all I give the opening lines of Taylor's work. We are to remember that the opening scene in Taylor is based on Act II, Scene 10 of Schiller.

ACT I

Scene I

The Royal Gardens at Aranjuez. Umbrella pines in front, on both sides, a fountain rising from rich masses of flowers, orange groves, over which the front of the summer palace is seen, and a range of mountains in the distance. Late afternoon, passing into sunset and moonlight, during the act.

Enter the Duke of Alva and Domingo.

*Domingo*

You'd speak with me, Lord Duke?

*Alva*

Yes, Don Domingo!

We understand each other: a priest's eye  
May help a soldier's, when there's need to learn  
Some secret of the court.

*Domingo*

My sight is keen.

*Alva*

Since you, the King's Confessor, know the King,  
And on his grace your own advancement hangs,  
Your sight is surely keen to note whose minds  
Are loyal, whose are plotting ill. The Prince—

(A pause: they exchange glances)

Don Carlos,—you have heard such flying tales  
As rumor teaches to the general tongue,  
And tested them, of course: how should the Prince,  
The people's favorite, be his father's foe?

*Domingo*

Such question, I confess, has haunted me,  
But never was it spoken. Two-edged swords  
There are; uncertain friends may well be so:  
I fear them. Words that once have passed the lips  
Live, and become offences: there is risk,  
Duke Alva, rendering certain services  
To Kings. Unless the arrow hit its mark  
Exactly, on the marksman it rebounds.  
Words overheard, eye-witness, written lines,—  
These are our weapons!

So much for the opening lines of Taylor's adaptation. It might be of interest to take next those lines of Taylor that correspond to the opening lines of Schiller's play. I quote below the lines at the beginning of Taylor's Act I, Scene 3, which corresponds to Schiller's Act I, Scene 1.

*Domingo*

Now when the Court's departure is at hand  
And, with it, stolen opportunities  
Must cease, Don Carlos may betray the thought  
He most would hide, or from its opposite,  
Made too emphatic, I may shrewdly guess.  
He comes already!

(Enter Don Carlos)

These pleasant days in our Aranjuez  
Are over now. Your Royal Highness leaves  
The place no gayer than you came. Our stay  
Has been in vain. Oh, break your silence, Prince,  
So strange to us; and to a father's heart  
Let yours be open! Naught would he deny,  
Naught hold too dear, if he could buy with it  
Peace for his only son!

Taylor's second act starts as follows:

ACT II

Scene 1

*Carlos*

The Kingdom takes precedence. Willingly  
The Prince yields to the Minister. He speaks  
For Spain: I am the Royal House's son.

(Bows and steps back)

*King*

The Duke will stay: the Prince has leave to speak.

*Carlos* (to Alva)

So—Duke—*your* magnanimity must grant  
Mine audience of the King. A son, you know,  
Must needs have some things for his father's ear,  
Not meant for others. Yours remains the *King*:  
I do but seek the *father* for an hour.

*King*

Here stands his friend.

*Carlos*

When has he given me cause

To think that he is mine?

*King*

When have you tried

To make him so?—I like not sons that choose  
Better than do their fathers.

Eboli's famous letter to Carlos runs as follows:

*Carlos* (reading the letter)

"The key I send unlocks the further room  
"In the pavilion of the Queen. This room  
"Gives entrance to a cabinet, wherein  
"No listener hears a step. There love may speak  
"What only words and gestures spoke ere now.  
"There he who doubts will find a willing ear,  
"He who was patient will rewarded be."

From Act II, Scene 4, I quote the following lines. Alba and Domingo decide that Eboli must get the Queen's portfolio. Up to this time Eboli's love for Carlos and her relations to the King had not been mentioned. Taylor's lines are largely original. The last 23 lines in Schiller's Act II, Scene 10 are the only ones that Taylor translates or paraphrases in his Act II, Scene 4 (consisting altogether of 72 lines.)

*Alba*

Tell her all! You have but wrought

On her ambition: touch her tigress-heart  
With that best hate which comes of passion spurned!

*Domingo*

Ay, so I would; but, loving, she believes,  
Her hand must steal the only evidence  
That strikes her heart: hence, we must make her ours,  
But rather pity, were she Philip's own.  
She is not ours,—but we must make her so.

One of the shortest, although most powerful, scenes in Schiller's play is Act II, Scene 13. It contains only three lines, but these three lines characterize most effectively the combined power of Eboli, Alba, and Domingo. Schiller's lines are:

*Domingo*

Herzog, diese Rosen—

Und Ihre Schlachten—

*Alba*

Und dein Gott—so will ich

Den Blitz erwarten, der uns stürzen soll!

Taylor's translation runs:

*Domingo*

Duke, these roses fresh

And your great battles—

*Alva*

Add to them your God

And show me, then, the bolt that blasts our plan!

The striking opening lines of Act III, Scene 1—the lines in which the King expresses his suspicion's about his wife—are given in Taylor:

*King*

Fantastic was she always,—so, much love  
I could not give her—but she did not seem  
To feel the lack: 'tis certain, she is false!

(He makes a movement, starts, and looks about him)

Where was I?—None awake, except the King?  
The lights burned down?—I have not slept, it seems;  
And now 'tis daylight.

(He blows out the candles; the light of dawn shows through the windows.

He pulls a bell-cord.)

Some one yet may watch

In the antechamber.

(Enter Count Lerma, surprised when he sees the King.)

Later in Taylor's scene, Domingo talks frankly to the King. The lines in Taylor correspond to lines 2701-15 in Act III, Scene 4 in Schiller.

*Domingo*

Even if my office did not so compel  
To kind forbearance, yet would I implore  
Your Majesty, for sake of your own peace,  
To pause, nor further probe a mystery  
Which cannot comfort, being solved. One word  
From you, the King, and free from any stain  
The Queen remains. Your own composure then  
Will smite to silence infamous reports  
Which now prevail.

Later, the King berates Alba and Domingo thus:

Amazing harmony between you two,  
Who come together with your views the same,  
And not arranged beforehand! I, of course,  
Must all accept, nor mark your eagerness,  
Ready to pounce upon your chosen gain!  
I must not mark how zealously the Duke  
Usurps the place my son should fill,—nor how



This pious man would arm his petty spite  
With power my anger lends him!—Get you gone,  
And in the audience-chamber wait my will!

In Act III, Scene 3, Taylor gives the famous soliloquy of Posa which Schiller puts in Act III, Scene 9. In the preceding scene Alba has adjured Posa to utilize the opportune moment. Posa proceeds:

Well said, Lord Duke!—The chance that comes but once  
Must not be slighted. Verily, wise words  
The courtier spake,—at least, in *my* sense wise,  
If not in *his*. What brought me to this place?  
Some whim of fortune must have picked me out,  
Because improbable. What's accident  
But Providence? Man must conform himself  
To that which visits him: no matter, then,  
What aim the King may have in seeing me!  
I have mine own in seeing him—to speak  
One word of truth, to cast one living seed  
Into the tyrant's soul! Why, then might chance  
Become a prudent and sagacious fate.  
Be it so or not!—in this faith will I act.

The final lines in Taylor's Act III are of interest. It is to be remembered that Taylor's third act includes also the material in the first five scenes of Schiller's fourth act.

*Carlos* (embracing Posa)

Oh, from your eyes the Roderick of old days  
Still looks upon me! To your faithful hands  
I will confide my fate, nor ask what plan  
To serve me, makes *myself* its instrument:  
If you were false, all truth would die for me!

From Act IV, Scene 1, after the King has asked his wife why she had not told him of her meeting with Carlos, the Queen answers indignantly:

Because, my lord,  
I am not used to play a culprit's part,  
In presence of the Court: when with respect  
The truth's demanded, I shall not conceal.  
I gave the Prince the interview he sought;  
And this I did because I willed it so,  
Unwilling that the custom of *your* Court  
Should be my judge in matters that to me  
Were innocent: I kept it back from you  
Because I did not wish a scene of strife  
Before your Majesty's menials.

Later on the King says:

If but the substance of a breath increase  
The accusations heaped against you,—if  
I *am* deceived,—that weakness shall be quelled,  
Then woe to you and me!

Taylor winds up Act IV, Scene 2, with these words by the

*King*

Go now, dear Marquis!—act, that I may rest  
And bring back slumber to my sleepless nights.

The last lines of the fourth act (Act IV, Scene 4) make up the speech by

*Carlos*

My sword!—there is no honor left in swords,  
When hearts are black, and tongues that prate of truth  
Lie, worse than devils in the pit of Hell!  
My sword!—You meant that I should draw it once  
For right and justice and for liberty;

(he takes off his sword, and gesticulates with it)

But they must rust, in this base scabbard sheathed  
Here, with the idle weapon, at your feet  
I fling you back your monstrous treachery,—  
I give you back devotion, honor, love,  
Which I believed in,—all my cheated Past  
And all my ruined Future, lost in you!

(He dashes down his sword at Posa's feet, and walks out, an officer on each side, the guards following.)

In Act V, Scene 1, Carlos is more bitter than in Schiller's original. The lines will bring out this point.

*Posa*

I had supposed that you might need your friend,

*Carlos*

*Did you?* You may be right: I need a friend,  
And have none. You, Sir Marquis, might have spared  
Your dupe such fearful sarcasm.

*Posa*

Carlos! Why

These cruel words?

*Carlos*

Ay, are they so?—I thought

That *deeds* are crueller. O, I know all  
Your message, Posa: you have come to say  
That I am weak, and you, the minister  
His Majesty confides in, own the chance  
To give to Spain that golden age we dreamed.

Only, to gain his trust, you must betray  
My secret!—that is little for great minds,  
Who smile at pangs of individual hearts,  
In conquering something for humanity.  
Yes, you are verily right: I cannot climb  
This pitch of greatness.

Later in the same scene, after Posa has been assassinated by order of the King, Carlos reproaches the King.

*Carlos*

Nature?—there's no such thing: the world's one law  
Is murder, now! Look here, on this dead face,  
And learn, that crimes like this throw doubt on God!  
You hear me, Sire?—You know what you have done?  
No, never!—You, with all your pomp and fame,  
And all your age of conquest and of power,  
Are dust beside this noble life you crushed!—  
O crowned ignorance!—you could not guess  
What this man was for me?—he was my friend:  
Nor why he died?—he died in serving me!

*King*

Ha!—as I feared.

*Carlos*

Thou bloody sacrifice,

Forgive me, that to dumb ears I betray  
Thy greatness now!—You never knew this man:  
You thought to govern him, and were, yourself,  
The easy tool of his unselfish plan.  
His cautious friendship ordered my arrest:  
Then, for the sake of saving me, he wrote  
The Prince of Orange—O, my God!—it was  
The first lie of his life: it brought him death,  
But he was happy, dying thus for me.

(The King stands rigidly, his eyes fixed on the ground. Grandees watch him anxiously.)

And you imagined *him* your instrument?  
You guessed not that he lied?—O, this it is  
To be a King!—he was no man for you.  
How should your iron fingers touch a chord  
So finely-strung?—You tried, and murdered!

In Act V, Scene 2, Taylor uses the material of Scenes 8 and 9 of Schiller's fifth act. The conversation between the King's courtiers while the King seems in a trance is worth quoting.

*King*

Bring back the dead to life!—I need him yet.

*Domingo* (to Alva)

Speak to him.

*King*

'Twas not well he died before

He knew me better: I must have him back.

*Alva* (cautiously approaching)

Sire—

*King*

Who speaks?—Do you know who I am?

Down on your knees before me—I am King!

I'll have subjection! Do you dare deny

Respect, because one man despised me?

*Alva*

No,

My King, we do not think of him, since now

Another enemy, more dangerous far,

Waits here, at hand

*Feria*

Prince Carlos—

*King*Yes, *he* had

A friend, who died for him: I have none such.

To him, the King was nothing,—from a throne

No monarch ever looked so proudly down,

As he on me: it was not well he died,

Denying all respect. Were he alive

I'd give half India but to make him own

He was mistaken.

*Alva*

We have lived in vain:

Grandeess, we count for nothing.

*Domingo*

'Tis a spell

Cast on the King—

*King* (seating himself)

I could not help but love

The only man that never feared my face.

What gave him such a power? Not for a boy

Could he thus die!—He spoke of "liberty,"

That in a finer brain like madness works,

And makes mankind seem greater than a throne.

This was his madness,—now I catch the truth!

Not for his friend's, not for Prince Carlos' sake

Did he deceive me: he but sacrificed



The old man to the younger whom he taught.  
He looked on Philip as the setting sun,  
And kept his work for the auspicious day  
When Carlos shall arise. By Heaven!—'Tis clear  
They waited for my death.

The tenth scene of Act V in Schiller (the remarkable interview between the King and the Grand Inquisitor) is entirely omitted by Taylor in his adaptation.

The last scene in Taylor's version (Act V, Scene 3) corresponds to the last scene in Schiller (Act V, Scene 11). Taylor's scene begins as in Schiller. A great difference is this: where, in the original, Carlos is resigned to go to Flanders, in Taylor the Queen, at the end of his speech, turns away and weeps. Then Carlos continues:

*Carlos*

I came to bid farewell,—yes, came with will  
To say the word with calmness; but—'tis—hard—  
O, speak to me again!

*Queen* (weeping)

Let not my tears

Unbend you, Carlos: can I help them now?

*Carlos* (madly)

I thought they'd fall on ashes; but the drops  
Are fire that kindles every ember left  
From hopeless yearning. All my love  
Leaps from its ambush in a last assault,—  
The onset of despair.

*Queen*

Hold, Carlos, hold!

*Carlos*

Say that you love me!

*Queen* (with sudden effort, proudly)

Yes, I love you!—now,

Respect me! (A pause)

Since I say it, we must part.

The King and his retinue enter. When Carlos is about to leave, the King steps up, as in the original, and says:

*King*

My work is done: now, officer do yours!

Of great interest is the fact that these words, which in Schiller are the closing words of the drama, are addressed in Taylor's

version not to the Cardinal (as in Schiller), but to an officer. In other words, in Taylor the unfortunate Carlos is not turned over to the Inquisition. Also of interest is Taylor's method of closing his adaptation. He winds up with a speech by Carlos.

*Carlos*

(suddenly shakes himself free from the grasp of the officers, and stands proudly erect, pointing at the King.)

I meant to live: I meant to help and bless  
My suffering people,—but the end has come.  
You are no more my father and my king:  
Your face says death—you are my murderer!  
Go, branded by a blacker crime than Cain's,  
Till Death shall scourge you into history!  
(The curtain falls.)

Bayard Taylor, in other words, is determined that his audience shall ever keep in mind the irreconcilable hatred of the son for the father.

Now that we have some idea of the structure of Taylor's adaptation, we might approach the work from a different angle—that is, we might see how Taylor handles the passages that have become famous quotations. Georg Büchmann in his *Geflügelte Worte* (23rd edition) cites thirty-five famous quotations from *Don Carlos*. Inasmuch as Taylor's version is less than half the length of Schiller's, we find in the former only twenty-four out of the thirty-five famous quotations.

Below, I give first the lines from Schiller, and underneath them the lines from Taylor. In some instances, for the sake of clearness, I give a few lines preceding and following the famous quotation in question.

1. Die schönen Tage in Aranjuez  
Sind nun zu Ende.

These pleasant days in our Aranjuez  
Are over now.

2. Brechen Sie  
Dies rätselhafte Schweigen.

Oh, break your silence, Prince,  
So strange to us.

3. O wer weiss,  
Was in der Zeiten Hintergrunde schlummert?

Who knows what slumbers in the dark of time?

4. Wo alles liebt, kann Carl allein nicht hassen.  
(Not in Taylor).

5. Wer kommt?—Was seh' ich! O ihr guten Geister!  
Mein Roderich!

Who comes? It cannot be! By all good spirits,  
Roderick!

6. Du sprichst von Zeiten die vergangen sind.

You speak of what is past. I too have dreamed  
I was that Carlos, in whose cheeks the blood  
Burned at the name of Freedom: he is dead.  
You see no more the Carlos whom you left  
In Alcala, who in his madness hoped  
He might create a golden age in Spain!

7. O, der Einfall  
War kindisch, aber göttlich schön.  
O, 'twas a childish fancy—but divine!

8. Sprich mir von allen Schrecken des Gewissens;  
Von meinem Vater sprich mir nicht.

Remind me not! Show any terror born  
Of conscience, threaten me,—but mention not  
My father's name!

9. Grosse Seelen dulden still.  
(Not in Taylor).

10. Ein Augenblick, gelebt im Paradiese,  
Wird nicht zu teuer mit dem Tod gebüßt.

A single moment, lived in Paradise,  
Is not too dearly paid for by a death.

11. Deswegen  
Vergönn' ich Ihnen zehen Jahre Zeit,  
Fern von Madrid darüber nachdenken.

For such a fault  
I grant you ten years' time to ponder it,  
But distant from Madrid.

12. Die Sonne geht in meinem Staat nicht unter.

The richest man  
In the baptized world am I: the sun  
Sets never in mine empire,—but all that  
My father had, and after me my son  
Shall have it: what I have that's only mine  
Is you! Here I am mortal.

13. Hier ist die Stelle, wo ich sterblich bin.

(Translated in the last line of the passage quoted above.)

14. Wenn ich einmal zu fürchten angefangen,  
Hab' ich zu fürchten aufgehört.

When I *begin* to fear  
I shall have ceased to fear.

15. Der Knabe  
Don Carl fängt an mir fürchterlich zu werden.

Ha! the boy  
Claims threatening freedom: since from Alcala  
He came, my presence he doth seem to shun.  
(Taylor here misses the point made by Schiller.)

16. In des Worts verwegenster Bedeutung.  
(Not in Taylor)

17. Arm in Arm mit dir,  
So fordr' ich mein Jahrhundert in die Schranken.

Now to my king!  
I shrink from nothing: hand in hand with you,  
I'll tread the lists,—ay, though it were to meet  
All this grand age of ours arrayed against<sup>me</sup> me!

18. In seines Nichts durchbohrendem Gefühle.

Can your pride,  
Duke Alva, bear to listen longer here?  
Why, as I live, an intermeddler's part  
Betwixt the sire and son,—unblushingly  
Content to stand and hear,—I would not play,  
So help me God, to win a diadem!  
(Note that Taylor omits the characteristic phrase in <sup>me</sup>Schiller.)

19. Wer ist das?  
Durch welchen Missverstand hat dieser Fremdling  
Zu Menschen sich geirrt?



Why, what man is this?

Through what misunderstanding are you man,  
When Nature meant it not?—Say, who are they  
That from the King's grace fain would banish me?  
What gives this monk in barter for your son?  
What offers Alva for your childless days?

20. Drei und zwanzig Jahre  
Und nichts für die Unsterblichkeit getan!

Then give me something to destroy! my life  
Demands a purpose.—Three and twenty years,  
And nothing done for immortality!—  
My kingly call is like a creditor  
That haunts my steps, and all lost hours of youth  
Are debts of honor I must still repay.  
The voice of history summons me, the fame  
Of our ancestral house, and all renown  
That follows deeds!

21. Mein Gehirn  
Treibt öfters wunderbare Blasen auf.

'Twas poetry,—naught more! My brain sometimes  
Sends out such bubbles, that as swiftly burst  
As they are blown.

22. Die Liebe ist der Liebe Preis.

Man's lordly mind

But counts the bliss of love with other wares  
That may be bought and sold. 'Tis the one thing  
Upon this earth that finds no purchaser  
But its own self. Love is the price of Love!  
It is the precious diamond I must give,  
Or, if I cannot give, must bury,—like  
That merchant, spurning the Rialto's gold  
And putting kings to shame who flung his pearl  
Back to the ocean, far too proud to sell it  
Below its value.

23. Beim wunderbaren Gott!—das Weib ist schön!

*Carlos*

By heaven! she's beautiful.

*Eboli*

I do not parcel out my bliss. To him  
Whom I select, him only, I shall give  
All, in return for all,—once and forever!

My love shall make *one* happy: but that one  
 Shall be a god. The harmony of souls,  
 Kisses, and raptures of the trysting hour,  
 And Beauty's high and heavenly magic, are  
 The blended colors of a single ray,  
 The petals of one flower! Shall I, insane,  
 Pluck one leaf from the blossom, and deform  
 The lofty Majesty of womanhood,  
 God's purest master-piece, to charm the hours  
 Of some coarse libertine?

24. Denn Unrecht leiden schmeichelt grossen Seelen.  
 (Not in Taylor)

25. Stolz will ich den Spanier.  
 (Not in Taylor)

26. Ich mag es gerne leiden,  
 Wenn auch der Becher überschäumt.  
 (Not in Taylor)

27. Wenn solche Köpfe feiern,  
 Wie viel Verlust für meinen Staat.  
 (Not in Taylor)

28. Ich kann nicht Fürstendiener sein.  
 I cannot serve a royal master.

29. Die Ruhe eines Kirchhofs!

*Posa*

Peace you will grant the Flemings, I have heard,—  
 The graveyard's peace! And do you hope to end  
 What thus you have begun? Will you, alone,  
 Out of all Europe, seek to stay the wheels  
 Of Destiny, that roll howe'er the spokes  
 Are grasped by mortal arm? You cannot, Sire!  
 Thousands are flying, poor, yet glad of heart,  
 From those rich lands: your noblest citizens  
 Are those Religion banishes. The Queen  
 Elizabeth takes them with open arms,  
 And England's art and industry arise  
 At the expense of ours. Granada's fields  
 Lie desolate, since Christians made by force  
 Depart, and Europe with rejoicing sees  
 Her enemy bleed from self-inflicted stabs!

30. Geben Sie Gedankenfreiheit.  
 (Not in Taylor)



chosen. Mansfield's method of cutting down the length of the original was not, however, entirely satisfactory. Taylor's version, worked out according to the suggestions of the eminent actor Lawrence Barrett, is actable. It is to be hoped that this adaptation—probably the last literary task undertaken by Bayard Taylor—may at some time be performed on the American stage.

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## E. T. A. HOFFMANNS EINFLUSS AUF HAUFF

Unter den Schriftstellern, welche die grösste Einwirkung auf Hauffs Schaffen ausgeübt haben, ist vor allen E. T. A. Hoffmann zu nennen. Persönlich haben sich die beiden seelenverwandten Dichter nie gesehen. Als Hauff im Jahre 1826 auf fünf Wochen nach Berlin kam, weilte Hoffmann längst nicht mehr unter den Lebenden. Doch lernte er hier Hoffmanns Freunde Ludwig Devrient und den Kriminalrat Julius Eduard Hitzig näher kennen. Die diesen Männern gemeinsame Verehrung Hoffmanns mag von vornherein einen Anknüpfungspunkt zur Beurteilung Hoffmanns abgegeben haben. Hauff hat Hoffmanns Werke gekannt, und so ist es nicht zu verwundern, dass deren Lektüre die Phantasie Hauffs mannigfach befruchtet und sein schriftstellerisches Schaffen manche Anregungen von ihm empfangen hat. Dem hochbegabten und phantasiereichen Dichter Hauff war "der deutsche Callot mit der Feder, der Gespenster-Hoffmann" sympathisch. Er wurde von dem exzentrischen Wesen der Persönlichkeit und Schriftstellerei desselben magnetisch angezogen, wenn er auch andererseits bestrebt war, die grössten Geschmacklosigkeiten seines Vorbildes zu vermeiden. Im Folgenden möchte ich nun in kurzen Zügen dies Abhängigkeitsverhältnis festzustellen suchen.

Der kluge Einfall der Verehrung, die Hauff seinem Vorbild antut, indem er es durch Erscheinen *in persona* die Memoiren des Satans schmücken lässt, ist eine Hinterlassenschaft Hoffmanns. Dieser hatte in den "Abenteuern der Sylvesternacht"<sup>1</sup> in einem Berliner Weinkeller auf solche Chamisso beschworen. Im Anfang des zweiten Abschnittes der Memoiren, da der Teufel den ewigen Juden im Tiergarten in Berlin trifft, hat sich eben der Kammergerichtsrat Hoffmann verabschiedet, und zwischen dem Ewigen und dem urgemütlichen Höllenfürsten entspinnt sich folgendes Gespräch: "Wer ging da soeben von dir hinweg? . . ." "Das war der Kammergerichtsrat Hoffmann. . . ." "So, der? Ich kenne ihn recht wohl, obgleich er mir immer ausweicht, wie ein Aal; war ich ihm doch zu mancher seiner nächtlichen Phantasien behilflich, dass es ihm selbst oft angst und bange wurde, und habe ich ihm nicht als sein eigener Doppelgänger über die Schultern

<sup>1</sup> I, 261. Hoffmanns sämtliche Werke, hg. von Eduard Grisebach. Alle folgenden Citate beziehen sich auf diese Ausgabe.

geschaut, als er an seinem Kreisler schrieb? Als er sich umwandte und den Spuk anschaute, rief er seiner Frau, dass sie sich zu ihm setze, denn es war Mitternacht und seine Lampe brannte trüb.— So, so, der war's? Und was wollte er von dir? . . ." "Er geht umher, um sich die Leute zu betrachten; und wenn er einen findet, der etwas Apartes an sich hat, etwa einen Hieb aus dem Narrenhaus, oder einen Stich aus dem Geisterreich, so freut er sich bass und zeichnet ihn mit Worten oder mit dem Griffel. Und weil er an mir etwas Absonderliches verspürt haben mag, so setzte er sich zu mir, besprach sich mit mir und lud mich ein, ihn in seinem Haus auf dem Gendarmenmarkt zu besuchen."<sup>2</sup>

Hoffmann wird ferner von Hauff erwähnt in den *Letzten Rittern von Marienburg*. Dort lesen wir: "Doktor Zundler stellt sich alle Tage zwei Stunden mit seinem Glas unter das Fenster und stellt Betrachtungen über die Menschen an, wie der selige Hoffmann in Veters Eckfenster, nur, behauptet man, mit verschiedenem Erfolg. Denn der selige Kammergerichtsrat guckte durch das Kaleidoskop, das ihm eine Fee geschenkt, der Doktor Zundler aber durch ein ganz gewöhnliches Opernglas" (VI, 184).

Hauffs *Memoiren des Satans* sind ohne Zweifel durch das Werk Hoffmanns, *Die Elixiere des Teufels* angeregt worden; beiden gemeinsam ist die satirische Grundstimmung, die Auffassung des Teufels, sowie die scharfe Kritik gegen die Rezensenten. Selbst die Form der Einkleidung ist von den *Elixieren* abhängig. Wie bei Hoffmann bringt Hauff ein ihm überreichtes Manuscript, das erst durch den Priestersegen druckfähig gemacht werden muss. Beide behaupten, das Material der Erzählungen von einer dritten Person erlangt zu haben. Hoffmann will das Werk aus den im Archiv eines Klosters aufbewahrten, ihm vom Prior überreichten Papieren geformt haben (II, 8); Hauff gibt vor, das Manuscript seiner *Memoiren* sei ihm von dem Fremden von Natas eingehändigt worden. Die Art der häufigen Unterbrechung der Erzählung in den *Memoiren*, die immer auf Erregung der Spannung abzielt, findet ihr besondres Vorbild im *Kater Murr*. Auch hier druckt Hoffmann angeblich die Papiere eines Dritten. Wir erhalten abwechselnd ein Stück der Memoiren des Katers Murr und ein Fragment der Lebensgeschichte des Kapellmeisters Kreisler. Dieselbe seltsame Form der Unterbrechung haben wir in den *Memoiren des Satans*. Man

<sup>2</sup> III, 54. Hauffs Werke, hg. von Adolf Stern, worauf sich weitere Citate beziehen.

kann weiter sagen, dass die *Memoiren*, diese "burschikose, flinke dissertatio de rebus diabolicis," ohne Hoffmanns *Meister Floh* und *Brautwahl* niemals entstanden wären. Beide Dichter haben es hier auf eine Verschmelzung von phantastischer Illusion und wirklichem Leben abgesehen; bei beiden finden wir die glückliche Vermischung des Spukhaften mit dem Drolligen und Grotesk-Komischen; beider Werke sind eine vielfach ins Schwarze treffende Zeitsatire in zeitgemässer Form. Genau nach dem Vorbilde Hoffmanns erscheint der Teufel bei Hauff abwechselnd in seiner wirklichen Gestalt und unter einer bürgerlichen Maske (als Reisender, Student, etc.). Man sieht, Hauff steht hier ganz im Banne Hoffmanns. Gleich die einleitenden Kapitel sind eine direkte Nachahmung Hoffmanns. Eine überraschende Ähnlichkeit bemerken wir zwischen dem Eingang des elften Kapitels, wo das Zusammentreffen Satans mit dem ewigen Juden im Weberschen Zelte in Berlin geschildert wird, und Hoffmanns "Ritter Gluck," in den *Phantasiestücken in Callots Manier*. Bei Hauff lesen wir: "Ich sass . . . an einem schönen Sommerabend im Tiergarten zu Berlin, nicht weit vom Weberschen Zelt; ich betrachtete mir die bunte Welt um mich her und hatte grosses Gefallen an ihr. . . . Ich konnte mich nicht enthalten, einen Gang durch die buntgemischte Gesellschaft zu machen. Die glänzenden Militärs von allen Chargen mit ihren ebenso verschieden chargierten Schönen, die zierlichen Elegants und Elegantinnen, die Mütter, die ihre geputzten Töchter zu Markt brachten, die wohlgenährten Räte mit einem guten Griff der Kassengelder in der Tasche, und Grafen, Barone, Bürger, Studenten und Handwerksbursche, anständige und unanständige Gesellschaft—sie alle um mich her. . . . In fröhlicher Stimmung ging ich weiter und weiter, ich wurde immer zufriedener und heiterer. Da sah ich mitten unter dem wogenden Gewühl der Menge ein paar Männer an einem kleinen Tischchen sitzen, welche gar nicht recht zu meiner fröhlichen Gesellschaft taugen wollten (III, 52-53)." Damit vergleiche man bei Hoffmann: "Der Spätherbst in Berlin hat gewöhnlich noch einige schöne Tage. Die Sonne tritt freundlich aus dem Gewölk hervor. . . . Dann sieht man eine lange Reihe, buntgemischt—Elegants, Bürger mit der Hausfrau und den lieben Kleinen in Sonntagskleidern, Geistliche, Jüdinnen, Referendare, Freudenmädchen, Professoren, Putzmacherinnen, Tänzer, Offiziere u. s. w. durch die Linden, nach dem Tiergarten ziehen. Bald sind alle Plätze bei Klaus und Weber besetzt; der Mohrrüben-Kaffee



dampft, die Elegants zünden ihre Zigarren an, man spricht, man streitet über Krieg und Frieden. . . . Dicht an dem Geländer, welches den Weberschen Bezirk von der Heerstrasse trennt, stehen mehrere kleine runde Tische und Gartenstühle . . . da setze ich mich hin, dem leichten Spiel meiner Phantasie mich überlassend, die mir befreundete Gestalten zuführt. . . . Immer bunter und bunter wogt die Masse der Spaziergänger bei mir vorüber, aber nichts stört mich, nichts kann meine fantastische Gesellschaft verscheuchen. . . . Neben mir murmelt es. Ich sehe auf und werde nun erst gewahr, dass, von mir unbemerkt, an demselben Tisch ein Mann Platz genommen hat, der seinen Blick starr auf mich richtet, und von dem nun mein Auge nicht wieder loskommen kann (I, 10-11)."

Die Situation ist bei beiden Dichtern dieselbe. Zuweilen wird man bis zum wörtlichen Ausdruck an Hoffmann gemahnt.

Von Hoffmann inspiriert ist die am Anfang der *Memoiren* erzählte Episode von dem Oberjustizrat Hasentreffer. Sie stammt aus Hoffmanns *Elixieren des Teufels* und erinnert an den Irländer Ewson, der bei einem Wirt seit 22 Jahren lebt, jeden Tag fortgeht, aber immer wiederkommt. Von diesem heisst es: "Dieser Irländer, der Ewson heisst, ist erst seit kurzer Zeit hier, es werden nun gerade 22 Jahre sein. Ich hatte den Gasthof gekauft und hielt Hochzeit, als Herr Ewson . . . hier vorbeikam und durch die Tanzmusik hereingelockt wurde. . . . Seit der Zeit hat er mich nicht wieder verlassen. Mit seinen Eigenheiten habe ich meine liebe Not; jeden Tag, seit den vielen Jahren, zankt er mit mir, er schmält auf die Lebensart, er wirft mir vor, dass ich ihn überteuere . . . packt sein Felleisen, setzt seine drei Perücken auf, eine über die andere, nimmt von mir Abschied und reitet auf seinem alten Gaule davon. Das ist aber nur sein Spazierritt, denn Mittags kommt er wieder zum andern Tore herein, setzt sich, wie Sie heute gesehen haben, ruhig an den Tisch und isst von den ungeniessbaren Speisen für drei Mann. Jedes Jahr erhält er einen starken Wechsel; dann sagt er mir ganz wehmütig Lebewohl, er nennt mich seinen besten Freund und vergiesst Thränen. Nachdem er noch seinen letzten Willen aufgesetzt, reitet er ganz langsam und betrübt nach der Stadt. Den dritten oder höchstens vierten Tag ist er aber wieder hier. . . . Er denkt dann weder an seinen Aufenthalt in der Stadt, noch an die Heimreise. Seine Zeche berichtigt er jeden Abend und das Geld für das Frühstück wirft er mir jeden Morgen



zornig hin, wenn er wegreitet, um nicht wiederzukommen (II, 130-131)." Bei Hauff lesen wir: "Gerade dem Speisesaal des Gasthofes gegenüber wohnt ein alter Junggeselle einsam in seinem grossen öden Haus; er ist Oberjustizrat ausser Dienst, lebt von einer anständigen Pension und soll überdies ein enormes Vermögen besitzen. Derselbe ist aber ein kompletter Narr und hat ganz eigene Gewohnheiten, wie z. B. dass er sich selbst oft grosse Gesellschaft gibt, wobei es immer flott hergeht. Er lässt zwölf Couverts aus dem Wirtshaus kommen, feine Weine hat er im Keller und einer oder der andere unserer Marqueurs hat die Ehre zu servieren. Man denkt vielleicht, er hat allerlei hungrige oder durstige Menschen bei sich! Mit nichten! alte gelbe Stammbuchblätter, auf jedem ein grosses Kreuz, liegen auf den Stühlen; dem alten Kauz ist aber so wohl, als wenn er unter den lustigsten Kameraden wäre; er spricht und lacht mit ihnen. . . . Vorgestern war wieder ein Souper. . . . Den andern Tag nach dem Gastmahl kommt dann die zweite Sonderbarkeit des Oberjustizrats. Er fährt morgen früh aus der Stadt und kehrt erst den andern Morgen zurück, nicht aber in sein Haus, das um diese Zeit fest verriegelt und verschlossen ist, sondern hierher ins Wirtshaus (III, 12)." Die Einwirkung wird in diesem Falle äusserlich bekundet dadurch, dass Hasentreffers Wohnung das "öde Haus" genannt wird, was an Hoffmanns Erzählung *Das öde Haus* erinnert (III, 133 ff.). Wenn der Oberjustizrat Hasentreffer "Diners" gibt, bei denen für zwölf Personen gedeckt ist, während er ganz allein am Tische sitzt, sich aber benimmt, als ob die Gäste tatsächlich zugegen wären, so stammt auch dieses Motiv aus Hoffmann und zwar aus dem *Meister Floh*, jener Satire gegen die Inaktivität des Geistes und des Willens jener Zeit und die damalige Schicksalstragödie. Dort heisst es von dem Hauptcharakter Peregrinus Thyss: "Von diesem Augenblick begann Peregrinus das seltsame Leben. Zurückgezogen von aller Gesellschaft, lebte er mit seiner alten Aufwärterin in dem grossen geräumigen Hause, in tiefster Einsamkeit. . . . Es gab nur vier Familienfeste, die er sehr feierlich beging, und das waren die beiden Geburtstage des Vaters und der Mutter, der erste Osterfeiertag und sein eigenes Tauffest. An diesen Tagen musste Aline einen Tisch für so viele Personen, als der Vater sonst eingeladen, und dieselben Schüsseln, die gewöhnlich aufgetragen worden, bereiten, sowie denselben Wein aufsetzen lassen, wie ihn der Vater gegeben. . . . War die Tafel fertig, so setzte sich Peregrinus ganz allein hinan, ass

und trank nur wenig, horchte auf die Gespräche der Eltern, der eingebildeten Gäste und antwortete nur bescheiden auf diese, jene Frage, die jemand aus der Gesellschaft an ihn richtete. Hatte die Mutter den Stuhl gerückt, so stand er mit den übrigen auf und empfahl sich jedem auf die höflichste Weise (XII, 15-16).“ Auch die Beschreibung von Hasentreffers Wohnung erinnert an die des “öden Hauses” bei Hoffmann. Man vergleiche bei Hoffmann: “Denkt euch ein niedriges, vier Fenster breites, von zwei hohen schönen Gebäuden eingeklemmtes Haus, dessen schlecht verwahrtes Dach, dessen farblose Mauern von gänzlicher Verwahrlosung des Eigentümers zeugen. Ich bemerkte bei näherer Betrachtung, dass alle Fenster dicht verzogen waren . . . und wurde überzeugt, dass dieses Haus ganz unbewohnt sein müsse, da ich niemals, niemals, so oft und zu welcher Tageszeit ich auch vorübergehen mochte, auch nur die Spur eines menschlichen Wesens darin wahrnahm (III, 135-136).“ Und bei Hauff wird die Wohnung mit diesen Worten beschrieben: “Das Haus schien öde und unbewohnt; auf der Türschwelle spross Gras, die Jalousieen waren geschlossen, zwischen einigen schienen sich Vögel angebaut zu haben (III, 13).“

Es ist mit ziemlicher Sicherheit anzunehmen, dass auch Hoffmanns *Bräutwahl* auf die Grundidee der Satansmemoiren eingewirkt hat, wenn auch weniger inhaltlich als durch die Auffassung des Teufels, wie überhaupt durch den ganzen Aufwand von spukhaftem Treiben durch den unheimlichen Goldschmied Leonard. Auch hier, wie in den *Memoiren*, dieselbe Übereinstimmung in der Darstellung des Zusammentreffens des Unheimlichen mit dem geheimen Kanzleisekretär, den der Fremde in seine Kreise zieht, indem er ihn auffordert, mit ihm in eine Weinstube auf dem Alexanderplatz zu kommen (VIII, 26).

Ganz unverkennbar ist die Abhängigkeit der Geschichte *Der junge Engländer* (auch betitelt *Der Affe als Mensch*) von Hoffmanns *Nachricht von einem gebildeten jungen Mann*. Hauffs Erzählung könnte ebensogut von Hoffmann geschrieben sein. Beide Werke kehren ihre Spitze gegen die oberflächliche und schale Art, in der die meisten Menschen Kunst und Leben zu beurteilen gewohnt sind, obwohl bei Hoffmann der Ton der durchgeführten direkten Ironie stärker hervortritt.

Ein junger Affe namens Milo teilt in einem Briefe seiner in Nordamerika zurückgebliebenen Freundin Pipi mit, auf welche Weise es ihm gelungen ist, sich eine hohe Ausbildung des Geistes

anzueignen und grosses Ansehen unter den Menschen zu gewinnen. Er zählt die Mittel auf, die im wesentlichen auf eine Nachahmung des äusserlichen Lebens und Treibens und der leeren Gesellschaftskünste der Dutzendmenschen, sowie auf die Verachtung jedes höheren künstlerischen Strebens hinauslaufen, während der Affe in ihnen die Eigenschaften des höchst kultivierten Genies sieht. Dies kurz der Inhalt bei Hoffmann. Hauff hat nicht nur das Motiv entlehnt, sondern sogar manche Einzelheiten in der Darstellung.

Hoffmann erhält von einem "liebenswürdigen Jüngling" ein Schreiben, das er als ein Denkmal hoher Weisheit, Tugend und echten Kunstgefühls bewahren will, und berichtet dann: "Nicht verhehlen kann ich, dass der seltene junge Mann seiner Geburt und ursprünglichen Profession nach eigentlich—ein Affe ist, der im Hause des Kommerzienrats sprechen, lesen, schreiben, musizieren u. s. w. lernte; kurz, es in der Kultur so weit brachte, dass er seiner Kunst und Wissenschaft, sowie der Anmut seiner Sitten wegen, sich eine Menge Freunde erwarb und in allen geistreichen Zirkeln gern gesehen wird (I, 293)."

Bei Hauff erscheint eines Tages in dem Städtchen Grünwiesel in Süddeutschland ein Fremder, der in der grössten Zurückgezogenheit in einem grossen öden Hause wohnt (erinnert an Hoffmanns *Das öde Haus*). Von einer herumziehenden Truppe kauft er sich einen ungeheuren Orang-Utang, den er in allen Künsten zu unterrichten versucht, als seinen Neffen, einen jungen Engländer, ausspielt und ihn endlich bei einem Konzert in des Bürgermeisters Haus mitwirken lässt, wo derselbe dann seine wahre Natur verrät. Wie der Affe Milo bei Hoffmann in seinem Briefe seinen alten Onkel erwähnt, der ihn nach seiner dummen Weise erzieht und alles Mögliche anwendet, ihn von allem, was menschlich, entfernt zu halten (I, 294), so gibt auch der Fremde in Hauffs Erzählung den jungen Engländer als seinen Neffen aus, der ihm zur Erziehung übergeben worden sei (V, 135 und 136). Bei einem Diner übermannt den Affen Milo die Lust, seine Geschicklichkeit im Werfen zu üben, so sehr, dass er schnell einen Apfel dem ganz am andern Ende des Tisches sitzenden Kommerzienrat, seinem alten Gönner, in die Perücke wirft (I, 300). Der junge Engländer, alias Orang-Utang, zieht bei einem Konzert, in dem er mit des Bürgermeisters Tochter in einem Duett mitwirken soll, einen seiner Schuhe ab und wirft ihn dem Organisten an den Kopf, dass der Puder weit umherfliegt (V, 145). Überall weist die Hauffsche Erzählung unverkenn-



bare Spuren des Hoffmannschen Einflusses auf.—Es ist allerdings Tatsache, dass der Stoff von dem gebildeten Affen damals in der Luft lag. Sehr beliebt z. B. war ein Theaterstück, *Jocko*, in dem ein Affe als Mensch auftritt, und das an Provinzbühnen noch bis in die 70er Jahre hinein nachspukte. Es ist nun leicht möglich, dass ausser der Erzählung Hoffmanns, *Nachricht von einem gebildeten jungen Mann*, eben dieses Melodrama auf Hauffs Werk eingewirkt hat. Hauff lernte dasselbe und den sich daran knüpfenden lächerlichen Enthusiasmus in Paris kennen (1826). Er spielt in seinen Schriften mehrmals auf das Stück oder auch auf nach ihm benannte Moden an (So z. B. in den *Freien Stunden am Fenster* VI, 228, 229).

Auffallend ist die inhaltliche Beeinflussung Hoffmanns bei der "einprägsamen" Theaternovelle Hauffs *Othello*. Sie ist eine Nachahmung des hoffmannesken Taschenbuchstils und stammt aus dem Dunstkreise des *Don Juan*. Beide Erzählungen beginnen mit einer Don Juan-Aufführung. Hauffs Beschreibung der Spannung auf das Aufgehen des Vorhanges und Leporellos Einsetzen erinnert lebhaft an die Hoffmanns. Wir lesen im *Don Juan*: "Das Haus war geräumig und glänzend erleuchtet. Logen und Parterre waren gedrängt voll. Die ersten Akkorde der Ouverture überzeugten mich, dass ein ganz vortreffliches Orchester mir den herrlichsten Genuss des Meisterwerks verschaffen würde. In dem Andante ergriffen mich die Schauer des furchtbaren, unterirdischen regno all pianto. . . . Wie ein jauchzender Frevel klang mir die jubelnde Fanfare im siebenten Takte des Allegro. . . . Endlich beruhigt sich der Sturm; der Vorhang fliegt auf. Frostig und unmutvoll in seinen Mantel gehüllt, schreitet Leporello in finsterner Nacht vor dem Pavillon einher: *Notte e giorno faticar* (I, 63)." Und nun in Hauffs *Othello*: "Das Theater war gedrängt voll, ein neuangeworbener Sänger gab den Don Juan. Das Parterre wogte wie die unruhige See, und die Federn und Schleier der Damen tauchten wie schimmernde Fische aus den dunklen Massen. Die Ranglogen waren reicher als je. . . . Die Ouvertüre war ihrem Ende nahe, die Töne brausten stärker aus dem Orchester herauf, die Blicke der Zuschauer waren fest auf den Vorhang gerichtet, um den neuen Don Juan bald zu sehen. . . . Der Vorhang flog auf; Leporello hob seine Klagen an (VI, 45 ff.)." Auch der Schluss beider Erzählungen verraten Übereinstimmungen. Bei Hoffmann: "Gespräch des Mittags an der Wirtstafel, als Nachtrag. Kluger Mann. Es ist doch fatal, dass wir nun so bald keine ordentliche Oper mehr



hören werden! aber das kommt von dem hässlichen Übertreiben! Mulatten-Gesicht: Ja ja! hab's ihr oft genug gesagt! Die Rolle der Donna Anna griff sie immer ordentlich an!—Gestern war sie vollends gar wie besessen. Den ganzen Zwischenakt hindurch soll sie in Ohnmacht gelegen haben, und in der Scene im zweiten Akt hatte sie gar Nervenzufälle—Unbedeutender: O sagen Sie—! Mulatten-Gesicht: Nun ja! Nervenzufälle, und war doch wahrlich nicht vom Theater zu bringen. Ich: Um des Himmels willen—die Zufälle sind doch nicht von Bedeutung? wir hören doch Signora bald wieder? Kluger Mann: Schwerlich, denn Signora ist heute morgens Punkt zwei Uhr gestorben (I, 74).” Und bei Hauff hat Prinzessin Sophie einen Nervenschlag, und der Schluss lautet wie bei Hoffmann: “Glauben Sie übrigens, was Sie wollen . . . das Faktum ist da, sie starb acht Tage nach Othello (VI, 80).”

Unverkennbar tritt die Einwirkung Hoffmanns in Hauffs Novelle *Die Sängerin* hervor. Das Motiv stammt aus *Rat Krespel* und vornehmlich aus dem *Sanktus*. Der nächtliche Besuch des Grafen de Planto, des Todfeindes der Sängerin, in der letzteren Zimmer, der heftige Wortwechsel zwischen beiden, das plötzliche Verschwinden des Grafen—er stürzt die Treppe hinunter—erinnert lebhaft an die Mitternachtszene in *Rat Krespel*, wo der junge Komponist, der Liebhaber der Tochter Krespels Antonie, mit dem Vater in einen scharfen Wortwechsel gerät und schliesslich von diesem die Treppe hinunter und aus dem Hause geworfen wird (VI, 36).

Hauffs Skizze *Freie Stunden am Fenster* ist wahrscheinlich eine Nachbildung von Hoffmanns Erzählung *Des Vetters Eckfenster*, einer Art Selbstporträt. In diesem Werk bringt der Dichter eine Analyse seines eigenen Schauens, wie er, vom Fenster aus, auf das Treiben und Drängen niederschaut und das von der Natur Geformte, als Materie benutzend, umformt und deutet—alles in Form eines Gespräches. Ähnlicherweise kann auch der Künstler Hauff, der sich von der Welt zurückgezogen und in seiner Stube eingesponnen hat, nicht von der alten Neigung des Beobachtens, Nachschaffens und Gestaltens lassen. Die Beschreibung der Klausur bei Hauff (VII, 221) stimmt in vielem mit der von des Vetters Wohnung bei Hoffmann (XIV, 148-149) überein.

Im vierten Teil “der Serapionsbrüder” beschreibt Hoffmann einen ästhetischen Tee mit einer Vorlesung, die jäh unterbrochen wird (IX, 190 und 191). Eine ähnliche plötzliche Unterbrechung schildert Hauff im ersten Teil der “Memoiren,” wo Satan mit dem

ewigen Juden einen ästhetischen Tee besucht. Der Bericht eines jungen Mannes hat gerade den Höhepunkt der Spannung erzielt, als das Folgende sich ereignet. "Ein schrecklicher Angstschrei, ein Gerassel, wie Blitz und Donner einander folgend, unterbrach den Erzähler. Welcher Anblick! Der Jude lag ausgestreckt auf dem Boden des Saales, überschüttet mit Tee, Trümmer seines Stuhles und der feinen Meissner Tasse, die er im Sturz zerschmettert, um ihn her. Der Ärger über eine solche Unterbrechung war auf allen Gesichtern zu lesen; zürnend wandten die Damen ihr Auge von diesem Schauspiel (III, 80)." In den *Letzten Rittern von Marienburg* kehrt dieselbe Situation noch einmal wieder, wo der Dichter Paoli einen von ihm selbst verfassten Roman vorliest und Elise, seine frühere Geliebte, von dem Inhalt so tief ergriffen wird, dass sie in Ohnmacht fällt, und dadurch die Vorlesung jäh unterbrochen wird (VI, 174).

In dem Entwurf zu dem für den Komponisten und Kapellmeister Julius Benedikt geplanten Singspiel *Das Fischerstechen* tritt der Einfluss von Hoffmanns *Meister Martin und seine Gesellen* klar zu Tage. Der naive Stolz auf die Vortrefflichkeit seines Handwerkes bringt Meister Martin zu dem Entschluss, seine schöne Tochter keinem andern als einem Küfer zu geben, so dass die drei Gesellen, von denen kein einziger ein wirklicher Böttcher ist (lauter verkappte Bewerber: Reinhold-Maler, Friedrich-Giesser, Konrad-Junker), als Küfer in Martins Dienste treten, um Rosa, des Meisters Tochter, zu erwerben. Dasselbe Motiv des mehr oder weniger fröhlichen Frondienstes zwecks Erlangung der einzig Geliebten behandelt Hauff in seinem Entwurf. Der Schiffermeister hat seine Tochter dem ältesten Gesellen zugedacht. Daher verleugnet der Sohn des reichen und berühmten Freiherrn von Gleichen, der die Tochter liebt, seinen Rang und Stand, nimmt Dienste bei dem Schiffermeister und wirbt um die Geliebte, die er auch gewinnt.

Hauffs schönstes Märchen *Zwerg Nase*, das bekanntlich in Deutschland spielt, ist überreich an markantesten Hoffmannismen, es zeigt vor allem eine nicht zu verkennende Verwandtschaft mit dem *Goldenen Topf*. Das sinnreiche Motiv der Verwandlungen spielt hier eine besonders prägnante Rolle. Man besinne sich auf die Kohlköpfe, die zu Menschenköpfen werden (V, 101), auf die böse Fee Kräuterweis, die alle 50 Jahre einmal in die Stadt kommt, um allerlei einzukaufen (V, 106)—sie gleicht der Äpfelfrau vom schwarzen Tor im *Goldenen Topf* (I, 176), die dem Anselmus schadet

—auf die Meerschweinchen, die eigentlich gesittete Leute sind (V, 100)—Meerschweinchen erscheinen im *Goldenen Topf* (I, 205) der Veronika in dem Hause der alten Hexe—auf den langen, schweren Traum des kleinen Jakob, eine Spiegelung der Wirklichkeit (V, 102)—die ganze Erzählung “der goldene Topf” ist ein Märchen—auf den Zwerg, der bei der Hexe so schön Hamburger-Klösschen zu kochen gelernt hat (V, 112), auf die komische Gans, die spricht und sogar Freudentränen vergießt und dem Zwerg hilft (V, 115, 119, 121)—sie entspricht bei Hoffmann dem sonnumsprühten Schlanglein, das dem Anselmus wacker zur Seite steht und ihn aus dem Glase befreit (I, 242).

Auch andere Märchen Hauffs tragen Hoffmanns Stempel. *Das Gespensterschiff* (V, 21 ff.), ein Meisterstück des Schauermärchens, ist ganz im Stil eines Hoffmann geschrieben. Überhaupt hat Hauff—obwohl er auch auf ältere Art zurückgreift—die innere Kunstfertigkeit, die Übertragung der Orientalia in den Zirkel greifbarer, bodenwüchsiger Wirklichkeit von Hoffmann übernommen. Hoffmann führt uns in seinen Märchen mitten hinein ins Treiben des Tages, auf die belebte Strasse einer bekannten Stadt, in den gemütlichen Kreis einer normalen Familie oder auf ein ganz gewöhnliches Dorf. Er macht uns mit Menschen bekannt, wie sie uns jeden Tag begegnen, deren Schilderung auf der genauesten Beobachtung des Wirklichen beruht. Hauff beginnt das Märchen *Zwerg Nase* mit den Worten: “Diejenigen tun unrecht, welche glauben, es habe nur zuzeiten Haruns Al-Raschid Feen und Zauberer gegeben. Noch heute gibt es Feen, und es ist nicht so lange her, dass ich selbst Zeuge einer Begebenheit war, wo offenbar die Genien im Spiel waren.”—Die praktische Institution der alten Phantasiaform mit Intermedien, die Hoffmann in den *Serapionsbrüdern* verwendet, behält auch Hauff für seine Märchen bei.

In der Erzählung der Jungfer Rose in den gefälligen, prächtigen *Phantasien im Bremer Ratskeller*, die im “feuchten Zeichen der 12 Apostel des hanseatischen Ratskeller-Falstaffs, des Rüdesheimers, Hochheimers und Johannisbergers, des Champagners und der spanischen Weine von anno long, long ago (allgemein gesprochen, des Becherlühpfens) stehen,” arbeitet Hauff ganz mit Hoffmannschen Mitteln.

Das Moment des Geheimnisvollen und Rätselhaften bei Hauff, obwohl in einer tiefinnerlichen Neigung wurzelnd, die sich schon in seinen Knabenjahren bemerkbar machte, hat ohne Zweifel durch



Hoffmann neue Nahrung bekommen. In Hoffmann war seit seiner Jugend die Neigung zum Geheimnisvollen und Wunderbaren lebendig, und wo ihm literarische Werke, in denen eine derartige Stimmung zum Ausdruck kam und in geschickter Weise festgehalten wurde, entgegentraten, hatte er mit Freude danach gegriffen. In der musikalischen Phantasie *Ritter Gluck* hat er es verstanden, von vornherein die Stimmung des Wunderbaren über die ganze Darstellung auszubreiten, so dass die schliessliche Enthüllung des Unbekannten als Gluck uns ganz natürlich erscheint. Erreicht hat Hoffmann diese Illusion einerseits durch das Fremdartige, welches er in das Benehmen und Auftreten des Unbekannten hineinlegt, und andererseits durch den geheimnisvollen Klang, den er durch seine Worte hindurchzittern lässt. In der Erzählung *Der Teufel in Berlin*, einem kleinen Kabinettstück, schildert Hoffmann, wie der Teufel eine Zeitlang ein bürgerliches, frommes und freundliches Leben führt. Er handhabt die Darstellung dabei so, dass er bis zum Schluss den Höllenfürsten zu bezeichnen vermeidet und nur vom Mann oder Fremden spricht. Wohl aber flicht er mit feiner Berechnung allerlei Symptome ein, aus denen nach und nach die Ahnung, zuletzt die Gewissheit erwächst, dass der stattliche Fremde kein anderer gewesen ist als der Satan selbst, was dann am Ende ausdrücklich ausgesprochen wird. Diese charakteristische Form der spannenden Einführung kehrt des öftern in Hauffs Erzählungstechnik wieder. Sie lässt einzelne Personen namenlos auftreten, verschweigt durch eine Reihe von Episoden ihre Namen absichtlich, bis endlich, wenn möglich auf einem Höhepunkte des Romans, das Gespräch der Beteiligten die längst erwartete Aufklärung bringt. So z. B. im *Lichtenstein*. Geheimnisvoll berührt das erste Auftreten des Pfeifer von Hardt im achten Kapitel des ersten Teiles, und wenn diese Stelle auch einige Angaben über seine Beziehungen zur alten Rosel, Maries Amme, enthält, so bringt doch erst das dreizehnte Kapitel seinen Namen, aber nur, um gleichzeitig an seine Vergangenheit neue ahnungsreiche Andeutungen zu knüpfen. Mehrfach versucht der Held Georg, Aufklärung über ihn zu erhalten, immer wehrt Hans ab; erst in der Nacht, die seinem Tode vorausging, erfahren wir seine Lebensgeschichte. Gleicherweise Herzog Ulrich von Württemberg im selben Roman. In Ulm bereits hatte Georg begonnen, sich für den Herzog zu interessieren, bei seinem Ritt über die Alp mit dem Pfeifer von Hardt Ulrichs Verhältnis zu seinen Untertanen erörtert, im *Hirschen* zu Pfullingen



Gutes und Schlimmes über ihn vernommen, da wird er vor Lichtensteins Toren des Nachts mit ihm zusammengeführt. Er bekämpft in ihm den Nebenbuhler, verlebt weiterhin viele Stunden in seiner Gesellschaft, immer jedoch, ohne ihn zu kennen. Erst in der folgenden Schlacht erlangt er Aufschluss über seinen Stand und Rang. —Ebenso werden die geheimnisreichen Hauptpersonen in den folgenden Werken Hauffs: *Der Mann im Monde*, *Die Sängerin* und *Das Bild des Kaisers* meistens erst gegen den Schluss hin aufgehehlt. —Diese Art der Einführung wurde allerdings schon vor Hauff angewandt (vgl. Wielands Kritik im Don Sylvio über "die geheimnisvolle Zurückhaltung," ferner Fouqués *Frau Minnetrost*), jedoch bei keinem tritt sie so auffällig und wiederholt hervor als bei Hauff.

Das Motiv der Verwechslung zweier Personen ist ein Lieblingsmotiv Hoffmanns sowohl wie Hauffs; ebenso ist beiden gemeinsam das Doppelgängermotiv und ferner die Rolle, die die Musik in ihren Werken spielt (die Guitarre ist ein Lieblingsinstrument beider).

Die Figur des ausgetrockneten alten und altmodisch gekleideten Männchens mit dem typischen stahlgrauen, abgetragenen Röcklein kehrt bei beiden Dichtern mehrmals wieder. So z. B. bei Hoffmann der Hausverwalter im *Öden Haus* (III, 140), der Rat Krespel in der gleichnamigen Erzählung (VI, 41), der geheime Kanzleisekretär Tusmann in der *Brautwahl* (VIII, 47), Herr Dapsel von Zabelthau in der *Königsbraut* (IX, 193) und öfters. Bei Hauff haben wir den Oberjustizrat Hasentreffer in den *Memoiren* (III, 13), den Regisseur der Oper im *Othello* (VI, 55), den Magister in *Den letzten Rittern von Marienburg* (VI, 178) u. a. m.

Hoffmann lässt sich häufig durch ein Gemälde, ein Bild zu seinen Erzählungen anregen. Bei ihm ist die phantastische Bilderbeschreibung eine speziell ausgebildete Technik. Die Frau am Fenster des Salons im *Öden Haus* hat für Hoffmann einen todstarren Ausdruck im Gesicht, wie ein Bild. Menschen des Alltags scheint sie auch irgendein Mädchenbildnis allgemeinsten Art, Hoffmann aber ein Hilfsmittel, um seine Erzählung daran anzuknüpfen. Im ersten Teil der *Serapionsbrüder* lesen wir: "Ich gebe euch eine kleine Erzählung zum besten, die ich vor einiger Zeit aufschrieb und zu der mich ein Bild anregte" (VI, 56—gemeint ist die Erzählung *Die Fermate*).

Ebenfalls durch ein Gemälde oder Bild inspiriert sind folgende Geschichten: *Meister Martin der Kufner*, *Abenteuer der Reise* in den

*Elixieren* (II, 90), *Das steinerne Herz* (III, 272), *Die Brautwahl* (VIII, 36), *Rückkehr ins Kloster* in den *Elixieren* (II, 281). Auch bei Hauff steht zweimal ein Bild im Mittelpunkt der Erzählung, in der *Bettlerin vom Pont des Arts* und im *Bild des Kaisers*.

Die scheinbar eisig gleichgültige, in Wirklichkeit leidenschaftlich interessierte, wandlungsreiche, dabei aber scharfe Ausdrucksweise Hoffmanns in der Frauenschilderung—vor allem in der serapiontischen Novelle *Die Brautwahl*—ist von Hauff bewusst und unbewusst nachgeahmt worden. Ob er eine Italienerin, eine Polin, eine Deutsche schildert, ob ein Bürgermädchen, ein "Maidli" oder eine Baronesse, überall dieselbe Stileigentümlichkeit.

Echt Hoffmannisch in Hauffs Erzählungstechnik ist auch die Mischung von grausigem Gespensterspuk und behaglicher Philistrosität, wodurch seine Novellen einen ironischen Anstrich erhalten.

Es ist möglich, dass Hauffs Vorliebe für polnische Stoffe und Helden von Hoffmann herrühre: z. B. der polnische Graf im *Mann im Monde*, Graf Zronievsky im *Othello*. Ein polnischer Offizier ist der Held in Hoffmanns Werk *Das Gelübde* (III, 232); das Stück selbst spielt in Polen. Hoffmann hatte eine Polin geheiratet, war 1814, als Rat bei der Regierung, in Warschau tätig.—Vielleicht hat Hoffmann Hauff erstmals für Scott begeistert. Im vierten Teil der *Serapionsbrüder* spendet ersterer Scotts Verdiensten Worte hoher Anerkennung (IX, 171).—Die Erzählung Hoffmanns *Das steinerne Herz* (III, 259 ff.) mag wenigstens durch den Titel Hauff zu dem Märchen *Das kalte Herz* angeregt haben.

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FURTHER INFLUENCES UPON IBSEN'S *PEER GYNT*II. BJØRNSON'S *Synnøve Solbakken*

Ehrhard was the first to point out the relation between these two works,<sup>1</sup> his attention having been especially struck by the similarity of the peasant-wedding in the first act of Ibsen's drama with the one in Bjørnson's story.

To enter somewhat further into details, the general similarity in character of the heroines, Synnøve Solbakken and Solvejg, is accentuated by the common element *Sol-* in the names of both and its symbolical significance, as has in fact been noted.<sup>2</sup> Synnøve's family belongs, as Solvejg's apparently does, to the pietistic sect of Haugianere, both girls appear with a psalm-book, both hold to their mother's skirts, Synnøve is displeased with the boisterousness of Thorbjørn and though interested in knowing he is a good dancer doesn't at first want to see him dance, which is at least approximately duplicated in the attitude of Solvejg

<sup>1</sup> *Henrik Ibsen et le théâtre contemporain*, 158ff. 1892.

<sup>2</sup> Woerner (*Henrik Ibsen*, , 390. 1900; still uncorrected in second edition, I, 411. 1912) translates Solvejg into "Sonnenmauer," his source being perhaps a dictionary rendering of *solvæg*. It is hardly necessary to say that the *-vejg* of *Solvejg* has nothing to do with the word *væg* (Old Norse *vegg*), but is an element forming the second part of several Old Norse women's names, its original meaning never having been conclusively cleared up. There was an Old Norse word *vejg* applying to a certain strong beverage and it is well known that brewing in Old Norse days belonged to the varied activities of woman, but that this word is identical with the homonymic element occurring in women's names is unlikely. More probable is the explanation of Noreen (*Altisl. und altnorw. Gram.*,<sup>3</sup> §307, 3a. 1903; earliest in *Urgermansk judlära*, p. 84. 1890), who connects it through Verner's law with Gothic *weihs*, "village" (Lat. *vīcus*, Grk. *oikos*, Skt. *veśas*), claiming for it then a force of domesticity. Such force of domesticity accords well with the elements most commonly preceding it in women's names. Further discussion is hardly pertinent to our present inquiry, which is concerned solely with the meaning the name may have had to Ibsen, but that was certainly not "Sonnenmauer." It may be of passing interest that the first part was perhaps not originally identical with *sol*, "sun" (Cf. Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn*, 1016ff. 1913), but that the name was rather *Solvejg* (from *salr*?), Lind's conclusions as to the form of the name being confirmed by Aasen's Norwegian material (*Norsk Navnebog*, 36. 1878), though Aasen suggests a still different etymology. Solbakken is of course not a personal name as is Solvejg, but the name of the family farm; in Bjørnson's story the two estates Solbakken and Granli(d)en are in their contrast of name and nature meant to symbolize the characteristic traits of the respective families inhabiting them.



toward Peer, she refusing to dance with him because of his boisterous and unseemly behavior. Both show subsequently the same all-forgiving affection for the hero, both are ready to leave parents and home for him, and both make the same effort to save him from his worse self.

Thorbjørn is in part a kindred spirit to Peer. He is characterized as a liar, boaster and fighter; people do not like him and talk ill of him; he is also in his early years an eager listener to Eventyr. Both experience difficulty in approaching the heroine.

There is further an Ingrid in either work, though the two show no other similarity than that of name. The case is not quite the same with the two Aslaks, who resemble each other at least in malicious disposition, especially displayed in their attitude toward the hero in either case. In his rôle as teller of stories and general entertainer Bjørnson's Aslak is comparable rather with Peer himself. As Skræppe-Aslak he suggests Peer's father Jon.

Apart from the general similarity in the two peasant-weddings each has its tragic touch in the fact that the bride has no love for the groom, but prefers another, though in Ibsen's poem the circumstance is not emphasized as tragic.

Bjørnson's disquisition upon the important part played by the church in Norwegian peasant-life, where he particularizes upon the effect of the churchbells and psalms, finds perhaps an echo in the churchbell-ringing and psalm-singing that save Peer from the power of the trolls.

Ehrhard also saw clearly that the relation of Ibsen's work to Bjørnson's was satirical in its nature. As confirmatory of rather than in any noteworthy degree supplementary to Ehrhard's very accurate judgment a remark of Ibsen quoted by John Paulsen<sup>3</sup> is of particular interest. The remark dates from 1880 and is to the effect that Bjørnson's *Synnøve Solbakken* formed the conclusion of the old romantic period. That is, it was for Ibsen a part of the whole Scandinavian romanticism with which he was definitively breaking in *Peer Gynt*, in that it represented a romantic conception of peasant-life with which Ibsen was not in sympathy.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Samliv med Ibsen, Anden samling*, 132. 1913.

<sup>4</sup> The subject of the literary treatment of Norwegian peasant-life with especial reference to Bjørnson's stories is discussed at considerable length by Chr. Collin in his book on Bjørnson (*Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson*, II, 111ff. 1907); comment of Ibsen upon Bjørnson's *Arne* (1858) reported by Brandes (*Henrik Ibsen=Die Literatur* 32, p. 26. 1906) is also of interest in this connection.



A further indirect link between the two works deserves mention. Editor Bille writing in the *Dagbladet*<sup>5</sup> called the language of *Synnøve Solbakken* and *Halte-Hulda* a "malebarisk dialekt." It is by no means inconceivable that it was this which suggested to Ibsen the idea of making his Huhu a champion of the language of the orang-outangs as opposed to that of Malebar. Not that Bjørnson is at this point being satirized in any way; quite the opposite is the case. Huhu is a "maalstræver," is in fact so labeled in case there be any doubt about the matter, and it is the Malebar language against which his efforts are directed. Ibsen was an admirer of Bjørnson's saga-style,<sup>6</sup> his attitude toward the latter's language being very clearly expressed in a letter to his publisher Hegel, dated Feb. 20, 1869,<sup>7</sup> in which, speaking of his mother-in-law Fru Thoresen's *Solen i Siljedalen*, he said in substance that both Bjørnson and himself could use words and expressions from popular speech because they knew their relation to the old language and so could tell which were justified. Fru Thoresen didn't know this and so used a literary hodge-podge that had never been, was not and could never become Norwegian.

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. Collin, *Bjørnson*, II, 451; Bille's *Tyve aars journalistik* is unfortunately not accessible to me.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Collin, *Bjørnson*, II, 623 for Ibsen's idea (in 1862) of Bjørnson's saga-style.

<sup>7</sup> *Breve fra Henrik Ibsen*, I, 177.

## THE WOMEN IN SPENSER'S ALLEGORY OF LOVE

Like every other noble monument of the Gothic spirit, the *Faerie Queene* is constantly rewarding the student with the revelation of fresh and unexpected phrases, novel sources of delight. Quite a new aspect of the poem thus presented itself to me in a recent study of the allegory of love in Books III, IV and V. Hitherto, such characters as Amoret, Florimell and Belpheobe had always seemed mere repetitions of the conventional heroines of romance, but in this fresh survey delicate and refined distinctions between the characters began to appear, and I then came to feel that in these very distinctions resides much of the meaning of the allegory. Accordingly, this paper is an attempt to throw fresh light upon the teachings of the poem through an exposition of the characters of Amoret, Belpheobe, Florimell, Radigund and Britomart.

The proper background for these characters is of course Spenser's theory of love. This is essentially the theory of the early Renaissance, an adaptation to more modern conditions of ideals that maintained in medieval days. It demanded an aristocratic society, for worthy love exists only among those of gentle birth. The court is therefore defined as "the great school-maistresse of all courtesy," and the country as a stranger to "all civile usage and gentility," with its rude rusticity tending to deform even gentle spirits. Thus when a courteous damsel is found among the lowly, she invariably proves to be of gentle blood and rearing. The Squire of Dames does indeed testify that the only woman whom he had ever found to be chaste for chastity's own sake was a damsel of low degree whom he had discovered by chance in a rural cottage, a maiden who was fair, and in whose countenance dwelt simple truth, but the Squire of Dames is a blasé man of the world, a jester and breaker of idols, a captious cynic. Among the lowly, then, only vulgar love exists, but in the gentle heart love breeds desire of honor and even brings forth bounteous deeds:

The baser wit, whose ydle thoughts alway  
Are wont to cleave unto the lowly clay,  
It stirreth up to sensual desire,  
And in lewd slouth to wast his careless day;  
But in brave spirite it kindles goodly fire,  
That to all high desert and honour doth aspire.

He suffereth it uncomely idlenesse  
In his free thought to build her sluggish nest,  
Ne suffereth it thought of ungentlenesse  
Ever to creepe into his nobler brest;  
But to the highest and the worthiest  
Lifteth it up that else would lowly fall:  
It lettes not fall, it lettes it not to rest.

In theory, men who are "wise, warlike, personable, courteous and kind" love women who are gracious and modest, adorned with chastity, whose lives are given to deeds of courtesy and kindness.

Such is the ideal society. Spenser devotes his allegory to men and women who are striving for this ideal, opposed by defects within themselves or by evil forces without. Against this background any particular character in the allegory of love must be viewed.

As already stated, Amoret, Belpheobe and Florimell seem, at first blush, mere repetitions of a common type. All three are praised in extravagant terms for their grace, beauty, and chastity. Of Amoret it is said that Psyche

her lessoned  
In all the lore of love, and goodly womanhead.  
In which when she to perfect ripenes grew,  
Of grace and beautie noble Paragone,  
She brought her forth into the worldes vew  
To be the ensample of true love alone,  
And Lodestarre of all chaste affection  
To all fayre Ladies that doe live on ground.

Of Florimell it is said,

The surest signe, whereby ye may her know,  
Is that she is the fairest wight alive, I trow.  
That Ladie is, (quoth he) where so she bee,  
The bountiest virgin and most debonaire  
That ever living eye, I weene, did see.  
Lives none this day that may with her compare  
In stedfast chastitie and vertue rare,  
The goodly ornaments of beautie bright;  
And is ycleped Florimel the fayre.

So great was her chastity that it was caroled by the angels in heaven:

Eternall thraldom was to here more lief  
Then losse of chastitie, or chaunge of love:

Dye had she rather in tormenting grieve  
 Then any should of falsenesse her reprove,  
 Or looseness, that she lightly did remove.  
 Most vertuous virgin! glory be thy meed,  
 And crowne of heavenly prayse with Saintes above,  
 Where most sweet hymnes of this thy famous deed  
 Are still amongst them song, that far my rymes exceed.

Fit song of Angels caroled to bee!  
 But yet whatso my feeble Muse can frame  
 Shall be t'advance thy goodly chastitie  
 And to enroll thy memorable name  
 In th' heart of every honourable Dame,  
 That they thy vertuous deedes may imitate,  
 And be partakers of thy endlesse fame.

Of Belpheobe it is said:

In so great prayse of stedfast chastity  
 Nathlesse she was so courteous and kynde,  
 Tempered with grace and goodly modesty,  
 That seemed those two vertues strove to fynd  
 The higher place in her Heroick mynd:  
 So striving each did other more augment,  
 And both encreast the prayse of woman kynde,  
 And both encreast her beautie excellent:  
 So all did make in her a perfect complement.

Though all three of these characters are made to conform to the neo-Platonic conception of the harmony of grace, beauty and chastity, if attention be fixed upon points of dissimilarity rather than of resemblance, it will be apparent that Amoret is made the special embodiment of grace and charm; Belpheobe, of Chastity; and Florimell, of Beauty. This differentiation is more or less suggested by the epithets and descriptive terms applied to the characters and is the key to the parts that they play in the allegory. Thus Florimell is always "the fair," with "face as cleare as Christall stone." When Prince Arthur and Guyon start in pursuit of her, fleeing as she is from the lustful forester, they are said to "follow beauties chace." When Prince Arthur beholds her beauty, she seems to him so lovely that he forgets the vision of the Faerie Queene herself, and ardently hopes that Florimell herself may prove to be the queen. So fair is she that, at the contest for the girdle, though the face of Amoret

plainly did expresse  
 The heavenly pourtraict of bright Angels hew,



the face of the false Florimell, who bears but the outward semblance of the true Florimell "once seen did all the rest dismay."

Similarly, Belpheobe is so completely the embodiment of chastity that such lustful creatures as instinctively pursue Amoret and Florimell, instinctively shrink from her presence, and the story of the divine origin of chastity is appropriately told while her praise is being sung.

A review of the respective adventures of these characters will show how complete and careful is the differentiation.

Amoret was the daughter of a nymph, Chrysogonee, made pregnant by the sunbeams as she rested from her bath. While yet an infant she was found by Venus, and was reared in the garden of Adonis. To Psyche was committed the care of the child, who brought her up with her own daughter, Pleasure, and her lessoned "In all the lore of love and goodly womanhead." The darling of Venus, the pupil of Psyche, the playmate of Pleasure, what can she represent but the charm, the glowing, love-compelling power of woman? And this conception of the character is abundantly substantiated by her subsequent career.

Amoret is the type of physical beauty, physical beauty not at its worst but at its very best. Amoret is not Lilith, who

Draws men to watch the bright web she can weave,  
Till heart and body and life are in its hold,

but no more is she the Sybylla Palmifera, beauty enthroned

Under the arch of life, where love and death,  
Terror and mystery, guard her shrine.

This physical beauty, uncorrupted though it be, is yet far removed from that soul's beauty and loveliness which is the ideal of womanly perfection, that spiritual beauty of which the beauty of the flesh is but the outer vesture. Amoret must therefore suffer and be schooled ere her beauty can be transformed into this nobler type. Spenser portrays the process of this discipline.

Psyche had

brought her forth into this worldes vew,  
To be the ensample of true love alone,  
And Lodestarre of all chaste affection  
To all fayre ladies that doe live on ground.

But much training was needed ere she was ready to serve as this "ensample."

Betrothed to Scudamour, who had won the shield of love with its motto,

Blessed the man that well can use this bliss:  
Whosoever be the shield, Faire Amoret be his;

led forth, remonstrant with "tender teares" and "witching smiles," from the temple of Venus, where she had been seated in the lap of Womanhood, at the feet of the veiled figure of the goddess; at the marriage festivities she is carried away by the enchanter, Busyrane, with a masque of love "by way of sport as oft in masks is known." For seven months the beautiful victim is confined in the castle of this wretch, and daily tormented, until at length rescued by Britomart, the maiden-knight of Chastity. Britomart it seems had chanced upon Scudamour, asleep by a fountain, lamenting his bride. Thereupon she had offered her aid and together they had sought the castle, but only the chaste Britomart is able to penetrate the suffocating smoke and fire by which it is guarded. On the first night Britomart sees a pageant of love, with fair Amoret led by Despight and Cruelty, her breast bleeding from a wound and her heart laid in a silver basin; on the second night she sees Amoret chained to a pillar, while Busyrane writes enchantments with human blood. Then it is that Britomart attacks the enchanter, forces him to dispel his charms and restores Amoret to liberty, while all love's insignia throughout the castle disappear. In the edition of 1590, Amoret and Scudamour are reunited outside of the castle; in the edition of 1596, the love allegory having taken more complete form in the poet's mind, the version is changed, and Scudamour, disheartened, has departed for further aid.

For a season thereafter Britomart and Amoret proceed together. One evening they come to a castle where a knight without a lady must lie outside the gate. A young knight contends for Amoret, but is easily overcome by Britomart. Riding again, they meet Blandamour—Blandishment in love, Até—Discord, Paridell—Lustfulness, and Duessa—Falsehood. Afraid to oppose Britomart himself, Paridell asks Blandamour to do so. Him Britomart easily overcomes. At the contest for the girdle of Florimel, Britomart presents Amoret, and she is the only one upon whom the girdle will remain.

All goes well with Amoret until, straying through the wood one day while Britomart sleeps, she is carried off by Lust. Once she

escapes from him, only to be chased again. Finally she is rescued by the young squire of Belphoebe, Timias, but not until she has been wounded, for whenever the squire strikes with his javelin, Lust holds the lady in front of himself to receive the blow. Long Amoret lies in a swoon, while Timias sits beside her, wiping her eyes, kissing them, and "handling soft the hurts which she did get." Amoret, however, is shortly left alone, for Belphoebe, chancing to arrive and to find her squire showing such marks of tenderness, angrily reproves him, and he, distressed by her reproach, follows hard after when she flees in anger. Amoret is not left defenceless, however, for she is straightway succored by Prince Arthur, the Grace of God.

Amoret and Prince Arthur now ride together, though the identity of neither is disclosed. As they proceed, they behold afar six knights engaged in arms, and the Briton Prince, indignant that two of the knights are assailed by four, hastens to the scene. The two knights prove to be Britomart and Scudamour,—for Britomart had come upon Scudamour again and joined him afresh in his search for Amoret,—who are attacked by stern Druon, lewd Claribell, love-lavish Blandamour and Lustfull Paridell. Prince Arthur separates the contestants. Peace restored, the knights journey together and, as they ride, Scudamour is prevailed upon to tell the story of his wooing. Nothing is said to indicate what becomes of Prince Arthur, but presumably he rejoins Amoret. Apparently Amoret had been left at a distance by the Prince, but at this point the character abruptly drops out of the narrative, and does not reappear in the entire course of the poem. The reunion of Amoret and Scudamour is therefore not formally accomplished. It would seem to have been crowded out by the press of other episodes.

Despite this abrupt termination of the adventures of Amoret, what the poet is trying to express through this character is sufficiently evident. No sooner is Amoret wed to Sir Scudamour than the enchantments of love separate her from her lord, and only the solicitous aid of Chastity, extended now to one and now to another of this estranged couple, is able to expedite their reunion. Amoret had yet to learn that real union must be based upon spiritual, not physical, love. Intense and spirited, Amoret thus becomes the victim of love's enchantment, but against it she struggles, knowing it to be unworthy of her. When Chastity



first appears to Amoret, she does not recognize her deliverer therein, and fears her until she learns that Chastity is the very essence of peerless womanhood. Even after Amoret has been thus liberated from the shows of lustful love, she is not able to rely upon herself. Attended by Chastity, she is so secure that Paridell, a knight typifying lust, does not even attempt to gain her; from the assaults of Blandishment she is equally secure. With Chastity her champion, she can even wear the golden girdle. But no sooner does she venture forth alone, Chastity asleep, than she is snatched away by Lust, and then grievously wounded by the very squire who seeks to rescue her. Such is the compelling power of her beauty, that even this Squire of Belpheobe forgets the conduct becoming his station. Finally the Grace of God comes to her rescue. Without Chastity and the Grace of God, says Spenser, the beauty and charm of woman are powerless to protect her, and attract men only to her harm. Without Chastity and the Grace of God no real union of men and women can be consummated.

If marriage found Amoret unprepared for such a spiritual union, equally unprepared was Sir Scudamour. He desires an ideal union, but he lacks somewhat in energy, and somewhat in stern chastity. He, too, needs to be schooled. Britomart finds him asleep by a fountain, lamenting for Amoret, when he should be at his quest. He cannot stand the test of fire, nor has he sufficient faith in Chastity to believe that she can rescue his lady from the castle of Busyrane. He is induced to believe the tales of the soft-tongued Blandamour against the purity of Amoret. He even suspects the integrity of Chastity, and thinks that she has played him false. But Scudamour, like Amoret, grows, and in this growth is revealed the intent of the allegory. Though he struggles against Chastity; she triumphs over him, and he then is rewarded by learning that Amoret is still a maid. Finally, when Chastity vows never to leave him until Amoret is found, his weakness is replaced by strength, and the allegorical intent becomes completely manifest. Thus Scudamour, like Amoret, is seeking after true fellowship in love.

Opposed to Amoret, thus carried away with the shows of love, thus provocative of passion, thus ardent, thus helpless, thus prompting passion in men, is Belpheobe; Belpheobe, in whom chastity is combined with austerity and aloofness, an austerity



and aloofness that mar the completeness and harmony of her character. The poet carefully contrasts her with Amoret.

The twin-sister of Amoret, she was the darling of Diana and the pupil of Phoebe. Lust, which had taken captive Amoret, at once recognizes in Belpheobe his mortal enemy, and straightway that he sees her, flies in terror from her presence. A false knight like Blandamour rides a course for Amoret and the cunning Busy-rane readily deceives her, but when Braggadochio, the blustering pretender, thinks to embrace Belpheobe in his "bastard arms," she bends her bright javelin against him, fiercely menacing, turns her about, and flees apace, while he stands amazed, fearing her wrath. She is as self-reliant as Amoret is helpless. Yet with her composure and austerity she is harsh and ungenerous. To be sure, when once she has recovered from the shocking sight of Timias ghastly and pale from his conflict with the forester, symbol of lust, she nurses him tenderly, but when she comes upon him kissing the cheeks of the fair, unconscious Amoret, she "was filled with deepe disdaine and great indignity," and thought to kill them both.

With that selfe arrow which the Carle had Kild;  
Yet held her wrathful hand from vengeance sore;  
But drawing nigh, ere he her well beheld,  
"Is this the faith?" she said—and said no more,  
But turned her face, and fled away for evermore.

In the succeeding canto she herself is made unwittingly to condemn her own severity, for when she discovers the squire, all changed in aspect through harassing sorrow, and so unrecognized by her, she invokes "fowle rebuke and shame" upon the author of his misery. Then, when she learns that she is the cause of so great woe, her heart softens, and she receives him once more into favor. Thus did Belpheobe learn that austere virtue is itself unlovely and wrong, and that chastity must be softened by mercy.

Florimell, as already suggested, is the embodiment of beauty. In her first ages flower she was "fostered by the Graces (as they say)," and when she came to the court of the Faerie Queene she brought with her the goodly belt, Cestus,

Dame Venus girdle, by her steemed deare  
What time she usd to live in wively sort,  
But layd aside when so she usd her looser sport.

This girdle gave the virtue of chaste love and true wifhood. At the court the Fayre Florimell was admired of many knights, of Satyrane, of Paridell, of Calidore, of Peridure, but she loved only Marinell; Marinell, who, warned by the prophesy of Proteus that "a virgin strange and stout him should dismay or kill," became "loves enemy." When rumour reached the court that Marinell had met death at the hands of Britomart, Florimell straightway set out from the court, vowing to find him. Never was woman less prepared to set forth on such a quest, and her adventures in this search are designed to show the dangers with which beauty in woman is beset and the helplessness of beauty. Ready to die in defense of her chastity, she lacks the judgment, self-control, and knowledge of the world which Spenser, in sympathy with the Renaissance, quite as much as with the mediæval, ideals of woman, recognized as essential to complete womanhood, that resourcefulness and mastery of circumstances which Shakespeare portrayed with manifest enthusiasm in *Rosalind*, in *Viola*, in *Beatrice*.

Florimell first appears pursued by a forester, "breathing out beastly lust her to defyle." They are perceived by Prince Arthur, Guyon, Britomart and Timias. Prince Arthur and Guyon instantly set off "to reskew her from shameful villany," while Timias pursues the forester. Florimell is lost to sight, but finally Prince Arthur gains view of her, and strives to overtake and comfort her. However, so overcome is she with fear that she cannot recognize the noble intent of even such a knight as Arthur:

Alowd to her he oftentimes did call,  
To doe away vaine doubt and needlesse dreed:  
Full myld to her he spake, and oft let fall  
Many meeke wordes to stay and comfort her withall.  
But nothing might relent her hasty flight,  
So deepe the deadly feare of that foule swaine  
Was earst impressed in her gentle spright.

Her next adventures are designed further to show the pitfalls that threaten beauty: she is assailed first by rough, loutish love, churlish and coarse; then by violent, rapine love; then by subtle and insinuating love, love working through flattery and feigned kindness. Fleeing from Prince Arthur she takes shelter in a lowly cot, where dwell a wicked hag and her boorish son. The hag takes her for a goddess, the pure embodiment of beauty:

And thought her to adore with humble spright:  
T'adore thing so divine as beauty, were but right.

The son "cast to love her in his brutish mind." This churl is employed to contrast with the gentle lover, and his laziness and sloth are the natural accompaniments of his lust, just as noble activity ever attends upon honorable love. When Florimell perceives his boorish efforts to win her, she takes refuge in flight, only to be pursued by a beast of horrible aspect that the hag creates by magic to pursue her.

Florimell takes refuge in the boat of a sleeping fisherman. When the fisherman awakes he greedily assails her, for her beauty

in his congealed flesh  
Infixt such secrete sting of greedy lust,  
That the drie withered stocke it gan refresh,  
And kindled heat that soone in flame forth brust.

From the violence of the fisherman she is rescued by Proteus, the Shepherd of the seas.

But when she looked up, to weet what wight  
Had her from so infamous fact assoyld,  
For shame, but more for feare of his grim sight,  
Down in her lap she hid her face, and lowdly shright.

Proteus tries to comfort her, but in vain,

For her faint heart was with the frozen cold  
Benumbed so inly, that her wits nigh fayld,  
And all her sences with abasement quite were quayld.

Proteus now takes her to his watery abode and tries to win her by his craftiness. He woos her as "an immortal mote a mortall wight"; he woos her as a mortal, as a knight, a king; he transforms himself into a Gyaunt, a Centaur, a raging storm; but all to no avail. Finally he throws her into a dungeon. Thus is beauty seen to be exposed to every kind of evil love.

Confined in the dungeon for seven months, her laments are by chance overheard of Marinell, who is straightway filled with remorse:

All which complaint when Marinell had heard,  
And understood the cause of all her care  
To come of him for using her so hard,  
His stubborne heart, that never felt misfare,  
Was toucht with soft remorse and pitty rare;  
That even for grieve of minde he oft did grone.

Marinell now wastes away through love, until finally, through the aid of Neptune, the release of Florimell is accomplished. Beauty is at last safe, protected by a knight of nobility and wealth.

Contrasted with Florimell is the False Florimell, outwardly resembling her, but in reality a licentious courtesan and flirt, who deceives most of the knights, but who cannot deceive Britomart and Artegall, the knights of Chastity and Justice. When placed beside the real Florimell she vanishes completely away, for beauty of body that has not beauty of spirit for its counterpart is fleeting and ephemeral.

Marinell, the lover of Florimell, also plays an interesting part in this allegory of love. He is a knight of great riches, and of doughty courage and prowess, but his original attitude toward women is not merely an attitude of indifference, but of actual hostility; an attitude neither natural nor chivalric.

Forthy she gave him warning every day  
The love of woman not to entertaine;  
A lesson too too hard for living clay  
From love in course of nature to refraine.  
Yet he his mother's lore did well retaine,  
And ever from fayre Ladies love did fly;  
Yet many Ladies fayre did oft complaine,  
That they for love of him would algates dy:  
Dy, who so list for him, he was loves enemy.

While it is better to be love's enemy than to lust, best of all is to love chastely. Therefore Britomart, the Knight of Chastity, lays low the presumptive pride of Marinell, and the poet approves the deed, for while the mother of Marinell curses the hand that smote him,

none of all those curses overtoke  
The warlike Maide, th' ensample of that might;  
But fairly well shee thryvd, and well did brooke  
Her noble deeds, ne her right course for ought forsooke.

Not until he conceives his great love for Florimell is Marinell a worthy exponent of the courtly gentleman.

As Florimell typifies beauty in woman, so Radigund typifies strength. This bold, aggressive, masculine woman strikingly contrasts with the delicate, romantic, highly-feminized Florimell. Radigund possessed many qualities that the Renaissance prized in its women: she is beautiful, so beautiful that her fair visage, bathed in blood and sweat as it was, seemed to Artegall "a miracle of natures goodly grace"; she bore herself with distinction, "with stately port and proud magnificence"; she was brave, "fild with courage and with joyous glee." But just as the delicacy of Flori-



mell needed to be infused with hardening alloy, so the superb strength of Radigund, so admirable in itself, needed to be tempered with gentleness and modesty. Since she tried to break those bonds which very nature imposes upon woman and which "virtuous women wisely understand," since, in violation of justice as well as of nature, she wished woman to usurp the rôle of man, quite properly her career ended in disaster, and quite properly at the hands of woman herself. The Renaissance had expressed its ideal of a strong woman in the gracious Countess of Urbino, who ruled her court with distinction and without the sacrifice of feminine sweetness and modesty.

Since, then, Amoret is the embodiment of charm in woman, Belpheobe of chastity, Florimell of beauty, and Radigund of strength, a character is required in whom all of these qualities shall be harmoniously combined. Such a character is supplied in Britomart, Spenser's example of perfect womanhood. Britomart is at once charming, chaste, beautiful and strong, so that the Third Book might properly have been termed, "The Legend of Britomartis, or of Perfect Womanhood."

The beauty of Britomart is so overpowering that when, her armour laid aside, men behold her beauty, they worship her as a divinity. Thus, when she doffs her armour at the castle of Malbecco,

they smitten were  
With great amazement of so wondrous sight;  
And each on other, and they all on her,  
Stood gazing, as if sudden great affright  
Had them surprized. At last, avizing right  
Her goodly personage and glorious hew,  
Which they so much mistooke, they tooke delight  
In their first error, and yett still anew  
With wonder of her beauty fed their hongry vew.  
  
Yet note their hongry vew be satisfide,  
But seeing still the more desir'd to see,  
And ever firmly fixed did abide  
In contemplation of divinitee.

Likewise, when Artegall had cloven the helmet of Britomart, and saw

That peerless paterne of Dame Natures pride  
And heavenly image of perfection,

he fell humbly down,

And of his wonder made religion,  
Weening some heavenly goddess he did see.

The beauty of Britomart embraced both feminine delicacy and masculine strength, so that to Guyon

Faire Lady she him seemd, like Lady drest,  
But fairest knight alive, when armed was her brest.

Thus, while she fascinated men, as did Amoret, she had abundant protection within herself:

For shee was full of amiable grace  
And manly terror mixed therewithall;  
That as the one stird up affections bace,  
So th' other did mens rash desires apall,  
And hold them backe that would in error fall:  
As hee that hath espide a vermeill Rose,  
To which sharp thornes and breres the way forstall,  
Dare not for dread his hardy hand expose,  
But wishing it far off his ydle wish doth lose.

The chastity of Britomart is constantly illustrated. She recoils at the first improper touch when the Lady of Delight, seized with love, seeks to couch beside her; she wins the tourney of the Knights of Maydenhead; she alone detects the impurity of the False Florimell, at the contest for the girdle; she vindicates the superiority of chastity to coldness by overpowering Marinell, and its superiority to temperance by overpowering Guyon; and the giant Ollyphant, type of Lust, flees from her presence, as Lust, in the person of the wild man, fled from the presence of Belphebe.

Not only is Britomart chaste herself, but she is strong enough to help many other men and women to be chaste. She enables the Red Crosse Knight to resist Malecasta and thus to remain true to Una, in other words, holiness to withstand the temptation to worship delight instead of truth; she penetrates the smoke, enters the castle of Busyrane, and liberates Amoret; she assists Scudamour and Amoret in their search for one another; and she delivers her own dear knight from the bondage of Radigund.

Innumerable are the triumphs in arms that vindicate her strength; not even Artegall can stand before her, not even when aided by such knights as Cambell and Triamond.

Her self-control is the more to be admired because of her ardency. Her passion for Artegall, once she has seen his image in Merlin's

glass, knows no degree, and when at last she finds herself actually in his presence,

Her hart did leape, and all her hart-strings tremble,  
For sudden joy and secret feare withall.

Yet such is her self-command that even at this moment her innate reserve does not desert her:

Yet durst he not make love so suddenly,  
Ne thinke th' affection of her hart to draw  
From one to other so quite contrary:  
Besides her modest countenance he saw  
So goodly grave, and full of princely aw,  
That it his ranging fancie did refraine,  
And looser thoughts to lawful bounds withdraw;  
Whereby the passion grew more fierce and faine,  
Like to a stubborne steede whom strong hand would  
restraine.

Britomart is thus, I take it, a very carefully matured study of the ideal woman as Spenser conceived her, a woman in whom winsomeness and reserve, beauty and strength, intensity and self-control, grace and chastity were happily combined, the crowning character among the women of this allegory of love.

It should perhaps be remarked in conclusion that, idealistic as is the character of Britomart while playing the rôle of the knight, no sooner is she betrothed than a very real woman, very real in her feminine jealousy on learning that her lover is infatuated with another, very real in her feminine impulse to reserve her lover, despite the obligation of his quest, wholly to herself, a very real woman replaces the heroine of romance. The Britomart who rescues Amoret and overthrows knights in tourney is borrowed from the tales of chivalry; the Britomart who flings herself upon her bed, consumed with grief and rage at her lord's remissness, the Britomart who clings to her lord, hesitant between duty and love, is taken directly from life. This transformation is a curious commentary upon the limitations of romance.

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## DID LEIBNIZ INFLUENCE POPE'S ESSAY?

The main charge preferred against Pope by Crousaz in his *Examen sur l'Essai de M. Pope* (1737),<sup>1</sup> and later elaborated in the *Commentaire* (1738),<sup>2</sup> was that Pope had imbibed some dangerous heresies from Leibniz. On February 2, 1739, Pope wrote to Warburton, who had already begun his vindication of the *Essay*, an explicit denial of the charge; he had never heard of Leibniz's "pre-established harmony," he said, until he "found it in M. Crousaz's book."<sup>3</sup> With the exception of Warburton and Roscoe, both of whom made the blunder of trying to absolve the *Essay* from charges of deism, the commentators have been inclined to adopt Crousaz's view. Warton remarks: "In illustrating his subject, Pope has been . . . deeply indebted to the Théodicée of Leibnitz, to Archbishop King's Origin of Evil, and to the Moralists of Lord Shaftesbury. . . ."<sup>4</sup> A. W. Ward tends to give most of the influence to Bolingbroke, but favors the belief that Pope secured directly from Leibniz the philosophical groundwork of the First Epistle.<sup>5</sup> Elwin supposes Pope never to have read Leibniz but to have derived much of Leibniz's teaching through Bolingbroke.<sup>6</sup> Mark Pattison, the latest editor of the *Essay*, apparently returns to the older view that Pope read the *Théodicée*; in it he finds the chief source of the *Essay*.<sup>7</sup>

Pope was undoubtedly a gratuitous liar, and his very inconsistent poem is known to be a hodge-podge of incompatible philosophies; but it is not safe to assume that a man who usually lies never tells the truth, and it need not be supposed that a poem which has remnants of various systems of philosophy necessarily has remnants of all. Those who refuse to credit Pope's word are at least under obligation to present specific and satisfactory proof to the contrary. So far, it seems to me, the evidence has not been adduced. Instead, the commentators have either evaded the question, sometimes by resorting to phrasing which is purposely

<sup>1</sup> Translated by Miss Carter, 1739.

<sup>2</sup> Translated by Lady Margaret Pennyman 1738, and by Johnson 1742.

<sup>3</sup> Elwin's ed. Pope's *Works*, II, 293.

<sup>4</sup> *An Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, ed. 1806, Vol. II, p. 58.

<sup>5</sup> *Pope's Poetical Works*, p. 190.

<sup>6</sup> II, 293.

<sup>7</sup> *Essay on Man*, Oxford, 1904, p. 5.



ambiguous, or else have been browbeaten by the traditional view. It is a suspicious circumstance that the theory constantly shifts ground. Some argue from the general tone of the *Essay*, some from the evidence of individual passages; some assume a direct influence from Leibniz, some trace it through Bolingbroke, and some employ a vague statement which may be interpreted in favor of any or all of these positions. Of Leibniz's direct influence, there is, I think, absolutely no evidence. The question of what Pope may have derived by way of Bolingbroke is, of course, somewhat complicated. Bolingbroke constantly ridiculed Leibniz, and at the same time apparently appropriated from him; but it is doubtful if he himself borrowed for more than decorative purposes, and it seems certain that what he in turn conveyed from Leibniz to Pope is negligible.

There are some general considerations which militate against the theory of direct influence. In the first place, the origin of the theory is in itself suspicious. Crousaz's ignorance of English, which he frankly admitted,<sup>8</sup> made him a poor judge in the case. The opinion expressed in the *Examen* was based on a French translation in prose; that of the *Commentaire*, on the Abbé du Resnel's poetical translation. Resnel's poem, which provided the basis of Crousaz's detailed criticism, is notoriously inaccurate.<sup>9</sup> The translator himself admitted that he made changes in Pope's meaning in order to adapt it to French readers.<sup>10</sup> Crousaz's unfamiliarity with English naturally warped his judgment in another way; he inevitably overlooked the possibility of English influences back of the *Essay* and quite naturally looked for the source of Pope's ideas in writers with whom he himself was familiar. His deep-seated aversion to Leibniz,<sup>11</sup> which had become an obsession, made him particularly alert to danger from that quarter; any resemblance between the two would, therefore, be immediately scented and suspected. In addition, however, he held Spinoza in even greater contempt. The result is that, although Leibniz was an opponent of Spinoza's, Crousaz uses the charges of "Spinozism" and "Leibnizianism" almost interchangeably,

<sup>8</sup> *Commentary*, London, 1742, p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> See the notes attached in the 1742 ed. of *Commentary*.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 309.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 293.

calling in Spinoza when he is unusually anxious to stigmatize one of Pope's views. The confusion of his own ideas and the vagueness of the result are emphasized by a "Letter written to M. Crousaz on his *Examen*";<sup>12</sup> this French correspondent seriously supposes the writer's purpose has been to "free Mr. Pope from the suspicion of adhering to the *Leibnizian* System of Fatality." Moreover, Crousaz himself, as Warburton points out, "pretends to acquit the Poet of Fatalism," and admits that some of his early views were not well-founded. Little weight is to be attached to such uncertain criticism.

The specific charge made by Crousaz and repeated by Pope's editors is well summarized by Warburton: "Mr. Pope seems to him quite throughout his System to embrace the *pre-established Harmony* of the celebrated Leibniz, which, in his opinion, establishes a Fatality destructive of all Religion and Morality."<sup>13</sup> This statement, accurate or not with reference to either Leibniz or Pope, serves to indicate the two general divisions into which a study of the question naturally falls: (1) the contention that the universe as a whole is perfect in spite of the apparent imperfections due to physical and moral evil in our own world; (2) the extent to which the operation of natural laws affects the freedom of the individual will in its choice between good and evil. I shall consider in the order of these topics the evidence advanced. The question of Leibniz's effect on Pope must in each case depend on a closeness of agreement in idea or phrase which would make it probable that Pope was indebted to Leibniz in addition to various English writers whom he is actually known to have read.

## I

The references to universal harmony which excited Crousaz's suspicion of Spinoza's or Leibniz's doctrine are:

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,  
Whose body nature is and God the soul.

(Epistle I, 267-8)

Whate'er of life all quick'ning aether keeps,  
Or breathes thro' air, or shoots beneath the deeps,  
Or pours profuse on earth, one nature feeds  
The vital flame, and swells the genial seeds.

(Epistle III, 113 ff.<sup>14</sup>)

<sup>12</sup> Included in *Commentary*.

<sup>13</sup> *Vindication*, Letter II.

<sup>14</sup> Incorrectly cited by Crousaz as l. 150.

Such is the world's great harmony, that springs  
From order, union, full consent of things.

(Epistle III, 295-6)

It is in connection with this last passage that Warburton made his defense of Pope. However shallow and insincere some of Warburton's remarks on the *Essay*, he placed the idea of this one couplet in such a clear line of genealogy from Plato through King and Shaftesbury that no commentator has tried to refute him. Even Warton, who insisted that Leibniz was an important influence, contented himself here with merely transcribing Warburton's comment; other editors have done the same thing or left the passage without any attempt to assign the origin, and they have also abandoned Crousaz's attack on the other passages cited above. ✓

The later commentators have relied rather upon the resemblance of various fragments of the *Essay*, especially of Epistle I, to particular passages in the *Théodicée*. The results of their gleanings at first seem formidable, but an examination shows that they contain no certain evidence of actual influence. For convenience I give a list of the passages associated with Leibniz by the various editors and also the additional analogues cited by them; the analogies are represented as consisting, not in detail of phrase, but merely in general idea.

Warton: Epistle I, 186 (Leibniz, Cudworth, King, Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, Balguy), 291 (Leibniz, King, Shaftesbury).

Elwin: Epistle I, 38 (Leibniz, Voltaire's remarks on Pascal), 52 (Leibniz, Bolingbroke, Shaftesbury), 56 (Leibniz, Bolingbroke), 209 (Leibniz, Dryden's Virgil, Geo. III, 377).

Mark Pattison: Epistle I, 44 (Leibniz, the "Schools" in general), 46 (Leibniz), 53 (Leibniz, Bolingbroke), 70-1 (Leibniz, the Cartesian School), 131 (Leibniz, Bolingbroke, Descartes, Seneca, Prior); Epistle III, 19 (Leibniz, the Vishnu Purana, Young's Satires, Sat. 2, Henry King's Poems, p. 119), 27 (Leibniz, Maimonides); Epistle IV, 111 (Leibniz).

From this résumé it appears that this set of ideas was evidently widespread, affecting ancient and modern literature, both learned and popular; that Pope is supposed to have been indebted to Leibniz exclusively for only Epistle I, 46 and Epistle IV, 111; and that he received from Leibniz indirectly through Bolingbroke the material for Epistle I, 53-56. To these particular passages I shall return later.



On the *post hoc* theory we might well concede a far larger number of passages in the *Théodicée* than have been cited by the commentators, for example Secs. 7-9, 117, 119, 124, 127, 128, 134, 148, 193, 225-7, 243, 263, 341, 357, 360, all of which develop the theme of universal perfection; but the truth is that Pope's simple statement of the matter was, at the time when he composed the *Essay*, the stock in trade of English philosophy both learned and popular. In order to understand the widespread interest in the topic, it is necessary to recall, at least briefly, some facts which gave direction to English thought for a long period before and after Pope. The rationalistic movement in England was an attempt to meet the challenge of science implied in the assertion of Bacon and of Hobbes that religion is not to be subjected to the ordinary processes of pure reason. In attacking this position, the rationalists were compelled to abandon the ancient Hebrew God, who was given to petty exhibitions of tyrannical authority and constantly meddling with natural laws; to meet the demands of rationalism, the Deity gradually became an abstraction of all physical and moral perfections, and the universe a perfect demonstration of his attributes. This movement, greatly stimulated by the demands of scientific discoveries, especially those of Newton, relied for its guidance chiefly upon the pagan philosophers, and reached its first definite results in the works of the Cambridge Platonists. On the specific question as to whether the evils of life argue against the perfection or the existence of a Deity, they went back to the Platonic doctrine that God chose the best possible world, and they used the argument in their day just as it had been used constantly against the atheistic conclusion of such philosophers as Epicurus. It is a question as old as philosophy itself; the terms vary, but the arguments remain essentially the same. In 1695 a new impulse was given by the publication of Bayle's Dictionary, in which he challenged the "optimists" to the extent of favoring the ancient and crude doctrine of manicheism. In reply there sprang up a large number of writers throughout Europe who undertook to defend the belief that God is supreme in power and goodness, and that the universe as a whole is perfect in spite of apparent flaws. The chief answers were Archbishop King's *De Origine Mali* (1702), Shaftesbury's *Moralists* (1709), and Leibniz's *Théodicée* (1710).



Since these several works are inspired by the same purpose, since they all owe much to the common source of Platonism, and since Shaftesbury and Leibniz are still further associated by the acknowledgment of their indebtedness to Cudworth's *Intellectual System* (1678),<sup>15</sup> there is quite naturally a general similarity. Moreover, Leibniz was greatly indebted to King,<sup>16</sup> and he admitted that both King and Shaftesbury had anticipated much of the *Théodicée*.<sup>17</sup> Before Pope published his poem (1732-4), the bulk of such literature in England had been still further increased by the publication of essays, sermons, and books to an extent not usually appreciated. Of these, probably the best known were Wollaston's *The Religion of Nature Delineated* (1722) and John Balguy's *Divine Rectitude* (1730). Those who have read a mere fraction of this output will realize the force of Johnson's remark concerning the *Essay*: "Surely a man of no very comprehensive search may venture to say he has heard all this before."<sup>18</sup>

It is safe to assert that even if Pope had been utterly ignorant of the ancient philosophy underlying the speculation of his time and quoted at wearisome length by all of the contemporary philosophers, and if Bolingbroke and Leibniz had not written a line, Pope could have found the material for his "world's great harmony" well digested and set forth by Cudworth, King, Shaftesbury, and Wollaston. That he actually employed each of these writers is demonstrated by the editors. Cudworth's "plastic nature," for example, is shown by Elwin to have furnished Pope's

Look round our world; behold the chain of love  
Combining all below and all above.  
See plastic nature working to this end,  
The single atoms each to other tend,  
Attract, attracted to, the next in place  
Form'd and impell'd its neighbour to embrace.

(Epistle III, 7-12)

The "vital flame" (Epistle III, 117), to which Crousaz objected, is a part of the same doctrine; in Cudworth's treatment it is the

<sup>15</sup> *Characteristics*, ed. J. M. Robertson, Vol. II, pp. 50, 196-7, and *Théodicée*, Preface.

<sup>16</sup> *Théodicée*, Preface and Secs. 240, 270, 358, 359; *Remarques sur le Livre de M. King*, Secs. 1-11.

<sup>17</sup> For references to Shaftesbury, see Gerhardt's ed. III, 421-3.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted by Elwin, II, 268.

spirit breathed into imperfect matter by the Deity, making the visible world but a shadow of the perfect idea in God. "For the plastic life of nature," he says, "is but the mere umbrage of intellectuality, a faint and shadowy imitation of mind and understanding; upon which it doth essentially depend, as the shadow doth upon the body, the image in the glass upon the face, or the echo upon the original voice. So that if there had been no perfect mind or intellect in the world, there would no more have been any plastic nature in it, than there would be an image in the glass without a face, or an echo without an original voice."<sup>19</sup> This spiritual synthesis, which makes all nature a reflection of the Deity and a part of him, and which goes back of Plato to Pythagoras and the mysticism of the East, is the common stamp of this entire school, and it is merely a matter of emphasis that separates the deists from the orthodox.

In spreading the doctrine King had a very important advantage over Cudworth and Shaftesbury in that he was considered orthodox, and therefore could be safely adopted by all parties. The interest in him was general at the time of Pope's writing, for the work had been recently translated and edited with copious notes by Edmund Law (1731).<sup>20</sup> Starting with the thesis that "the world is as well as it could be made by infinite *Power* and *Goodness*,"<sup>21</sup> King undertakes to confute the objections of atheism and manicheism at every point suggested by them. A few of his fundamental propositions will indicate sufficiently the parallelism between him and Pope. Perfect creatures considered individually, says King, are a metaphysical impossibility, for they are born of imperfect matter (p. 81), and in their several degrees of imperfection must represent a "Scale of being" proceeding by infinite degrees from nothing to God (83). Evils, that is, are "in the nature of things" (93). Man occupies his peculiar place in this gradation between the angels and beasts; he could not have been made different (125), for the result would have been "a monstrous Defect and *Hiatus*" (229). What seems ill to him—earthquakes, storms, and other disturbances of nature (121) or moral evils

<sup>19</sup> *Works*, ed. 1845, Vol. I, p. 272.

<sup>20</sup> Publicity was increased by Law's attacks on Samuel Clarke's *Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God* (1705, 1706) and *A Defence of Dr. Clarke's Demonstration*, etc., written by John Clarke in reply to Law.

<sup>21</sup> P. 53. I refer to Law's translation, 1731.

(279-80)—is ill only in appearance and with reference to the small part of the universe he knows (104). The world was not made for man only but for the "Benefit of the Universe" (132), and the power and goodness of the Deity are to be judged from the harmonious whole and not the apparently discordant parts. That Pope imitated King is the unanimous opinion of the commentators, and it is based, not merely on agreement in idea, but also on the phrasing of individual passages.

Shaftesbury's influence was still greater;<sup>22</sup> what the orthodox King set forth in calm, deliberate style, the deist Shaftesbury presented with an enthusiasm that rendered his prose a mark of stylistic perfection for both prose writers and poets. When Shaftesbury's style and his entire system of philosophy are considered, there is some excuse for Montesquieu's outburst in which he called the author of the *Characteristics* one of the four great poets of the world.<sup>23</sup> Pope's liberal use of these essays, especially the *Moralists*, has been established by critics from Voltaire<sup>24</sup> to Mark Pattison; but the full force of the resemblance is to be appreciated only by reading Shaftesbury and then turning to the *Essay*. Shaftesbury's "natural joy in the contemplation of those numbers, that harmony, proportion and concord which supports the universal nature, and is essential in the constitution and form of every particular species or order of beings"<sup>25</sup> anticipated all that was said on this subject by Pope and various other popular writers in England and on the Continent; they were under still greater obligation for his development of the idea that "if apprehended the order of the moral world would equal that of the natural."<sup>26</sup> To trace in detail the relation between Shaftesbury's "order, union, and coherence of the whole,"<sup>27</sup> which excludes "all real ill," and the same theory in the *Essay* would require a system of annotation far more elaborate than any that has yet been attempted. J. M. Robertson says that "the *Essay* is in

<sup>22</sup> Besides annotated editions of the *Essay*, see Paul Vater, *Pope und Shaftesbury*, Halle, a.S., 1897.

<sup>23</sup> *Pensées Diverses*.

<sup>24</sup> *Lettres sur les Anglais*, Let. XXII.

<sup>25</sup> J. M. Robertson's ed. *Characteristics*, 1900, I, 296.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 69.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 65.



large part pure Shaftesbury filtered through Bolingbroke."<sup>28</sup> The only objection to this view is that various passages were taken over directly without the medium of Bolingbroke's imitation.<sup>29</sup> An extract from one of Warburton's letters states the relation more accurately: "As to the passages of Mr. Pope that correspond with Leibniz, you know he took them from Shaftesbury; and that Shaftesbury and Leibniz had one common original, Plato."<sup>30</sup> Pope himself testified to Shaftesbury's great vogue by saying that "to his knowledge the *Characteristics* had done more harm to revealed religion in England than all the works of infidelity put together."<sup>31</sup> His silence concerning his own obligation to the *Moralists* is readily understood; he was following the example of his patron Bolingbroke, who omitted all references to Shaftesbury because of a political difference.<sup>32</sup> Pope's ridicule of the *Moralists* led Warton to remark: "After borrowing so largely from this treatise, our author should not, methinks, have ridiculed it as he does, in the Fourth Book of the Dunciad, ver. 417."<sup>33</sup> After reading the *Characteristics*, which went into its fifth edition in 1732, Pope had small reason for going to the technical treatise by Leibniz. 487

It is to be remembered also that Pope was only one of a considerable number of poets who were attempting to give final expression to this theme of universal harmony. This material forms the least original part of his *Essay*. The evidence afforded by these other poets and poetasters has not been duly considered. Where did they secure their scheme of universal coherence and perfection? Apparently it was not from Leibniz. Communicative as the didactic poets were in regard to their favorite philosophers, there is not, I think, any reference to Leibniz by an English poet before Akenside referred to him in two footnotes attached to the *Pleasures of the Imagination* (1744),<sup>34</sup> which appeared long after

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Introd.

<sup>29</sup> See notes, *passim*, by Elwin and Pattison.

<sup>30</sup> Quoted by Warton, note on Ep. III, 15.

<sup>31</sup> Chalmers Biog. Dict., art. John Brown.

<sup>32</sup> See *Characteristics*, Vol. II, p. 262 and Editor's note.

<sup>33</sup> *Essay on Pope*, ed. 1806, II, 94.

<sup>34</sup> Bk. I, l. 202; Bk. II, l. 335. The earlier correspondence between Leibniz, Clarke, and Queen Caroline affords no evidence to the contrary. The published correspondence between Leibniz and Clarke deals with matters purely metaphysical.



the *furore* occasioned by Crousaz; moreover, Akenside drew his material directly from Shaftesbury and casually referred to Leibniz merely as an analogy. The English poets contemporary with Pope derived their inspiration from two sources—classical literature and current English philosophy. Dryden popularized some of this material through his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, especially Book XV, which states the Pythagorean doctrine. This in turn apparently inspired Thomson to go to the "Samian sage" for the passage in *Liberty*, Part III (1735) explaining the "secret band of love, the kind attraction" of universal nature due to "life's indissoluble flame," which

For ever shifting, runs the eternal round.

But Thomson's earlier work, the *Seasons* (1726-30), is one continuous exposition of "the full-adjusted harmony of things,"<sup>35</sup> and here, as Herder observes,<sup>36</sup> he was indebted primarily to the *Moralists*. Pattison refers to Thomson's "mighty chain of beings" in *Summer* 333 (1727). Among the many other passages of the kind, I select one which covers in general terms the entire ground of Pope's more detailed treatment:

Thus in some deep retirement would I pass  
The winter-glooms with friends of pliant soul,  
Or blithe, or solemn, as the theme inspired;  
With them would search, if Nature's boundless frame  
Was call'd, late-rising from the void of night,  
Or sprung eternal from the Eternal Mind;  
Its life, its laws, its progress, and its end.  
Hence larger prospects of the beauteous whole  
Would, gradual, open on our opening minds;  
And each diffusive harmony unite  
In full perfection to the astonish'd eye.  
Then would we try to scan the moral world,  
Which, though to us it seems embroil'd, moves on  
In higher order; fitted and impell'd  
By Wisdom's finest hand, and issuing all  
In general good.<sup>37</sup>

In 1727 Henry Baker's *The Universe* insisted on the same general idea. Probably it was due to the interest in these poems that a publisher brought out, in 1728, the second edition of Henry

<sup>35</sup> *Autumn*, 835.

<sup>36</sup> *Adrastea*, "Shaftesburi, Geist und Frohsinn."

<sup>37</sup> *Winter*, 572-87.

Needler (1690-1718), a very obscure writer but apparently the first imitator of Shaftesbury. Of his first edition there seems to be no trace; it probably appeared when imitation of deistical philosophy was still in danger of prosecution. Needler frankly referred one of his prose pieces to Shaftesbury's apostrophe to nature in the *Moralists*, and was clearly under the same spell when he wrote various other pieces in prose and verse. His work is of no value in itself; but it indicates the probable source for the whole school of "optimists". The publisher of the 1728 edition attached the following Advertisement, which demonstrates the vogue of these deistical ideas: "The Essay on the Beauty of the Universe, though very just and rational, is but a sketch (as Mr. Needler himself owns) . . . I wish it may incite some able hand to treat more amply so useful and entertaining a subject." Whether encouraged by this notice or not, there was a steady stream of such literature wearisomely portraying what Mark Akenside calls the "Universal Venus."

The assumption that Pope's case is different, and that he borrowed from Leibniz what was already familiar to the general reader, can be established only on one or both of the following grounds; first, that in developing the common view he portrays marks peculiar to the details of Leibniz's system; second, that the phrasing of certain passages in the *Essay* is due to Leibniz. The first supposition becomes absurd the moment we consider the intricacies of Leibniz's philosophy. Although he has the same general purpose as the other writers who opposed Bayle, his defense of "optimism" involves a minuteness of detail and a depth of metaphysics which distinguish it from the other productions of the school and render it altogether too abstruse for Pope's purpose. The *Théodicée*, it is true, is less complicated than some of Leibniz's preceding works in which he first states his theory; but the *Théodicée* presupposes this system, attempts a restatement and application of it, and is unintelligible without it. If the critics find in Pope any direct evidence of Leibniz's three monads (Secs. 396, 397), the composition of the continuum (Preface and Secs. 14, 195), the distinction between the will "antecedent" and "consequent" (Secs. 80, 115, 282), what Leibniz really means by "pre-established harmony" (Secs. 15, 31, 41, 82, 59, 61-2, 105, 247, 291, 300, 310, 323), or any other detail so stated as to be distinctive of the peculiar system of Leibniz as opposed to the

more popular conception of "optimism," there will be reason for referring the *Essay* to the *Théodicée*. To go no further, the "pre-established harmony" of Leibniz, which attempts to solve the enigma of the relation between soul and body, spirit and matter, is admitted by Mark Pattison to be something very different from Pope's amateurish idea.<sup>38</sup> And, again, whatever Pope may have believed about God's choice of this system, he does not depart from the simple Platonic assertion that God *did* choose the best system possible in order to adopt Leibniz's view that the choice was *necessitated* by some law antecedent to the Divine will.<sup>39</sup>

Evidence for the second supposition—resemblance in details of phrasing—must depend upon those passages which, as I have shown, have been attributed exclusively to Leibniz. The first of these is Epistle I, 46,

Then in the scale of reasoning life, 'tis plain  
There must be somewhere such a rank as man.

Mark Pattison says this is the "lex continui," which "if not first introduced by Leibniz, was popularized by him." From the references cited it is clear that Leibniz himself had no thought of introducing anything new: "Or cette fragilité même est une suite de la nature des choses, à moins qu'on ne veuille que cette espèce de créature, qui raisonne et qui est habillée de chair et d'os, ne soit point dans le monde. Mais ce serait apparemment un défaut que quelques philosophes d'autrefois auraient appelé *vacuum formarum*, un vide dans l'ordre des espèces";<sup>40</sup> "Il est raisonnable qu'il y ait des substances capables de perception au dessous de nous comme il y en a au dessus; et que notre âme bien loin d'être la dernière de toutes se trouve dans un milieu, dont on puisse descendre et monter; autrement ce serait un défaut d'ordre, que certains philosophes appellent '*vacuum formarum*.'" <sup>41</sup> To have Pope go to Leibniz for a general statement of this hoary view is to have him bring coals to Newcastle; it is the fundamental idea in King's *Essay*,<sup>42</sup> and Elwin considers this the source from which

<sup>38</sup> Note on Ep. I, 46.

<sup>39</sup> See Warburton's *Vindication*, Letter II.

<sup>40</sup> *Théodicée*, Sec. 14.

<sup>41</sup> Sur le principe de Vie, *Opp. Philos* (ed. Erd.), p. 431.

<sup>42</sup> See, for example, pp. 93-4, 229-243.



both Bolingbroke and Pope drew.<sup>43</sup> Pattison's evidence that "from Leibniz the hypothesis was adopted generally" is equally inconclusive. He refers to Law's *Origin of Evil*<sup>44</sup> and *Spectator* No. 519. The note which Law attaches to King's third chapter, dealing with the "Scale of Beings," is merely to the effect that "the chief argument of the foregoing chapter is beautifully illustrated by Mr. Addison." The extract there quoted from *Spectator* No. 519 concludes with Addison's reference to Locke's Essay, Bk. III, Ch. 6, Sec. 12. In two later notes Law finds analagous passages also in Tillotson and Scott.<sup>45</sup> Certainly, then, King's editor had no idea that "the hypothesis was adopted generally" from Leibniz. Pattison takes it as a matter of course that Leibniz also inspired a passage which he quotes from Wieland's *Die Natur der Dinge* (5.205); this assumption is open to doubt, for two recent monographs show that Wieland owed much of his system to Shaftesbury.<sup>46</sup> Finally, in connection with Lessing (*Werke*, 5, 19) he admits the fact to which I have referred already; the passage from Lessing, he says, "shewes that the idea of a 'full creation' as expressed in Pope's lines is only a partial rendering of the conception of Leibniz." The second passage referred by Pattison to the *Théodicée* is Epistle IV, 111: "What makes all physical or moral evil?" which he connects with Sec. 21: "Le mal métaphysique consiste dans la simple imperfection; le mal physique dans la souffrance; et la moral dans le péché." This was the ancient classification; it is made by King at the beginning of his second chapter and used as the basis of his later divisions. Of the one passage apparently derived from Leibniz through Bolingbroke, without other influences, little need be said; the cross purpose between Elwin's comment and Pattison's shows clearly that no part of Epistle I, 53-6 is without additional analogues<sup>47</sup> in substance and diction.

<sup>43</sup> Note on Ep. I, 46.

<sup>44</sup> Ed. 1758, p. 117, note; ed. 1731, p. 94.

<sup>45</sup> Ed. 1731, notes 38, 39, pp. 102, 3.

<sup>46</sup> Charles Elson, *Wieland and Shaftesbury*, Columbia Univ. Press, 1913; H. Grudzinski, *Shaftesbury's Einfluss auf Chr. M. Wieland*, etc., Stuttgart, 1913.

<sup>47</sup> See also Law's note, King's *Essay*, pp. 105-6, and the extract quoted there from Samuel Clarke's *Impartial Enquiry*, etc., p. 80.



In other words, there is not in the entire *Essay* a single passage dealing with "universal harmony" which can be traced certainly to Leibniz even if we include Bolingbroke as an intermediate stage. The tendency of commentators to assume such a connection is easy to understand; after the appearance of Voltaire's *Candide* (1759), Leibniz naturally came to be regarded as the "optimist" *par excellence*, and the critics have overlooked a fact recognized by Voltaire himself, that the doctrine was first popularized by Shaftesbury.<sup>48</sup>

## II

The charge of "fatalism" advanced by Crousaz and repeated by editors and other commentators is based principally on Epistle I, 155-ff (to 170):

If plagues or earthquakes break not Heav'n's design,  
Why then a Borgia, or a Catiline?  
Who knows but he, whose hand the light'ning forms,  
Who heaves old ocean, and who wings the storms;  
Pours fierce ambition in a Caesar's mind,  
Or turns young Ammon loose to scourge mankind?

I am not concerned with the soundness of the accusation *per se* or the validity of Pope's reasoning; these matters have been discussed by all the critics, and by none with more judgment than Belsham. Pope's treatment does undoubtedly savor of fatalism, more probably than he intended; it comes dangerously near to freeing man of individual responsibility for wrongdoing and fixing it upon the Divine decree. But the question is, Did Pope derive his conclusion necessarily from Leibniz? The suspicion that he did is so intangible that it is difficult to meet; for in spite of all that has been said on the subject, the charge of such influence has never taken the definite form of any specific evidence.

The avowed purpose of the *Théodicée* was to refute Bayle's manicheism and what Leibniz calls *fatum Mahumetanum* (Preface), the equivalent of the old theological predestination. Granted that in his attempt to account for moral as for physical evil he has been accused of establishing the doctrine he professed to annihilate, and that Pope suffered a similar fate in his attempt to "vindicate the ways of God to Man," their failure was different in kind and degree. Leibniz resorted to fine distinctions between

<sup>48</sup> See extract quoted from *Oeuvres*, Vol. 47, p. 98, by Elwin II, 299.

contingency and necessity (Secs. 34, 282), *le certain* and *le déterminé* (Sec. 36) or *verité necessaire* and *nécessité hypothétique* (Sec. 37 ff.), *indifférence* and *indifférence d'équilibre* (Secs. 46, 49), between the two forms of Divine will already mentioned, and various other subtleties of which there is no hint in Pope. If we strip Leibniz's system of these technical specializations, we have a substratum at least akin to Pope's assumption; but a reading of the *Théodicée* itself will demonstrate that here, too, we are dealing with an idea as old as philosophy, one exhibited in a continuous succession of schools. That Pope pushed the "automatic" explanation further than Leibniz did is recognized by Elwin. Beginning apparently with the assumption that Pope's "fatalism" was due to the *Théodicée*, Elwin's masterly examination and comparison of the two works exposes the gulf between them. His opinion constantly takes the form: "But to a great extent he differed from Leibniz with regard to the cause of the several kinds of evil, and his optimism was of an adulterate, untenable kind."<sup>49</sup> The only identification of the two which is left intact by Elwin is the classification of evil into physical, moral, and metaphysical, and that, as I have shown, was commonplace. All that is wanting in Elwin's treatment is a statement of fact to which his separate conclusions point, that is, that Pope did not adopt his views from Leibniz. A good concrete instance of the difference between the "fatalism" of the two is to be had by comparing the passage quoted above and the *Théodicée*, Sec. 26.

The origin of Pope's "destructive morality," like that of his entire system, is to be found nearer home. Sufficient hints of it are contained in the philosophy of the orthodox English clergy. It is clearly evident that the theoretic "Whatever is, is right" is always in danger of leading straight to the naked conclusion which Pope reached. This is the pitfall which lies in wait for all reasoning that undertakes to explain away moral evil as really not evil; only the most circumspect manage to avoid it. That the line between orthodoxy and heresy is at this point a very fine one is demonstrated by Law's comment on King. In order to justify the existence of moral evil, King says: " 'Tis certain that God does not permit any bad Elections, but such as may be reconciled with the Good of the whole System, and has digested and order'd every thing in such a manner, that these very Faults and

<sup>49</sup> II. 297.

Vices shall tend to the Good of the whole. For as in Musick Discords, if heard separately, grate and offend the Ear with harshness, but when mix'd in consort with other notes, make a more sweet and agreeable Harmony; in like manner bad Elections, if consider'd alone, are look'd upon as odious and detestable, but compared with the whole System, they promote and increase the Good and Beauty of the Whole."<sup>50</sup> The lengthy note added by Law shows that he recognizes the danger of emphasizing this doctrine, and he regrets that Samuel Clarke "carries the Matter farther, and supposes that God may for the general Good *decree* some such acts as seem to be morally Evil."<sup>51</sup> Pope himself said nothing more. His "fatalism" is not really out of keeping with English rationalism, and he was not the only one who pursued the argument beyond safe ground.

His position is to be explained more fully, however, by referring to special influences to which he was subjected. One of these, usually disregarded, is pointed out by Mark Pattison; "in ascribing the existence of wicked men to the direct permission of God, Pope is in strict accordance with the language of catholic theology."<sup>52</sup> Another, of greater importance, has been wholly neglected—the exact teaching of Bolingbroke concerning the moral nature of man. On the question of human perfectibility and the freedom of individual will there was a variety of opinion which separated into various camps those who were united on more general principles, and sometimes brought together those who were in most respects at odds. King, Leibniz, and Shaftesbury here separate, and Bolingbroke agrees in detail with none of them. The exact definition of his views was determined by his avowed contempt for Cudworth and the other so-called Platonists, Shaftesbury being evidently the principal object of attack. The whole tendency of their teaching was to make human goodness natural and probable; they regarded man as instinctively virtuous through the possession of an innate "moral sense," which, independently of all experience, distinguishes spontaneously between good and evil. Virtuous conduct thus becomes as natural to man as instinctive habits to the lower animals. Bolingbroke ridiculed such notions as "Platonic whimsies," and for his own solution went

<sup>50</sup> Pp. 279-80.

<sup>51</sup> *Impartial Enquiry*, etc., Part I, Ch. II, prop. 9.

<sup>52</sup> Note on Ep. I, 155-70. See references given there.



to neither Leibniz nor King. His fundamental assumption, he borrowed from the psychology of Locke, who had followed Aristotle in the denial of innate ideas and had made virtue dependent upon the supremacy of reason. On this basis Bolingbroke erected a system which has much in common with Mandeville's egoism and is scarcely less cynical. In Bolingbroke's scheme man is instinctively selfish and therefore essentially vicious. His self-love takes the form of various passions, and virtue is possible only through the domination of these passions by the restraining influence of reason, with which they are at continual war.<sup>53</sup> In this conflict reason is at a great disadvantage, for the passions act more quickly and are moved by more immediate considerations;<sup>54</sup> hence Bolingbroke concludes that the odds are in favor of vice, and that from the very nature of his moral constitution man is doomed at best to a "mixed happiness." So far as Pope is consistent in his analysis of human nature, he agrees with his "guide, philosopher, and friend." This pessimistic view, setting him apart in this particular from the Platonists, left him free to appropriate also from Mandeville's theory, which insists even more cynically on the naturalness of vice. From Mandeville he is supposed to have derived his theory of the "ruling passion"; in addition, he probably was indebted besides to the similar philosophy in *Cato's Letters* (1724). Once Pope had followed this group in identifying God and Nature and in making man vicious as a result of instincts implanted in him by natural law, I see no reason for supposing that he needed to go beyond this small circle of English philosophy to secure his "fatalism." His imitator Lord Paget expressed the same views more openly:

Self-love, howe'er disguised, misunderstood,  
 Howe'er misplac'd, is still the sov'reign Good;  
 Virtue or Wisdom but the vain Pretence,  
 These may direct, but Passions influence.  
 Presumptuous Man! why boasts thou thy Free-will,  
 By Constitution doom'd to Good or Ill?  
 .....  
 Say, can thy Art oppos'd to Nature's Force  
 Obstruct her Motions, or suspend her Course?<sup>55</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Frag. 26, 33, 51, 55, 64.

<sup>54</sup> Frag. 65, 66.

<sup>55</sup> *An Essay on Human Life*, 1734.



Lord Paget shows even more clearly than Pope the part played by the insistence on self-love as the only motive to conduct, a doctrine popularized by Hobbes and stated even more offensively by Mandeville; but the argument of the two poets is identical. To suppose that either poet had to go to Leibniz or to Bolingbroke himself for this view is absurd; they could have heard it in the nearest coffee-house. Their general conclusion is not wholly at variance with Leibniz's complex system; but more than this cannot be claimed.<sup>56</sup> This admixture of the theoretic and practical in ethics and the frankly cynical conclusion which it gave are not typical of Leibniz; the whole doctrine reflects a coarseness which betrays its immediate English origin. The most that can be said is that Pope was encouraged by Bolingbroke, and that Paget's imitation of the *Essay on Man* is even bolder than the original.

From any point of view, the assumption that Pope was necessarily indebted to the *Théodicée* is untenable. First, it is not needed to explain "the world's great harmony." Whatever Pope and Leibniz held in common with reference to universal perfection is to be found in a large body of English literature which includes not only the philosophical writings of Cudworth, King, Shaftesbury, Wollaston, and various lesser figures, but also a considerable school of popular verse. Secondly, the assumption does not explain Pope's "fatalism." The probable sources for this are less numerous than for the doctrine of cosmic harmony; but they are even more definite, and are as far removed from Leibniz as from the English theorists whom Bolingbroke and Mandeville opposed. The Leibnizian theory is, I think, typical of a considerable fund of critical opinion relating to eighteenth-century origins; it persists merely because it has been transmitted without first-hand consideration of the actual conditions which prevailed in England. In attempting to reveal the weakness of evidence for it, I have undoubtedly appeared to misrepresent the commentators in connection with a few passages; their citation of Leibniz is often intended merely to show the resemblance in theory, and not to prove any actual indebtedness. To this use of analogies there is, of course, no objection; but the fault lies in the conclusion which is supposed to be authorized by these passages. If we should use the same diligence in collecting analogous extracts even from

<sup>56</sup> See Bertrand Russell, *The Philosophy of Leibniz*, Ch. xvi.

Wollaston, we might make him largely responsible for the *Essay*. No one questions some general resemblances to Leibniz; but they afford no ground for concluding that Pope's philosophical ideas "are to be traced" to the *Théodicée* directly or indirectly.

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## THE HELLENIC CURRENT IN ENGLISH NINETEENTH CENTURY POETRY

### I

There are two ways in which the literature of a foreign country may influence our own poetry: as a forming spirit, molding any material either that of its own or that of another nation; or as a source of material, molded by any forming spirit, whether Greek, Roman, or medieval. The two methods are often distinct and often merge. William Mason's *Elfrida* is Greek in spirit, medieval in subject matter. The Hellenic tales of William Morris's *Earthly Paradise* are Greek in material, medieval-romantic in atmosphere. Wordsworth's *Laodamia* is Greek in both.

The problems raised by a discussion of these two influences are also different. In studying the working of the Hellenic or the medieval spirit we must ask ourselves whether we have truly comprehended or misconceived it; whether it will assimilate with our existing culture; whether it is the element best fitted to maintain artistic balance in our national life. In tracing the use of Hellenic material by modern poets, the exploiting of ancient history, legend, and mythology, we are confronted by other questions. Does the richness of association investing these tales make them still especially fit for poetry, or are they becoming shopworn from overuse? Does continual association with events caused by an obsolete social system tend to expand our horizon; or does it, on the contrary, tend to produce certain stereotyped faults, akin to those of decadent neo-classicism, in the handling of both incident and phraseology? So distinct are the two sets of problems that a critic might with perfect consistency advocate for our modern poetry a great increase in the Hellenic spirit and a great decrease in the use of Hellenic legend.

In his *Greek Influence on English Poetry* the late J. Churton Collins has recently discussed the first and more difficult problem. We wish to supplement his work by tracing the use of Greek material through the nineteenth century, drawing some conclusions and leaving others for our readers. Occasionally we may have gone too far into the limbo of forgotten rhymers; but for the modern poet and critic failure at times has its lesson as well as success.

Although we have heard repeatedly that English neo-classicism was Latin rather than Greek, it is something of a revelation to

analyze our writers from 1700 to 1812 and find how indifferent they seemed to the narrative possibilities of the chief classical literature. Pope, Thomson, Collins, Gray, Chatterton, the Wartons, Dr. Johnson, Goldsmith, Cowper, Crabbe, Burns, Blake, have not left us a single great original poem located on Greek soil or drawn from Greek mythology. This is the more marked when we remember that Gray and Thomas Warton were eminent Greek scholars, and that the poems of Collins teem with Grecian allusions. There were evidently counter influences in the air. The few versifications based on Hellenic material during that long period are now almost unreadable. Thomson's *Liberty* and *Agamemnon*, Home's *Agis*, Glover's *Leonidas*, Beattie's *Judgment of Paris*,—who outside of specialists as much as hears their names? Even Akenside's *Hymn to the Naiads* and the digression on Greece in the last book of Falconer's *Shipwreck* are following their less deserving comrades into oblivion.

The early nineteenth century writers before 1812 make only a little better showing. The poems of Wordsworth published before 1814, the earlier works of Coleridge, Southey, Scott, Campbell, and of the more poetical minors, such as Hogg and Leyden, almost ignore Hellas. Moore's paraphrase of *Anacreon* (1800), though well received, was essentially a schoolboy's exercise. Two or three early minor poems of his on Greek themes are short and insignificant. Some of Landor's early poems might be mentioned; but these were unknown and still are. His *Count Julian* and *Gebir* are Spanish in location, whatever they may be in spirit.

To find much in this decade we must go down among the minors. William Sotheby, Byron's pet aversion, "that Itch of Scribbling personified,"<sup>1</sup> in 1802 published his *Orestes*, a crude play mixing a melodramatic ghost crying "Vengeance" with classic antiquity. Mrs. Tighe's *Psyche* (1805) was on a Greek theme and influenced Keats's *Endymion*; but, aside from the fact that it is a minor work, it speedily drifts away from an earthly Hellas into a medieval dreamland, with a feudal knight, a "Gothic castle", and all the allegorical machinery of Spenser. W. R. Wright in 1809 published his *Horae Ionicae*, written partly in Greece, partly from memory in England. The book is full of first-hand, though badly worded, descriptions of Greek scenes, but in meter and diction represents the most decadent stage of the Pope tradition.

<sup>1</sup> Prothero's *Byron's Letters*, IV, 228.



From 1812 on we find a reasonably distinct Hellenic current, turning both major and minor poets to Grecian themes, increasing or lessening from time to time, but continuing practically unbroken to the present day. That contemporaries felt this rise of a new stream is shown by a quotation from the *Edinburgh Review*<sup>2</sup> for 1813: "Greece, the mother of freedom and poetry in the West, which had long employed only the antiquary, the artist, and the philologist, was at length destined, after an interval of many silent and inglorious ages, to awaken the genius of a poet."

Before tracing this current we may pause to consider its causes. One of these was obviously the world-ransacking curiosity of the romantic generation. Another was the growing realization among the romanticists, after their first reaction against neo-classicism, that Greek literature<sup>3</sup> was not neo-classic. Another was the intrinsic beauty of that literature, which even in the garbled versions of the eighteenth century

"Would plead like angels trumpet-tongued against  
The deep damnation of its taking off."

But back of these, and stimulating them, lay the great revival in Greek scholarship near the turn of the century. "As in the seventeenth, so in the eighteenth century, Greek had not much hold on the many. Neglected in the public schools, neglected in the universities, not required either for degrees or for ordination, it was the rarest of accomplishments."<sup>4</sup> "The difficulty of the Greek language has always been an impediment in the way of knowledge of Greek literature, and this difficulty was for a long time aggravated in England by want of lexicons, grammars, and good texts, so that an intimate critical acquaintance with it was impossible

<sup>2</sup> Vol. XXII, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> "The machinery of early romance writers," wrote Southey in the Preface to his *Amadis of Gaul*, "is probably rather of classical than of Oriental origin. . . . Enchanted weapons may be traced to the workshop of Vulcan as easily as to the dwarfs of Scandinavia. The tales of dragons may be originally oriental; but the adventures of Jason and Hercules were popular tales in Europe, long before the supposed migration of Odin, or the birth of Mohammed. If magical rings were invented in Asia, it was Herodotus, who introduced the fashion into Europe? The fairies and ladies of the lake bear a closer resemblance to the nymphs and naiads of Rome and Greece, than to the peris of the East."

<sup>4</sup> J. Churton Collins' *Greek Influence on English Poetry*, p. 51.

till late in the eighteenth century."<sup>5</sup> For the cure of the latter evil, the world owes a lasting debt to Richard Porson, the greatest Greek scholar of his age, and far superior in that particular field to his eighteenth century predecessors. In textual criticism, comment, etc., his editions of the ancients were epoch-making, and they came just in time to influence the younger generation of the romantic poets. Byron studied Porson's edition of *Hecuba* at Harrow, and afterward bequeathed his copy to the library there.<sup>6</sup> "The prince of Grecians," drunken and untidy, was no *arbiter elegantiarum*, but the effect of his work on poetry is unquestionable.

"Profoundly skill'd,—in learning deeply read,  
He form'd the *judgment*, while the *taste* he led. . . .  
In Grecian learning he was deeply vers'd,  
The best of Grecians, he was *own'd* the first,"

wrote a minor poet<sup>7</sup> in 1808, the year of his death. And De Quincey<sup>8</sup> reminds us that "as a Grecian, Coleridge must be estimated with a reference to the state and standard of Greek literature at that time and in this country. Porson had not yet raised our ideal." "Classical scholarship had not been represented by a single man of mark since the death of the learned Richard Bentley in 1742, and Porson, the eminent Greek scholar by whom it was revived, did not receive his appointment as professor until 1793,"<sup>9</sup> says Professor Legouis; and he adds that at Cambridge, Porson's university, "The<sup>10</sup> mathematical tripos, or principal competitive examination was instituted in 1747, the classical tripos not until 1824," which was just about the time that the Tennyson brothers began to come to Cambridge.

Increasing knowledge of Hellas itself went hand in hand with increasing knowledge of Hellenic literature. Between 1784 and 1818 Mitford was publishing in various installments his *History of Greece*. In spite of its faults it opened to the public a field which had not before been even respectably presented to them. In his Advertisement to the first edition Mitford declared that his

<sup>5</sup> J. Churton Collins' *Greek Influence on English Poetry*, p. 58.

<sup>6</sup> Lord Russell's *Memoirs of Moore*, II, 624.

<sup>7</sup> Barker's *Anecdotes*, II, 6.

<sup>8</sup> Coleridge and *Opium Eating*.

<sup>9</sup> Legouis' *William Wordsworth*, Matthews' translation, p. 72.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

errors could only be excused by "The reality of the want," and a very stern, anti-literary reality that was. Mitford, at the suggestion of Gibbon, took this subject, not because he was especially in sympathy with it, but because it had been so glaringly neglected. The effect of such a work on a curious age craving for novelty and beauty, must have been considerable. Mrs. Hemans' *Storm of Delphi*, as she tells us in a footnote, was suggested by Mitford's citations from Herodotus; and other better poems must have had a similar origin.

The great increase in books of travel discussing Greece was also unquestionably a factor. The footnotes to Grecian poems by Moore and Mrs. Hemans refer repeatedly to many such books, most of which appeared between 1760 and 1830. A number of other works on scholarship and travel in Greece during this period are cited by Professor H. T. Peck in his *History of Classic Philology* (p. 380). *The Monthly Review* for August, 1811, reviewing books of Sir William Gell, (*The Topography of Troy* (1804), *Geography and Antiquities of Ithaca* (1807,) etc.) mentions "that laudable curiosity concerning the remains of classical antiquity, which has of late years increased among our countrymen."<sup>11</sup>

Another cause was Byron's journey to Greece—in itself part of the increasing tourist current turning there—and the sudden popularity in 1812 of his poetry describing it (*Childe Harold*, Canto II). The purely Hellenic current was also at first associated with, and encouraged by, the great Orientalizing movement led by Byron and Moore. Between 1812 and 1840 at least many poets saw in all Greece what Lord Houghton saw specially in Corfu,

"A portal, whence the Orient,  
The long-desired, long-dreamt of, Orient,  
Opens upon us, with its stranger forms,  
Outlines immense and gleaming distances,  
And all the circumstance of faery-land."<sup>12</sup>

By the irony of destiny, the movement that Byron precipitated was additionally furthered by an act which he himself in *The Curse of Minerva* had denounced as vandalism. Not far from the time when the great poet returned to England with *Childe Harold* in his portmanteau, Lord Elgin brought to the same shores from Greece the famous Elgin Marbles; and in 1816 they were pur-

<sup>11</sup> P. 371.

<sup>12</sup> *Corfu* (written 1832).



chased by the government and put on public exhibition in the British Museum. The Hellenizing influence of so much beautiful sculpture in a place so easily accessible could not but have its effect. Both Keats and Mary Shelley<sup>13</sup> speak of spending an afternoon in the Museum with the Elgin Marbles. Keats wrote two sonnets on them, in one of which he says:

"So do these wonders [bring] a most dizzy pain,  
That mingles Grecian grandeur with the rude  
Wasting of old Time—with a billowy main—  
A sun—a shadow of a magnitude."

These sonnets were addressed to Keats's friend, the painter Haydon, who had published an essay pointing out the beauties of the sculptures in question, and done all in his power to spread their influence. Hazlitt<sup>14</sup> in *Table Talk* says of statues that he "never liked any till I saw the Elgin marbles." The mood which they would tend to develop in a man is exactly that found in Keats's *Ode on a Grecian Urn*. Less important, though of the same nature, was the greater accessibility to Englishmen after 1814 of the classic art treasures of the Louvre, treasures which had been almost closed to them for two decades by the French wars. "The reader may remember," says Beattie,<sup>15</sup> "the enthusiasm with which Campbell had visited the antique statues in the Louvre [in 1814]. The effect was still fresh in his mind, and when he resumed his lectures on the Poetry of Greece [in 1818], his prose was enriched by frequent allusions to her sculptures."

The last and most obvious of the causes we are discussing was the revolt of the Greeks against Turkey in 1821, which turned on them the eyes of all Europe. The connection of this war with literature is patent, and needs no discussion except a reminder that "coming events cast their shadows before," and that the strain and unrest of the Greeks—their longing for liberty in an age when the French Revolution had set every one dreaming of liberty—must have influenced English poetry long before the first cannon was fired.

Bearing these causes in mind, let us take up the beginning and first broadening of the current, the period from 1812 to 1830. By

<sup>13</sup> Dowden's *Life of Shelley*, II, 183.

<sup>14</sup> Waller and Glover's ed., VI, 16.

<sup>15</sup> Beattie's *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, II, 93.



a strange mockery of fate, the great original impetus came from a spirit in some ways the very opposite to Athenian art, from Byron. But that Byron became an innovator was not due merely to the fact that he happened to travel in modern Attica. Deep in his heart he admired and longed for the very elements he lacked. We feel this in *Manfred*, where the stormy Byronic hero confronts the Witch of the Alps, with her calm brow, "Whereon is glassed serenity of soul." And Byron loved the country of Hellas, with its associations. His "longings constantly turned toward Greece. Even before the actual publication of *Childe Harold* Dallas and other friends pressed him to continue it; this, he replied, was impossible in England, he could only do it under the blue skies of Greece."<sup>16</sup> Hence it was not so strange that the "rhyming peer" should lead in the revival under discussion. His second canto of *Childe Harold*, written largely on Grecian soil, was filled with existing ruins and the glory of past associations,

"When wandering slow by Delphi's sacred side,  
Or gazing o'er the plains where Greek and Persian died."

"And yet how lovely in thine age of woe,  
Land of lost gods and godlike men, art thou."

"Where'er we tread 'tis haunted, holy ground."

Then followed *The Giaour*, and *The Bride of Abydos*, which, though Oriental tales, contain long interpolated passages on the past glory of Hellas and the Trojan war.

"Clime of the unforgotten brave!" says *The Giaour*  
"Shrine of the mighty! can it be,  
That this is all remains of thee? . . .  
Say, is not this Thermopylae? . . .  
Pronounce what sea, what shore is this?  
The gulf, the rock of Salamis!"

The second canto of *The Bride of Abydos* devotes over fifty lines to musings on the plain of Troy, memories of Leander, Priam, Achilles, Alexander, and Homer. *The Corsair* and *The Siege of Corinth* are located on Grecian soil, and though little connected with the great past suggest it occasionally. Byron's *Prometheus* is a Promethean theft from the mythology of Aeschylus; and in his poem on his thirty-sixth year he cries:

"The sword, the banner, and the field,  
Glory and Greece, around me see!

<sup>16</sup> Elze's *Life of Byron*, p. 130 of Eng. Translation.

The Spartan borne upon his shield,  
Was not more free."

Most intense of all in its Hellenism is "The isles of Greece" in Canto III of *Don Juan*:

"Where burning Sappho loved and sung,  
Where grew the arts of war and peace,  
Where Delos rose, and Phoebus sprung."

If we should say that Byron is praising the land of poets whose thought and style were utterly unlike his own, he would be first to acknowledge it and point to his own lines:

"And must their lyre so long divine,  
Degenerate into hands like mine."

The two great products of this current before 1830 were Keats and Shelley, but others around and before them were touched by it. Mrs. Hemans, significant through popularity if not through merit, turns from domesticity and medievalism to write *Modern Greece* (1817), a poem of a thousand lines in imitation of *Childe Harold*.

"Oh! who hath trod thy consecrated clime,  
Fair land of Phidias! theme of lofty strains!  
And traced each scene, that, 'midst the wrecks of time,  
The print of Glory's parting step retains," etc.

The same author gives us over a dozen scattering short poems on Grecian themes: *The Last Song of Sappho*; *The Spartan's March*, etc.

Her *Tombs of Platea* begins:

"And there they sleep!—the men who stood  
In arms before the exulting sun,  
And bathed their spears in Persian blood,  
And taught the earth how freedom might be won."

In 1818 T. L. Peacock, soaked for years in the best literature of antiquity, printed his one masterly poem, *Rhododaphne*, Grecian in story, and Attic in its polished style, wildly romantic as are its incidents.

Tom Moore's *Evenings in Greece* (1826) is very feeble poetry; but its length shows that the author felt the growing current. The scene is modern, but, like all descriptions of modern Greece, tinged with some past associations. Moore's *Legendary Ballads* (1828) contain short poems on the Greek themes of *Cupid* and

*Psyche, Hero and Leander*, and *Cephalus and Procris*. His *Memoirs* (published by Lord John Russell) show that the Irish lyricist during this period read many books or articles about Greece and Greek literature, among them Fouriel's *Chantes Populaires de la Grèce*.<sup>17</sup> Campbell in 1822 wrote his *Song of the Greeks*,

"Again to the battle, Achaians!"

and in 1828 his *Stanzas on the Battle of Navarino*,

"Hearts of oak that have bravely delivered the brave,  
And uplifted old Greece from the brink of the grave."

Barry Cornwall in 1823 published his *Flood of Thessaly*, a poem of over a thousand lines developing in fair Miltonic verse the story of Deucalion and Pyrrha. It ends with Deucalion's Miltonic vision of the coming glories of ancient Hellas. Barry Cornwall also, in his *Dramatic Scenes* (1819) includes *Lysander and Ione* "a pastoral" with "something of the familiarity of a common dialogue," like the more playful style of Landor. Lysander's description of a waterfall, "Rich as Dorado's paradise," shows a romantic mercy toward anachronisms.

The current produced from Wordsworth one classic masterpiece, *Laodamia* (1815), located in the Greece of the Trojan wars and celebrating "calm pleasures" and "majestic pains." Lamb felt that a change had come over the poet of the *Lyrical Ballads*, and wrote to Wordsworth: "*Laodamia* is a very original poem; I mean original with reference to your own manner. You have nothing like it. I should have seen it in a strange place, and greatly admired it, but not suspected its derivation."<sup>18</sup> The same atmosphere appears in his *Dion* (1820):

"Mourn, hills and groves of Attica! and mourn  
Ilissus, bending o'er thy classic urn."

Wordsworth also produced three mediocre sonnets on Greek themes: "When Philoctetes in the Lemnian isle" (1827); and the two sonnets *On a Celebrated Event in Ancient History*, published 1815 but written 1810. Beddoes, probably not long after 1820, turned from his haunted charnel-house to write *Pygmalion*, a Greek theme handled somewhat in the style of Keats's *Lamia*. Leigh Hunt in 1819 published his *Hero and Leander*. The same

<sup>17</sup> Russell II, 515.

<sup>18</sup> Lucas's Lamb's Works, VI, 457.

subject was treated more at length and with more success by Tom Hood in 1827. In the same volume with the latter Hood published his charming *Lycus, the Centaur*, which portrays the terrible effects of Circe's power with romantic horror sufficiently unlike *Comus*. Passing mention can also be afforded to *Ariadne* (1814) by Edward, Baron Thurlow, *The Naiad* (1816) by Keats's friend and one time poetic rival, J. H. Reynolds, and Praed's prize poem *Athens* (1824).

Enough has been said to show that in the decade and a half following 1812 there was a widespread Hellenic tendency. In the midst of this current rise, as its two chief exponents, Keats and Shelley. In Keats's first volume the Greek element is slight, and is completely overshadowed by pseudo-medievalism. But in his second work the growing tide has caught him. *Endymion* in mood and style is distinctly Spenserian, not Homeric; but its subject matter is wholly Attic and is regarded through a loving though uncritical eye. In the third or 1820 book of poems *Lamia*, the *Ode on a Grecian Urn*, *Ode to Psyche*, and the unfinished *Hyperion* are classic in the noblest sense of the word, and as nobly Grecian as anything in our language.

The Greek element in Keats is the instinctive answer of deep to deep, and by no means confined to poems on Greek mythology. Compare with his well known *Ode To Autumn* the following lines from Pater's<sup>19</sup> translation of Theocritus:

"The scent of late summer and of the fall of the year was everywhere; the pears fell from the trees at our feet, and apples in number rolled down at our sides. . . . A cup like this ye poured out now upon the altar of Demeter, who presides over the threshing-floor. May it be mine, once more, to dig my big winnowing-fan through her heaps of corn; and may I see her smile upon me, holding poppies and handfuls of corn in her two hands!"

Shelley, like Keats, was drawn in among the Hellenists after he had already appeared as an author, although a love for things Grecian seems always to have existed in both. *Queen Mab*, *The Revolt of Islam*, and *Rosalind and Helen* have nothing especially Greek either in spirit or matter, nor is any such element sharply prominent in *Alastor*. The *Cenci* is Elizabethan rather than Greek, and full of verbal echoes from Shakespeare. *Swellfoot the Tyrant* (1820) though redolent of Aristophanes, is not a great drama.

<sup>19</sup> In *Demeter and Persephone*.



It is in *Prometheus Unbound* (1820) and scattering poems, chiefly posthumous, which follow it, that Shelley's discipleship to the ancients becomes mature. *Hellas* (1821) was suggested by the *Persians* of Aeschylus; and, imperfect as it is, reveals its great model in the noble closing chorus. The following short poems, all written after 1819, are thoroughly Greek: *Arethusa*; *Song of Proserpine, while gathering flowers*; *Hymn of Apollo*; *Hymn of Pan*; *Orpheus*. At least three of these belong to the highest order of poetry. The *Prometheus Unbound*, by the direct comparison which it invites with Aeschylus, shows what the Hellenic current in English poetry before 1830 was and what it was not. Attic symmetry is found only fitfully in the short poems and almost never in the long ones. The action of *Prometheus Unbound* is dramatic and Aeschylean only in the first act, where the ancient models are most closely followed. The rest of the poem, like a river released from its levees, spreads out into a meandering, beautiful, uncharted marsh, with water lilies and moonshine and music across the waves. Yet certain unquestionably Greek elements are there; the pure sense of beauty, the avoidance of the medieval grotesque, the world of the calm superman as opposed to the stormy superman of Byron. All of these elements appear also in *Hyperion*, and the first two in *Endymion*.

The Hellenic current was an outgrowth of the romantic movement. In its own productions it was sometimes thoroughly romantic, sometimes doubtfully so; but it was never neo-classic. It is perhaps significant that no poems on Grecian themes were produced by either Crabbe or Rogers, although the latter locates his most lengthy poem in the country of the ancient Romans. In general the writers of the romantic generation saw the light of Hellas as they did that of the Middle Ages, through the stained glass of a temperament, which sometimes resulted in a startling juxtaposition of the words *classic* and *romantic*. Mrs. Hemans in *Modern Greece* (xxiii) addresses a Greek ruin as "romantic temple," and adds two lines below:

"Years, that have changed thy river's *classic* name,  
Have left thee still in savage pomp sublime."

lxvii: "Thebes, Corinth, Argos!—ye, renoun'd of old,  
Where are your chiefs of high *romantic* name?"

Campbell in his lectures on Greek poetry said that "scarce any conception of romantic poetry existed, the germ of which

might not be traced to the *Odyssey*.”<sup>20</sup> K. H. Digby in his *Broad Stone of Honour* emphasizes the fact that Greek poets loved remote lands and ages: “Of all the Grecian princes who went to Troy, Ulysses was from the country most remote from the land of Homer. The heroes of the Athenian tragic drama, the Pelopidae, and the Labdacidae, were all foreigners. Pausanias remarks that the Greeks must always have more admired the wonders of foreign countries than of their own; since their most celebrated historians have described the pyramids of Egypt with the greatest exactness, and have said nothing of the royal treasury of Minyas, nor of the walls of Tirynthus, no less admirable than the pyramids.”<sup>21</sup> But a less romantic, more truly classic note often appears, as, for example in Hazlitt’s *Round Table*,<sup>22</sup> a quotation from which may be compared with Keats’s *Grecian Urn*: “The gusto in the Greek statues is of a very singular kind. The sense of perfect form nearly occupies the whole mind, and hardly suffers it to dwell on any other feeling. It seems enough for them *to be*, without acting or suffering. Their forms are ideal, spiritual. Their beauty is power. By their beauty they are raised above the frailties of pain or passion; by their beauty they are deified.” Shelley writes:<sup>23</sup> “Could a Grecian architect have commanded all the labour and money which are expended on Versailles, he would have produced a fabric which the whole world has never equalled.”

The less romantic attitude toward Greece was not a less enthusiastic one. “Rome and Athens,”<sup>24</sup> declared Hazlitt, “filled a place in the history of mankind, which can never be occupied again.” In his posthumous *Essay on the Revival of Literature* (1832) Shelley speaks of “Grecian literature,—the finest the world has ever produced.” Unlike Hazlitt, however, he admired Greece at the expense of Rome. In a letter to Peacock, January 26th, 1819, he cries: “O, but for that series of wretched wars which terminated in the Roman conquest of the world; but for the Christian religion, which put the finishing stroke on the ancient

<sup>20</sup> Redding’s *Literary Reminiscences*, I, 113.

<sup>21</sup> Godefridus, p. 19, ed. of 1844.

<sup>22</sup> Waller and Glover’s ed., I, 79.

<sup>23</sup> Dowden’s *Life of Shelley*, II, 43.

<sup>24</sup> Waller and Glover’s ed., I, 4.

system; but for those changes which conducted Athens to its ruin, —to what an eminence might not humanity have arrived!" He writes again to John Gisborne, November 16, 1819: "Were not the Greeks a glorious people? What is there, as Job says of the Leviathan, like unto them? If the army of Nicias had not been defeated under the walls of Syracuse; if the Athenians had, acquiring Sicily, held the balance between Rome and Carthage, sent garrisons to the Greek colonies in the South of Italy, Rome might have been all that its intellectual condition entitled it to be, a tributary, not the conqueror of Greece."

## II

The Hellenic tradition, though the child of the Romantic generation, did not collapse with its parent movement but continued on unbroken into the later nineteenth century. Certain characteristics shown in its beginning have clung to it ever since. One of these is its constant alliance with the medieval tradition. Almost every author who has written poems on ancient Greece has written others on the Middle Ages. Byron had his *Manfred*, Keats his *Eve of St. Agnes*, Tennyson his *Morte d'Arthur*, Swinburne his *Tale of Balen*, William Morris his *Ogier the Dane*, Lewis Morris his *Vision of Saints*, de Tabley his *Two Old Kings*, Landor his *Count Julian*, Matthew Arnold his *Tristram and Iseult*, and so we might go on. Hellenism and medievalism pair off against each other in volume after volume like positive and negative poles in a series of electric batteries. Another characteristic of the Greek tradition is that each poet turns to it only at intervals. No one author, not Shelley, Arnold, or Landor even, has ever surrendered himself to it as completely as Scott did to medievalism or Crabbe to harsh realism.

At the same time, while the above characteristics always hold true, the Greek current changes very perceptibly as it passes through the different waves or *Zeitgeists* of the century. Before 1830 it was mainly romantic. Between 1830 and 1860 it wavers between romanticism and the more restrained and reflective classicism, the latter finally winning a temporary triumph in the work of Landor and Arnold. The tendency away from romance is shown by contrasting Tennyson's *Ænone* and *Lotus Eaters* (1833) with the sterner and less hazily atmospheric *Ulysses* and *Tithonus* (1842).



The collapse of the Romantic generation made not even a break in the tradition we are tracing. In 1830, only three years after Hood's *Lycus, the Centaur* and directly following the Greek poems in Moore's *Legendary Ballads* appeared Tennyson's *Sea Fairies*, slight but prophetic; and in the same year were printed The Poetical Works of the Rev. George Croly written chiefly in the period between 1816 and 1823, but now first published in one collection. They contain considerable Greek verse, especially the *Gems from the Antique*, a series of short poems, each accompanied by an engraving of the carved gem on which the lines are based. W. E. Aytoun, the Scotch poet followed in 1832 with his boyish *Homer*, the story of the great epic singer and the protest of the romantic poet against the world, voiced in fifty-eight stanzas of weakly sweet *ottava rima*.

Lord Houghton (Richard Monckton Milnes) the devoted editor of Keats, in 1834 published his *Memorials of a Tour in Greece and Italy*, a series of short poems on Hellenic subjects, the dignified verse of a scholar, though not of a great master. The influence of "the Poet Keats, to whom the old Greek mind seemed instinctively familiar"<sup>25</sup> is obvious, especially in such lines as these:

"And downward thence to latest days  
The heritage of Beauty fell,  
And Grecian forms and Grecian lays  
Prolonged their humanizing spell."<sup>26</sup>

In Houghton, as in Keats, there is sympathetic harmony between classic and medieval legend. He can see in Grecian olive forests

"Sylvan cathedrals, such as in old times  
Gave the first life to Gothic art, and led  
Imagination so sublime a way."<sup>27</sup>

Likewise in the opening lines of his *Modern Greece* he speaks of the medieval story of the enchanted princess as "the legend which our childhood loved."

The Preface to his *Poetical Works* of 1876 throws some light on the Hellenic current, its nature and causes:

"The Grecian poems [of 1834] have their date in that period of life which, in a cultivated Englishman, is almost universally touched and coloured by the studies and memories of the classic

<sup>25</sup> Houghton's note prefixed to *The Concentration of Athens*.

<sup>26</sup> *The Flowers of Helicon*.

<sup>27</sup> *Corfu* (written 1832).



world; and the scenes and personages they commemorate are, as it were, the most natural subjects of his poetic thought and illustration. . . . There were, too, at that time, earnest expectations of a regenerated Greece, to which not only the visionary poet, but the sober politician must now look back with disappointment; and the agreeable associations of a glorious ideal past, with an approximate interesting future, may be said to have passed away." Incidentally Lord Houghton's article in the *Edinburgh Review* which drew public attention to the merits of *Atalanta in Calydon* connects him in later life with the Hellenic current.

We are not concerned here with translations, yet it is well to remember that in 1835 Mrs. Browning published her Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*. She also made other translations from the Greek, but does not belong to the succession of Attic imitators, and seems to oppose them in *The Dead Pan* where she cries to the old gods:

"Get to dust as common mortals,  
By a common doom and track!  
Let no Schiller from the portals  
Of that Hades call you back. . . .  
Earth outgrows the mythic fancies  
Sung beside her in her youth:  
And those debonaire romances  
Sound but dull beside the truth.  
Phoebus' chariot-course is run!  
Look up, poets, to the sun!"

Thomas Noon Talfourd, author among other things of a History of Greek Poetry, produced in 1836 and 1838 his two dramas *Ion* and *The Athenian Captive*; and the growing severity of taste in classic matters may account for what Hugh Walker calls "the cold dignity of Talfourd's style."<sup>28</sup> Talfourd's *Ion* took some suggestions from the play of the same name by Euripides. Though now overlooked it once had wide popularity. An American edition appeared within one year after the original one, and the American editors prefixed a preface declaring that "after the production of *Ion* Sergeant Talfourd, like Lord Byron, awoke one morning and found himself famous." They also take pains to make New York readers realize the tendency of the book: "*Ion* is a splendid attempt to recall into the power of life and sympathy the long buried genius of the antique Tragedy of Fate. The plot

<sup>28</sup> *Age of Tennyson*, p. 47.

moves and hinges upon machinery similar to that of the old Greek dramas." In Talfourd's *Ion*, Agenor speaks of the hero certain lines which seem to represent a "classic" ideal (not very well attained by the author):

"So his life hath flow'd  
From its mysterious urn a sacred stream,  
In whose calm depth the beautiful and pure  
Alone are mirror'd; which, though shapes of ill  
May hover round its surface, glides in light,  
And takes no shadow from them." (I. 1)

And Ion himself (I. 1) speaks of

"words which bear the spirit of great deeds  
Wing'd for the future";

which might express Talfourd's unsuccessful aspiration toward the "grand style."

Thoas, the Athenian warrior captured at Corinth, when he hears the Corinthians insult his country, bursts out in praise of it which may represent the dramatist's own attitude.

" 'Tis not a city crown'd  
With olive and enrich'd with peerless fanes  
Ye would dishonour, but an opening world  
Diviner than the soul of man hath yet  
Been gifted to imagine—truths serene,  
Made visible in beauty, that shall glow  
In everlasting freshness; unapproach'd  
By mortal passion; pure amidst the blood  
And dust of conquests; never waxing old;  
But on the stream of time, from age to age,  
Casting bright images of heavenly youth  
To make the world less mournful. I behold them!  
And ye, frail insects of a day, would quaff  
'Ruin to Athens!' " (II, 11)

And Thoas in dying says (V, 1):

"Convey me to the city of my love;  
Her future years of glory stream more clear  
Than ever on my soul. O Athens! Athens!"

The Greek poetry of Aubrey de Vere forms only a small part of his verse, but is worth mention. He seems to handle with a certain Roman Catholic reluctance "the beautiful fictions of Greek Mythology." His Masque, *The Search After Proserpine*, is a pretty little patchwork of lyric and atmospheric romanticism.

His *Recollections of Greece*, which he dedicated to Walter Savage Landor, are fluently mediocre and sometimes rather merry than reverent in tone; and the *Lines Written Under Delphi* arraign the ancient world for its lack of Christian virtues in a way decidedly narrow and sectarian. Yet the spell at times will grip him, as in his lines on Sophocles and Aeschylus; and the eagle calls to him on the field of Marathon: "Yes, yes—'tis Hellas, Hellas still!" His drama *Alexander the Great*, published many years later, belongs only incidentally to our subject. It deals with the post-classic period of Greek history; it has the loose, rambling structure of the most lax Elizabethans; and it is located, not in Hellas, but in the romantic Orient. The best passages of poetry in it are generally in the style of the nineteenth century romantic poets. In connection with the dramas of Talfourd and de Vere, a bare mention is ample honor for Andrew Becket's *Socrates*, "a Drama on the Model of the Ancient Greek Tragedy," which had reached an undeserved third edition by 1838. The classical drama was evidently at this time beginning to appeal to the popular taste.

In 1846 the growing tendency toward Attic dignity freed from excess of romantic atmosphere found its noblest expression in Landor's *Hellenics*,

"The bland Attic skies  
True-mirrored by an English well,"<sup>29</sup>

as William Watson has well described them. Some poems of this collection had appeared in cruder form before; but it was now that they first really found an audience. The opening lines (of the enlarged 1847 ed.) strike the keynote of the book:

"Who will away to Athens with me? who  
Loves choral songs and maidens crown'd with flowers,  
Unenvious? mount the pinnace; hoist the sail.  
I promise ye, as many as are here,  
Ye shall not, while ye tarry with me, taste  
From unrinsed barrel the diluted wine  
Of a low vineyard or a plant ill-pruned,  
But such as anciently the Aegean isles  
Pour'd in libation at their solemn feasts:  
And the same goblets shall ye grasp, embost  
With no vile figures of loose, languid boors,  
But such as Gods have lived with and have led."

<sup>29</sup> On Landor's "*Hellenics*."

At times there is a fine reserved pleasure in flowers, sunlight, and the good things of life; more often a stoical power that in its mingling of dramatic force with statuesque language makes us think of the Laocoön. Agamemnon first meets his daughter in Hades; and Iphigenia, knowing nothing of all the adultery and murder that has happened on earth since her death, innocently asks her father for news of their family:

"Tell me then,  
Tell how my mother fares who loved me so,  
And griev'd, as 'twere for you, to see me part.  
Frown not, but pardon me for tarrying  
Amid too idle words, nor asking why  
She prais'd us both (which most?) for what we did."

Landor's *Heroic Idylls* (1863) contains lines apparently written long before, *Remonstrance and Address to Lord Byron*, saying significantly:

"Open thy latticed window wide  
For breezes from the Aegean tide;  
And from Hymettus may its bee  
Bear honey on each wing to thee."

Landor's *Hellenics*, unlike the neo-classical work of Alfieri and Racine abroad, and of Swinburne, deTabley, the two Morrisises, etc., in England, ignores the lofty but somewhat threadbare themes of a too well known past, and deals in characters and stories that are new. This procedure has its drawbacks, for Landor is clumsy and obscure in the mechanical details of narrative, introducing characters without explaining their relations to others, and getting repeatedly tangled up in such an elementary matter as the reference of personal pronouns. Nevertheless his choice of subject does give a force and vitality which we often miss in other Hellenists. He was Athenian enough in his nature to know that the ancient Athenians, unlike their poetic imitators, always "desired some new thing."

Unlike most of his fellow Hellenists also,—in spite of his medieval *Count Julian*—he made no compromise with the sham medievalism of the romanticists. "It is hardly to be expected," he writes before his *Hellenics*, "that ladies and gentlemen will leave on a sudden their daily promenade, skirted by Turks and shepherds and knights and plumes and palfreys, of the finest Tunbridge manufacture, to look at these rude frescoes, delineated on an old



wall high up, and sadly weak in coloring. As in duty bound, we can wait."

The later Greek poems of his *Heroic Idyls* drop the narrative form, which is always more of an incumbrance than a help to Landor, and become *Imaginary Conversations* in blank verse, often suffused with an autumnal calm of mood which reminds one of the *Ædipus at Colonus*.

Far below Landor's poetry in merit but far above it in immediate popular appeal was R. H. Horne's *Orion*. It is a narrative in blank verse, reminiscent of Keats's *Hyperion* in the gigantic nature of its characters, and of *Endymion* in occasional passages of luscious description and the mawkishness of its love affairs with goddesses, the whole often marred by a soaring grandiloquence akin to that of Bailey's *Festus*. Horne is vastly inferior to Keats as a poet, but much superior as a story-teller, and the directness and excitement of his narrative probably account partly for his ephemeral popularity, six editions of *Orion* appearing in the year of its publication (1843). The poem abounds with the most romantic incidents; and Book II opens with an echo of *Ossian*:

"Beneath a tree, whose heaped-up burthen swayed  
In the high wind, and made a rustling sound,  
As of a distant host that scale a hill,  
Autarces and Encolyon gravely sat."<sup>30</sup>

In 1864 Horne published *Prometheus the Fire Bringer*, a connecting link between Shelley and Mrs. Browning in the past and Robert Bridges and William Vaughn Moody in the future.

Next in importance to Landor's *Hellenics* and soon after them in time came Matthew Arnold's Greek dramas, *Empedocles on Etna* with its noble lyric choruses, and the correct but more colorless *Merope*. In connection with these dramas we must remember Arnold's remarks in his essay on *Pagan and Medieval Religious Sentiment*, which show in what direction he was trying to lead contemporary poetry: "There is a century in Greek life,—the century . . . from about the year 530 B. C. to about the year 430,—in which Poetry made, it seems to me, the noblest, the most successful effort she has ever made as the priestess of the imaginative reason, of the element by which the modern spirit, if it would live right, has chiefly to live. Of this effort . . . the four great

<sup>30</sup> "Cuthullin sat by Tura's wall, by the tree of the rustling sound."  
Opening of *Fingal*.

names are Simonides, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles. . . . The present has to make its own poetry, and not even Sophocles and his compeers, any more than Dante and Shakespeare, are enough for it. That I will not dispute. But no other poets so well show to the poetry of the present the way it must take; no other poets have lived so much by the imaginative reason; no other poets have made their work so well balanced; no other poets, who have so well satisfied the thinking-power, have so well satisfied the religious sense."

Charles Kingsley, who put the more familiar Greek legends in charming prose for his children, published in the same year as *Merope* his *Andromeda*, a poem about 500 lines long in dactylic hexameters. It is the old story of the saving of Andromeda by Perseus. The growing influence of scholarship is seen in ultra Greek proper names, Greek accusative forms even:

"There she met Andromeden and Persea, shaped like Immortals."

The style is luxuriant, somewhat like that of Keats and Morris, yet with classic touches and phrases in the midst of its color:

"Onward they came in their joy, and around them the lamps of the

sea-nymphs,

Myriad fiery globes, swam panting and heaving; and rainbows

Crimson and azure and emerald, were broken in star-showers,

lighting

*Far through the wine-dark depths of the crystal, the gardens of Nereus."*

Owen Meredith in 1855 published his *Clytemnestra*, a rather dull, long play dwarfed in the shadow of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* or even of Browning's translation. Clytemnestra's interminable speeches have many reminiscences of Tennyson and *Macbeth* as well as of the Greeks. The same author's *Tales from Herodotus* (in *Chronicles and Characters*) 1868, appeared almost simultaneously with William Morris's first installment of *The Earthly Paradise*. Of the three tales, the last two are much in Morris's style, only more colorless, and the second, *Croesus and Adrastus*, handles a story adapted also by Morris.

### III

Our previous discussion had led us to the year 1860. From that time on the growing popularity of Swinburne and William Morris, aided perhaps by advances in scholarship, produces a multitude of creditable but minor poets in our field such as no previous

decade had seen. There was hardly a year from 1860 to 1900 that did not see the publication of some at least respectable verse on Greek themes. Now also Romanticism in English poetry after a temporary lapse had been revived by the Pre-Raphaelites; and once more, as early in the century, romanticism and Hellenism blend in a deep and widening stream. It is not all romantic, however. Side by side with Swinburne and Morris we have Browning at last delving deep into Greek material; and Browning shows how much the current that we are discussing adapted itself to the man, inspiring him but not reducing him to the common norm. Browning's *Balaustion's Adventure*, etc., though ultra Greek in their spelling of proper names, are in essence neither Hellenic nor romantic, but psychological, neither of the fifth century B. C. nor of the French Revolution, but of the mid-nineteenth century. It is significant that the Brownings cared less for Sophocles and Aeschylus than for Euripides, the most cosmopolitan, the least Attic of the three:

"Our Euripides the human  
With his droppings of warm tears,  
And his touches of things common  
Till they rose to higher spheres."

Here they are in sharp contrast with Landor, who preferred

"No vile figures of loose, languid boors,  
But such as Gods have lived with and have led."

F. T. Palgrave, the friend of Matthew Arnold, wrote little verse on Greek material; but he dedicated his *Lyrical Poems* (1871) to the "Immortal Memory of Free Athens"; and in the following lines from the dedicatory poem he shows what faults of romanticism the Hellenic current was trying to eradicate, what virtues of romanticism it was trying to blend with itself:

"Where are the flawless form,  
The sweet propriety of measured phrase,  
The words that clothe the idea, not disguise,  
Horizons pure from haze,  
And calm clear vision of Hellenic eyes?

"Strength ever veiled by grace;  
The mind's anatomy implied, not shown;  
No gaspings for the vague, no fruitless fires;—  
Yet heard 'neath all, the tone  
Of those far realms to which the soul aspires. . . .

"That unfantastic strain,  
 Void of weak fever and self-conscious cry,—  
 Truth bold and pure in her own nakedness,—  
 What modern hand can try,  
 Tracing the delicate line 'twixt More and Less?"

Along with the struggle between romanticism and classicism<sup>31</sup> in the Hellenic tradition, there develops in the late nineteenth century a growing tendency to interpret Greek material in a modern or realistic way. That is the final turn which Sir Lewis Morris gives to his *Epic of Hades*.

"The weary woman  
 Sunk deep in ease and sated with her life,  
 Much loved and yet unloving, pines today  
 As Helen."

George Barlow in his *Venus* (1881) declares

"The seas of Greece were not more fair  
 Than this which shines in August air. . . .  
 'Tis *we* have changed."

Robert Buchanan wrote several poems (1863-66) which handle Greek mythological subjects in a modern, sometimes a playful vein, of which *Pan*, a blank verse poem of some length, is the best and in metre seems to imitate Tennyson's *Ænone*. His *Pan: Epilogue* quotes Mrs. Browning's "Pan, Pan is dead," and retorts:

"O Pan, great Pan, thou are not dead,  
 Nor dost thou haunt that weedy place . . .  
 But *here* 'mid living waves of fate  
 We feel thee go and come! . . .  
 On rainy nights thy breath blows chill  
 In the street-walker's dripping hair," etc.

But in the Greek tradition from 1860 to 1880 at least the dominant impulse was romantic, and found critical expression ultimately in Pater as the mid century had found voice in Arnold. Between 1875 and 1890 Walter Pater gave as lectures and published his Greek studies. In these he enforces as critical doctrine what Keats, William Morris, and others had already tacitly assumed in composition—the essential kinship of the medieval and Hellenic cultures. "Like the exaggerated diabolical figures in some of the religious plays and imageries of the Middle Age," Pentheus "is an impersonation of stupid impiety."<sup>32</sup> "And then, again, as

<sup>31</sup> That is, classicism as found in Landor, Arnold, etc.

<sup>32</sup> *The Bacchanals of Euripides*.



in those quaintly carved and coloured imageries of the Middle Age . . . comes the full contrast, with a quite medieval simplicity and directness, between the insolence of the tyrant . . . and the outraged beauty of the youthful god."<sup>32</sup> "What was specially peculiar to the temper of the old Florentine painter, Giotto, to the temper of his age in general, doubtless, more than to that of ours, was the persistent and universal mood of the age in which the story of Demeter and Persephone was first created."<sup>33</sup> The Eleusinian Mysteries may have been a parallel to "the medieval ceremonies of Palm Sunday," etc.

In line with Morris he condemns the error which "underestimates the influence of the romantic spirit generally, in Greek poetry and art",<sup>33</sup> tells the academic neo-classicist that "such a conception of Greek art and poetry leaves in the central expressions of Greek culture none but negative qualities",<sup>33</sup> and declares "that the Romantic spirit was really at work in the minds of Greek artists."<sup>33</sup> He stresses the point that Claudian's *Rape of Proserpine*, which "closes the world of classical poetry,"<sup>33</sup> was "pre-eminently a work in colour, and excelling in a kind of painting in words"<sup>33</sup> (like the English Pre-Raphaelites and the French Romanticists).

How far from the conception of Greece and Greek literature expressed in Pope's *Essay on Criticism* we have moved in Pater's *Beginnings of Greek Sculpture*. "And the story of the excavations at Mycenae reads more like some well-devised chapter of fiction than a record of sober facts. Here, those sanguine, half-childish dreams of buried treasure discovered in dead men's graves, which seem to have a charm for every one, are more than fulfilled in the spectacle of those antique kings, lying in the splendour of their crowns and breastplates of embossed plate of gold; their swords, studded with golden imagery, at their sides, as in some feudal monument; their very faces covered up most strangely in golden masks."

In line with Pater, Andrew Lang in *Notes to his Helen of Troy* (1882) says: "In addition to these poetical legends about Helen, many other singular and wild traditions may be found in odd corners of Greek literature. . . . Eustathius, the Bishop of Thessalonica, had [according to Rosscher's recent book] already given the fable showing how Paris, by magic art, beguiled Helen

<sup>33</sup> *Demeter and Persephone*.

in the form of Menelaus, just as Uther, by Merlin's aid, deceived Ygerne, the mother of Arthur."

Practically all Hellenic poetry after 1860 follows in the wake of Swinburne. He worshipped ancient Hellas as star-gazers worship the moon, fascinated by a luminary of which he saw only one side and could never see the other. He felt the old Greek love of the dark blue sea, the old Greek glory of the flesh, the old Greek love of rich, sonorous verse; but he lived in a world of lawlessness and they in a world of law; he wrote in a mood of lavish profusion, they in a mood of noble economy. He might wish to roll away the Christian centuries, and cry:

"Fire for light and hell for heaven and psalms for paeans  
Filled the clearest eyes and lips most sweet of song,  
When for chant of Greeks the wail of Galileans  
Made the whole world moan with hymns of wrath and wrong,"<sup>34</sup>

and near the end:

"For thy kingdom is past not away. . . .  
"We arise at thy bidding and follow,  
We cry to thee, answer, appear,  
A father of all of us, Paian, Apollo,  
Destroyer and healer, hear!"<sup>34</sup>

but Swinburne is a glorious hybrid, not such a Greek as Landor or Arnold. Yet their mantle fell on him even if he "wore it with a difference." His *Atalanta in Calydon*, (1865), the greatest Hellenic poem of the late nineteenth century—so well known that we cannot profitably discuss it here—was dedicated to Walter Savage Landor, "the highest of contemporary names." His *Erechtheus* (1876) strikes, but to finer music, the same note of praise for Athens that appears in Talfourd:

"Time nor earth nor changing sons of man . . . shall see  
So great a light alive beneath the sun  
As the aweless eye of Athens; all fame else  
Shall be to her fame as a shadow in sleep  
To this wide noon at waking . . . thine shall be  
The crown of all songs sung, of all deeds done."<sup>35</sup>

This drama, however, in spite of its sonorous rhythm, is somewhat harmed by excess of imitation. Athena appears at the end as with Euripides, and the metre of the dialogue varies much as that in Aeschylus' *Persians*.

<sup>34</sup> *The Last Oracle*.

<sup>35</sup> Speech of Athena.

Next to Swinburne in popular influence, and perhaps in poetical value, comes William Morris. He knew perfectly well what he was doing. He was drawing from the Greek stream certain elements fitted for his plans and temperament and rejecting all the rest. He seems to feel that many elements of the old Greek life and literature, admirable in themselves, could not be recalled. The old man in *News from Nowhere* says:<sup>36</sup> "All other moods save this [joy of life] had been exhausted: the unceasing criticism, the boundless curiosity in the ways and thoughts of man, which was the mood of the ancient Greek, to whom these things were not so much a means, as an end, was gone past recovery." Morris in the same book<sup>37</sup> describes the dress of his Utopians as "somewhat between that of the ancient classical costume and the simpler forms of the fourteenth century garments, though it was clearly not an imitation of either; the materials were light and gay to suit the season." This is not a bad description of his most famous poem, *The Earthly Paradise*, (1868-70), in which Greek and medieval tales alternate, and "The idle singer of an empty day" makes the stern old legends of Hellas and Scandinavia gently lyrical to suit the season in contemporary taste. The same may be said of his poetical but by no means Homeric *Life and Death of Jason*.

Yet the Hellenic current unquestionably affected Morris for good. With Keats and the German *Romanische Schule* compare the following from *News from Nowhere*:<sup>38</sup> "That we live amidst beauty without any fear of becoming effeminate; that we have plenty to do, and on the whole enjoy doing it. What more can we ask of life?" Then compare the same passage with Hazlitt's<sup>39</sup> dictum: "We have not that union in modern times of the heroic and literary character which was common among the ancients."

Sir Lewis Morris's *Epic of Hades* (1876) represents in bulk only about one-eighth of his poetry, but contains nearly all of his Hellenic verse. In mood he stands half-way between the romantic Grecianism of his greater namesake<sup>40</sup> and the Attic severity of Landor and deTabley. His poem is obviously modeled on Dante.

<sup>36</sup> Chap. XVIII.

<sup>37</sup> Chap. III.

<sup>38</sup> Chap. X.

<sup>39</sup> Waller and Glover's ed., VI, 110.

<sup>40</sup> A good opportunity to compare the styles of the two Morris is given in the story of Cupid and Psyche, told by both.

Like the *Divine Comedy* it opens in "the gloom of a dark grove"; like that it is divided into three parts, Tartarus, Hades, Olympus; like Dante the poet at the end of his vision swoons in the presence of the Supreme Being; and, as in Dante, while wandering through this world of classic ghosts,

"From the confessionals I hear arise  
Rehearsals of forgotten tragedies."

As the souls in Limbo were

"Only so far afflicted that we live  
Desiring without hope";

so Morris's Medusa in Hades

"knew no pain,  
Except her painful thought."

The mild sweetness of the blank verse is Tennysonian, and many verbal echoes of Tennyson occur.<sup>41</sup> But Sir Lewis Morris, with all his facile sweetness, and in spite of wide popularity, is too imita-

<sup>41</sup> Compare for example the following with Tennyson's *Enone*:

"It was the time when a deep silence comes  
Upon the summer earth, and all the birds  
Have ceased from singing, and the world is still  
As midnight, and if any live thing move—  
Some fur-clad creature, or cool gliding snake—  
Within the pipy overgrowth of weeds,  
The ear can catch the rustle, and the trees  
And earth and air are listening."

*Marsyas.*

Also:

"A soft air breathes  
Across the stream, and fills these barren fields  
With the sweet odours of the earth."

Morris's *Persephone*.

"A soft air fans the cloud apart; there comes  
A glimpse of that dark world where I was born."

Tennyson's *Tithonus*.

"While round our feet  
The crocus flames like gold."

Morris's *Persephone*.

"And at their feet the crocus brake like fire."

Tennyson's *Enone*.

<sup>41</sup> Compare also the speeches of Athena and Hera in Morris and in Tennyson's *Enone*.



tive a writer to be great. He seems to feel himself that the very riches of his loved classical mythology have become shackles to him; that unlike Landor and deTabley, he has sunk into a neo-classicist.

"These fair tales, which we know so beautiful,  
Show only finer than our lives today  
Because their voice was clearer, and they found  
A sacred bard to sing them. We are pent,  
Who sing today, by all the garnered wealth  
Of ages of past song. We have no more  
The world to choose from, who, where'er we turn,  
Tread through old thoughts and fair. Yet must we sing."

Lord de Tabley is the follower of Landor in the stern, terse spirit of his poetry, in style more polished perhaps, certainly more lucid, and equally dignified, but with fewer single lines of condensed dramatic power. Landor says of Agamemnon:

"A groan that shook him shook not his resolve";

and Landor's Iphigenia, cries in answer:

"O father, grieve no more; the ships can sail!"

De Tabley's Iphigenia says:

"The earnest kings of Hellas carven sit,  
Between the steep courts of the sanctuary,  
And look the greatness of their lives in stone,  
Ringed in a terrible semblance of their state,  
With brooches on their chariots harnessed near:  
Austere dead men, rare-hearted in their age  
To push among and use the old iron days.  
I am their daughter and I will not fear;  
The cruel god consumes me and I go."

Occasionally, but only seldom, deTabley follows Landor in indulgent sympathy with youth and love; as in *The Nymph and the Hunter*. His usual vein is severe. His conception of love is that of Attic tragedy, not that of the romantic lyric:

"Who is this stern and radiant queen of fear,  
This strong god men adore, this power the nations hear?  
This is that Aphrodite fully grown . . .  
Pray not, for she is cruel, and thy groan  
Is as sweet incense wafted to her throne . . .  
'Or, queen of all delusion, come arrayed  
In thy fierce beauty; come, thou long delayed,  
With thy fair sliding feet and thy faint rippled hair.'"<sup>42</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *Orestes*.

DeTabley's *Philoctetes* (1866) and *Orestes* (1867) are admirable examples of modern imitations of the Greek tragedy, worthy to compare with Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon*, by which they have been obviously influenced, especially in the choruses. In fact, as deTabley grew older, the influence of Swinburne obviously overshadowed that of Landor. *Orestes* is a Greek Hamlet, with a similar terrible family problem, who cries like an echo of the royal Dane:

"To act  
And to act merely, cleansing from my brain  
These weak irresolute fumes of thought, that hold  
My hand suspended from the vital sword. . . .  
Ah, to have done with thought and see my way,  
Then were I man."

Both the dramas and the short poems are cold, imitative, suggestive of many books and limited experience; but they are noble and sonorous, and at times, especially in the lyric choruses, sweep us out of ourselves in a way that makes criticism an offence.

DeTabley, though greatly admired by some, has never been popular, and probably could have done better than he did had he been more encouraged. The last lines of his *Phaethon* suggest the lonely prophet of Hellenic beauty:

"I think, that never more  
Can one stoop down and drink: and rising up,  
Flushed with a tingling inspiration, sing  
Beyond himself, and in a huckster age  
Catch some faint golden shadow into his page  
From that great day of Hellas and Hellas gods;  
Which these wise critics of the city of smoke  
Sneer at as wrack and lumber of the tombs."

DeTabley, like Wordsworth in *Laodamia*, admires a noble serenity of mind:

"For man is restless, but the God at rest:  
And that enormous energy of man  
Implies his imperfection";<sup>43</sup>

and the lofty atmosphere of his verse must give it a lasting value in spite of its coldness and deficiency in first-hand revelation of life.

Since 1880 the three most significant figures for our purposes—on a joint basis of bulk and merit in their Grecian poems—are perhaps Woolner, Frederick Tennyson, and the present poet

<sup>43</sup> *The Siren to Ulysses*.

laureate. In the main, their work is more scholarly and less romantic than that of their predecessors; and on the whole this is probably true of their contemporary minor figures, though with many reservations.

Thomas Woolner, a great sculptor and minor but genuine poet, published in advanced age three verse narratives of considerable length, *Pygmalion*, 1881; *Silenus*, 1884; *Tiresias*, 1886. These poems are as purely Greek in subject as Landor's *Hellenics*, filled with

"Nymphs, dryads, and wild naiades subdued,"<sup>44</sup>

with scattered allusions to

"Stories of a mighty day when Greeks  
Were God-directed, and when men obeyed."<sup>45</sup>

The stiffness of sculpture mars the blank verse, yet Woolner, like Landor, has many touches of vivid description.

Frederick Tennyson in 1890 published *The Isles of Greece*, written twenty years before, and in 1891 *Daphne and Other Poems*. In many of the poems here contained, especially those of the earlier volume, Hellenic names and mythological incidents serve merely as spring-boards by means of which the poet may leap into a fairyland of atmospheric description. The verse has much negative grace, but lacks body and narrative power. The title of the 1890 volume—which deals with the story of Sappho—was probably taken from Byron's:

"The isles of Greece, the isles of Greece,  
Where burning Sappho loved and sung."

Mr. Robert Bridges, the present poet laureate, in the eighties produced three neo-classical Greek plays, well sustained, though somewhat Academic: *Prometheus the Fire-giver*; *The Return of Ulysses*; and *Achilles in Scyros*. All of these open with a monologue in the manner of Euripides; and the first, at least in the speeches of Prometheus to Io, has many reminiscences of Aeschylus. There are choruses in the Greek manner, but inferior in merit, we believe, to Mr. Bridges' best short poems. The same author also rendered into English the story of Eros and Psyche from the Latin of Apuleius, a theme previously handled in Lewis Morris's *Epic of Hades* and William Morris's *Earthly Paradise*. One line from his version

<sup>44</sup> *Silenus*, p. 52.

<sup>45</sup> *Tiresias*, p. 24.

of this poem suggests the opening of one of Mr. Bridges' finest lyrics:

"And like a ship, that crowding all her sail."

In 1905 Mr. Bridges added his *Masque of Demeter*.

In 1882 Andrew Lang, the well known translator of the classics, published *Helen of Troy*, a narrative poem, showing the influence of Swinburne and William Morris, but more simple and direct in its narrative than either. It includes the death of Corythos, already Englished in Landor's *Hellenics*, and the death of Paris, already given in *The Earthly Paradise*. The same author's *Hesperothen* turns mythology into allegory. His sonnet on "The surge and thunder of the Odyssey" is probably known to everybody. His attitude toward the author of *Atalanta in Calydon* is indicated by his own words in the Note to *Helen of Troy*: "Helen, as a woman, has hardly found a nobler praise, in three thousand years, than Helen, as a child, has received from Mr. Swinburne."

John A. Symonds, author among many other prose works, of *Studies of the Greek Poets* and *Sketches in Italy and Greece*, later in life wrote a number of chastened and poetical Greek studies in verse, for example, the "Poems on Greek themes" in the 1880 volume, full of music modeled on "the sweet Ionian vowels." The use of Greek material, however, was incidental rather than characteristic of his verse, however deep his love for things Hellenic.

With these men we may include the Rev. E. C. Lefroy, whose *Echoes from Theocritus* (1883) paraphrases the great Sicilian in thirty sonnets graceful and sincerely felt. Lefroy was full of the Hellenic spirit in comment and criticism as well as in verse. He said of his own ideal: "Perhaps it inclines rather to be sexless—serene beauty uncontaminated by a suspicion of fleshliness. But I know that it is Greek."<sup>46</sup> Unfortunately, as he resembled Keats in instinctive love for the ancient masters, so he resembled the greater poet in an untimely death.

*Callirrhoe* (1884) by "Michael Field" is a drama which reflects as models both Euripides and the Elizabethans; and which, if not consistently great, has many fine touches of both poetry and pathos. "The story of Callirrhoe," says the Preface, "is drawn from a classic source, but has never been raised from obscurity by ancient bard or dramatist. This fact has permitted a latitude

<sup>46</sup> *Life and Poems*, ed., by Gill, p. 49.



of treatment, unstraitened by the fear of presumption." In the verse volume *Long Ago* by the same authoress (or authoresses) each lyric is suggested by a fragment of Sappho.

Ernest Myers in 1875 traveled in Greece and later translated Pindar and, in collaboration, the *Iliad*. Andrew Lang's translation of Theocritus was dedicated to him. His *Judgment of Prometheus* (1886) shows a dignified discipleship of Aeschylus and the epic poets. His *Rhodes* in passing laments the hour

"When Hellas bowed, her birthright gone,  
Beneath the might of Macedon";

and several short poems on Greek themes had appeared previously in *Poems* (1877).

At this point we may glance hastily over the work of certain minors and also over some more prominent figures who become minors for us from their very incidental connection with our subject. A few poems on Greek themes, sometimes of unquestionable merit, but all short, occur in the writings of Edwin Arnold, Austin Dobson, Edmund Gosse, and Charles Tennyson Turner. They remind us that almost every English poet of the late nineteenth century at some time made oblation to the Hellenic muse. Lord Tennyson, who from 1842 to 1885 published practically nothing concerning us here, printed late in the century his *Tiresias*, *Demeter and Persephone*, and *Death of Enone*, the last covering ground already covered by William Morris.

Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton in the Preface to his *Lost Tales of Miletus* (1866) says of them: "I have selected from Hellenic myths those in which the ground is not preoccupied, by the great poets of antiquity in works yet extant; and which, therefore, may not be without the attraction of novelty to the general reader." The attraction of novelty is there; but the spell of poetry is not, his *Cydippe*; or, *The Apple* comparing but ill with William Morris's *Accontius and Cydippe*. Yet, weak as its unrhyming stanzas are, it seems a forerunner of *The Earthly Paradise*.

In the life of that arch-romanticist, William Sharp, written by his wife, we learn that Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon* inspired him to compose a lyrical immature drama *Ariadne in Navos*.<sup>47</sup> He also speaks later of being engaged on two other classic dramas, *The Kôre of Enna*<sup>48</sup> and *Persephonaia*,<sup>49</sup> or *The Drama of the*

<sup>47</sup> P. 22.

<sup>48</sup> P. 343.

<sup>49</sup> P. 415. If these plays have ever been published, I am not aware of it.

*House of Ætna*. Sharp's letters written from Greece are full of Hellenic enthusiasm.

Thomas Ashe between 1861 and 1866 published considerable Hellenic poetry, the best of it being in his drama *The Sorrows of Hypsipyle* (1866) which, says Havelock Ellis, has "a true breath of Greek feeling."<sup>50</sup>

Charles Mackay's *Studies from the Antique* (1864) consist mainly of short narratives and monologues much in the style of Landor's *Hellenics*, more lucid and easy to read, but decidedly less powerful, though by no means devoid of merit. Richard Garnett published "Idylls and Epigrams, chiefly from the Greek Anthology" (1869), and *Iphigenia in Delphi* (1890). Of the former all but thirty are translations; the last is a dramatic scene, rounding out the Orestes story of Euripides' great drama. G. F. Armstrong's *Garland from Greece* (1882) deals mainly with the modern country, but sometimes with the ancient, in verse occasionally picturesque though imitative and never powerful. Two of the longer narrative poems, *Selemnos* and *The Death of Epicurus* echo William Morris and Landor respectively. Several Greek poems occur also in the work of Canon R. W. Dixon (1884-86). Ross Neil (pseud. of Isabella Harwood) in 1883 published two neo-classical plays, *Orestes* and *Pandora*, of considerable merit.

The above list naturally grows more and more tentative as it nears the present. We have doubtless omitted some who well deserve a place there, and perhaps included some with doubtful claims to a place anywhere. The latter part of our study is avowedly superficial, without any adequate knowledge in many cases of the poet's background. Nevertheless our essay as a whole may give a synthetic survey of a field not yet carefully studied. The number of poets who have habitually or incidentally versified Greek themes has steadily increased through the nineteenth century. The tradition has shown a tendency to change in style and mood with the different critical *Zeitgeists* through which it has passed, as well as with the personality of each individual author. The medieval tradition, in common apparently with others also, has done the same. Yet through all its changes the Hellenic current has had a certain modifying power, suppressing alike the horrors of Gothic romance and the equal horrors of realism in favor of beauty and serenity. From Keats to Swinburne it

<sup>50</sup> Poets and Poetry of the Century, Vol. 4.

produced some of our greatest poetry. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth its representatives have almost wholly been dignified and sincere but not entirely successful minors. Is this because poetry in general has been at ebb, or is it because that particular kind of material is wearing a little threadbare? The late Professor Moody wrote one noble poem on the subject of Prometheus; but he turned from it immediately to other fields, which he may have thought more promising. The more we can have of Greek spirit and taste, the better; but will that spirit realize itself best through the revamping of Greek legends or through the handling of more modern incidents and problems? This is not a question to be answered hastily by any one; but it is a question which our young poets and critics ought to consider.

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## REVIEWS AND NOTES

*SPIRITUAL REFORMERS IN THE 16th AND 17th CENTURIES.* By Rufus M. Jones, London, Macmillan and Co., 1914.

Fast gleichzeitig mit der Schrift *Milton and Jakob Boehme* von Dr. Margaret L. Bailey,<sup>1</sup> die Professor Lane Cooper im XIV. Bande dieser Zeitschrift besprach, erschien ein Buch, dessen blosser Titel schon zum Vergleich mit Frä. Baileys bahnbrechender Arbeit einlädt. Ich meine die treffliche Studie von Professor Jones: *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, über die ich hier kurz berichten möchte.

Geschieht es, dass zwei Forscher, von verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten ausgehend und ohne von einander zu wissen, den gleichen Gegenstand behandeln und dabei wesentlich zu denselben Resultaten kommen, dann darf man in diesem Zusammentreffen von vornherein die schönste Gewähr für die Sicherheit und den Wahrheitswert der Ergebnisse erblicken.

Das Thema beider Bücher ist im Grunde genommen die Erforschung und Darstellung der tiefgehenden mystischen Strömungen im englischen Geistesleben des 17. Jahrhunderts. Aber während Dr. Bailey das Problem vom Standpunkte der vergleichenden Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte aus behandelt und in der Einwirkung Jakob Boehmes auf Milton gipfeln lässt, fasst es Professor Jones als ein religionsgeschichtliches auf und zeigt in den Werken einer Reihe von deutschen Mystikern und Theosophen, wie Sebastian Franck, C. Schwenckfeld, Valentin Weigel und vor allem in den Anschauungen und Lehren Jakob Boehmes die Quelle des Quäkertums auf. Obwohl von geringerem Umfang, ist Dr. Baileys Studie doch umfassender und weitblickender, indem sie dem Einfluss der deutschen Mystik nicht nur in der Literatur Englands, sondern auch in der Theologie, der Philosophie und der Wissenschaft im allgemeinen nachgeht; auch gräbt sie tiefer, wo es gilt die Ursachen und geschichtlichen Zusammenhänge aufzudecken. Dafür zeigt die Arbeit von Jones, ihrem Zwecke gemäss, eine grössere Fülle und Breite in der Mitteilung und Ausführung des religionsgeschichtlichen Materials.

Nach seiner eigenen Angabe stützt sich Professor Jones auf die Vorarbeiten französischer und vorzüglich deutscher Forscher, von denen namentlich Ernst Troeltschs meisterhafte Darstellung der von Jones behandelten Mystiker in seinen 'Sociallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen' zu nennen ist. So anregend und vorbildlich aber diese Darstellung für Jones auch gewesen sein mag, so bleibt ihm doch genug eigenes Verdienst übrig, das sich namentlich da bewährt, wo er auf verschollene Vorläufer Boehmes wie

<sup>1</sup> Oxford University Press, New York, 1914.



z. B. Bänderlin und Entfelder hinweist oder die verborgenen Wege aufspürt, auf denen die deutsche Mystik nach England wanderte. Denn alle Träger der theosophischen Botschaft, auch der Holländer Coornhert mit seinem Gefolge, sowie der Franzose Castellio haben im letzten Grunde aus dem Borne deutscher Mystik geschöpft, wie er lebenspendend vor allem in der Schrift *'Theologia Germanica'* floss.

Auf den eigentlichen religionsgeschichtlichen und theologischen Inhalt der Schrift von Jones einzugehen, ist natürlich hier nicht der Ort. Nur im Allgemeinen sei bemerkt, dass die Männer, deren Gedächtnis der Verfasser für englische Leser der Vergessenheit entreissen will, um sie als *'Spiritual Reformers,'* d. h. als Verkünder eines reineren oder höheren Christentums zu feiern, in den landläufigen deutschen Kirchengeschichten gewöhnlich als Schwärmer und Sectierer fortleben. Wer, wie Jones, diese Auffassung bekämpft, sieht sich selbstverständlich zur Kritik der geschichtlich anerkannten Reformatoren und ihres Werkes, wie zur Rechtfertigung der Mystik und Theosophie gezwungen. Ob der Verfasser dabei der überragenden Gestalt Luthers<sup>2</sup> und der in ihm hervorbrechenden, germanischen Urkraft des Gewissens wirklich gerecht wurde, und ob er andererseits den neuplatonischen Einschlag in der *'spiritualistischen Religion,'* den gesunden, wie den krankhaften, nach seinem ganzen Umfang kritisch übersah, soll hier nicht untersucht werden.

Was uns an dieser Stelle am meisten interessiert, ist die Tatsache einer bisher fast unbekannten und in ihrer tiefgehenden Wirkung ungeahnten Befruchtung des englischen Geisteslebens im 17. Jahrhundert durch den deutschen Geist, in deren Aufdeckung Dr. Bailey und Professor Jones zusammentreffen. Denn die Wirkung der deutschen Mystiker beschränkte sich nicht etwa allein auf die niederen Volkskreise im Zeitalter der englischen Revolution, wie man geneigt sein könnte anzunehmen. In den letzten Kapiteln seines Buches hat Jones den überzeugenden Nachweis geliefert, dass die Vermittler der theosophisch-mystischen Botschaft gerade in den Gelehrtenkreisen und unter den Führern der Revolutionszeit zu finden sind. In allen den Männern, die Jones hier nennt und die auch Dr. Bailey teilweise auführt: John Everard, Giles Randall, Francis Rous, Henry Vane und Peter Sterry ist der Geist der *'Theologia Germanica,'* Sebastian Francks, Schwenckfelds, Weigels und Boehmes lebendig. Nicht weniger scheint dieses bei den Hauptvertretern der neuplatonischen Schule von Cambridge der Fall gewesen zu sein. Ich halte den Hinweis von Jones auf die Uebereinstimmung der Lehren Benjamin Whichcotes und John Smiths mit den Grundanschauungen Sebastian Francks und Jakob Boehmes für äusserst wichtig und einer genaueren wissenschaft-

<sup>2</sup> Warum Calvin, der in den Schwärmern und Sectierern *'Ungeheuer voll Gift und Tölpheit'* sah und sie rücksichtslos verfolgte, bei Jones viel glimpflicher wegkommt als Luther, ist mir unerfindlich geblieben.

lichen Untersuchung der Mühe wohl wert. Zwar betont Jones, dass es nicht möglich sei, einen directen Zusammenhang zwischen diesen Männern durch äussere Zeugnisse nachzuweisen, allein das darf uns nicht wundern in einem Zeitalter, dem der Begriff des geistigen Eigentums in seiner heutigen Ängstlichkeit noch ferne lag. Auch scheint man in England schon damals gewissenhafte Quellenangaben gescheut zu haben. Wer daher die angedeutete Untersuchung unternehmen wollte, der müsste bei genauster Kenntnis der Sprache und der Gedankenwelt jener Schriftsteller zugleich das Mass wissenschaftlicher Intuition besitzen, das für die Beweisführung aus inneren Zeugnissen in Fragen der höheren Kritik unerlässlich ist.

Eine weitere Untersuchung, wozu die Arbeiten von Bailey und Jones einladen, wäre den Wandel festzustellen, der sich in der englischen Volksseele unter dem Einfluss der deutschen Gedankenwelt vollzieht. Dass dieser Wandel nicht auf die Quäkerkreise beschränkt blieb, deutet Professor Jones selbst an. In der Einleitung zu dem Kapitel 'Spiritual Religion in High Places' sagt er:

"The spiritual struggles which culminated in the great upheaval of the English Commonwealth were the normal fruit of the Reformation spirit, when once it had penetrated the life of the English *people* and kindled the fire of personal conviction in their hearts. Beginning as it did with the simple substitution of royal for papal authority in the government of the Church, the English Reformation lacked at its inception the inward depth, the prophetic vision, the creative power, the vigorous articulation of the newly awakened personal conscience, which formed such a commanding feature of the Reformation movement on the Continent. It took another hundred years in England to cultivate individual conscience, to ripen religious experience, to produce the body of dynamic *ideas*, and to create the necessary prophetic vision before an intense and popular spirit of Reform could find its voice and marching power. The contact of English exiles and chance visitors with the stream of thought in Germany, in Switzerland, and in Holland, and the filtering in of literature from the Continent, together with the occasional coming of living exponents, sowed the seeds that slowly ripened into that strange and interesting variety of religious thought and practice which forms the inner life of the Commonwealth. The policy of the throne had always opposed this steadily increasing tide of thought which refused to run in the well-worn channels, but, as usual, the opposition and hindrances only served to deepen personal conviction, to sharpen the edge of conscience, to nourish great and daring spirits, to formulate the battle ideas and to win popular support. The inner life and the varied tendencies of the Commonwealth are too rich and complicated to be adequately treated here."

Zu den Eigentümlichkeiten der mystisch gerichteten 'Reformatoren,' die, von Luther als Schwarmgeister abgelehnt, sonderbarerweise in England so tief Wurzel fassten, gehört auch der ekstatische Rausch, der unter dem Namen des Enthusiasmus eine bedeutsame

Rolle spielt, das sinnenfeindliche asketische Element, das der neuplatonischen Mystik als Erbteil des abgelebten, genussmüden Heidentums anhaftet, die utopistischen Träume von einer diesseitigen Gemeinschaft vollendeter Heiligen und dem Nahen des Millenniums. Eine Untersuchung, wie sie mir vorschwebt, müsste nicht nur die reinigende und vertiefende Wirkung der neuen Religionsauffassung darlegen, sondern auch die wunderlichen Nebenerscheinungen berücksichtigen, welche die erwähnten Eigentümlichkeiten hervorriefen und im englischen Character ihre bleibenden Spuren zurückliessen. Dabei würden sich gewisse fundamentale Unterschiede zwischen deutscher und englischer Religiosität, Denk- und Lebensweise ergeben, die als Fortsetzung gleichsam des ursprünglichen Gegensatzes zwischen Luther und seinen schwärmerischen Zeitgenossen gelten dürfen. Auch würde sich zeigen, dass die höchsten Leistungen des deutschen Volkes, seine Wissenschaft, seine Philosophie und vor allem das Lebensideal seiner klassischen Denker und Dichter einzig dem Geiste des *deutschen* Protestantismus entspringen konnten. Denn so hoch man auch den Wert der Mystik und des auf ihr beruhenden 'religiösen Spiritualismus' anschlagen mag, so wird sich doch kaum leugnen lassen, dass es für eine Seele, die mystisch mit Gott eins geworden ist, keinen weiteren Antrieb zum fortschreitenden Leisten und Schaffen, d. h. zur Entwicklung einer rein menschlichen Kultur mit ihrem Wahrheits hunger und ihrer religiösen Sehnsucht mehr gibt. Wie die Faustdichtung Goethes, so konnte das berühmte Wort Lessings, welches das *Streben* nach Wahrheit ihrem vermeintlichen *Besitz* vorzieht, doch nur auf dem Boden entstehen, den der Geist Luthers bereitet hatte. So ist denn auch was Jones in seiner 'spiritualistischen Religion' als 'reason' in Anspruch nimmt, nicht vorurteilsloses, auf die letzten Gründe dringendes kritisches Denken im deutschen Sinne, sondern eine Art verstandesmässiges Deuten des mystischen Erlebnisses und seiner unbefragt hingenommenen Voraussetzungen. Wohl können wir in theosophischen Kreisen keine erkenntnistheoretischen Untersuchungen im Sinne Kants erwarten, aber wie es mit dem 'Denken' der englischen Neuplatoniker aussah, lässt sich schon aus der Tatsache schliessen, dass sie den ganzen Geisterspuk und Gespensterglauben des Neuplatonismus samt dem magischen Schwindel der Kabbala gläubig hinnahmen.—

Zu den gemeinsamen Ergebnissen der Schriften von Dr. Bailey und Professor Jones gehört schliesslich auch, dass beide, unabhängig von einander, den Einfluss Jakob Boehmes auf Milton feststellen. Das Resultat, zu dem Dr. Bailey auf dem Wege sorgfältiger Untersuchung kommt, drückt Jones auf seine Weise in folgender Stelle aus:

'Milton, without any doubt, had read the German mystic's account of the eternal war between the Light Principle and the Dark Principle, of the fall of Lucifer, of the loss of Paradise, and of the return of man in Christ to Paradise, and there are many pas-



sages in the great poet which look decidedly like germinations from the seed which Boehme sowed, but we must observe caution in the tracing the origin of verses written by a poet of Milton's genius and originality and range of knowledge.'

Was für den Kenner Boehmes und Miltons hiernach ausser Frage steht, wird durch die überraschende Schilderung, die Jones von der aufwühlenden, alle Kreise erfassenden Wirkung Boehmes im englischen Geistesleben entwirft, auch dem Aussenstehenden nahe gebracht. Dass Milton das tief erregte geistige Leben, das ihn auf allen Seiten umflutete, in kühler Selbstgenügsamkeit von sich gehalten habe, um aus biblischen und klassischen Reminiscenzen in vermeintlicher Originalität sein unsterbliches Gedicht zu spinnen, wie manche seiner Kommentatoren wähnen, ist eine unhaltbare Vorstellung. Wer wollte Goethe die Originalität absprechen, weil er bis tief in die Weimarer Periode hinein in der Gedankenwelt Herders lebte?

Zwar enthalten die Schriften Miltons weder einen direkten Hinweis auf Boehme oder eine Nennung seines Namens, noch findet sich darin eine wörtliche Entlehnung aus den Werken des deutschen Philosophen. Darüber wird sich Niemand wundern, dem das weite Gewissen jener Zeit in Bezug auf die Aneignung fremden geistigen Eigentums bekannt ist. Den wissenschaftlichen Kärnern von heute freilich, die Wahr mit Wirklich verwechseln und deren Methode im besten Falle einem Gerichtsverfahren mit Anwendung der üblichen Advokatenkünste gleicht, wird das zufällige Fehlen von äusseren Zeugnissen, trotz reichster innerer Evidenz, genügen, um die Annahme einer Beeinflussung Miltons durch Boehme abzuweisen. Wer jedoch weiss, wie sich die Gestalten- und Gedankenwelt im Dichtergeiste aufbaut, wer gelernt hat, dass alles wirkliche Verstehen nicht mechanisches Zusammenrechnen sogenannter Tatsachen, sondern warmes Nachleben fremder Seelenbewegung ist, wozu uns besonders die Sprache eines Schriftstellers oder Dichters die untrüglichen Wege weist, der wird gerade in den Problemen der Hermeneutik und höheren Kritik den grössten Reiz der Forschung sehen.

Es handelt sich im Grunde um den oft besprochenen, von 'plumpen Geistern' so vielfach misverstandenen Begriff der 'Einfühlung,' den intuitiven Faktor im Erkenntnisvorgang, ohne den ein Erfassen fremden Seelenlebens, wie der grossen geschichtlichen Zusammenhänge überhaupt, unmöglich ist. Wenn ich nicht irre, war es Herder, der in seiner Schrift 'Vom Erkennen und Empfinden' auf die Bedeutung dieses 'Einfühlens' zuerst hinwies, wie er es denn auch zur grössten Vollendung in sich selbst ausbildete. Auf Herders Lehre und Vorbild geht dann Goethes Kunst des fühlenden Eindringens und Erfassens zurück.

Will man sich den Vorgang gerade bei Goethe klar machen, so denke man an sein wunderbares Wort vom Pflanzenstengel, der von innen heraus rund zu erachten sei. In einem geheimnisvollen



Zugleich von Fühlen und Schauen tritt Goethe hier gleichsam ins innerste Leben des Stengels ein, um nachschaffend oder nachlebend das Wesen seiner Form oder seine 'innere Form' zu erfassen und auszusprechen. Wenn es hier dem Forscher Goethe gelang, sich in das Leben eines niederen Organismus einzufühlen, wie viel grösseren Erkenntnisgewinn und höheren Gewissheitsgrad dürfen wir erwarten, wenn es uns vergönnt ist, auf Grund umfassender Kenntnis eines Dichters und seiner Zeit in sein innerstes Seelenleben zu dringen und so sein Ich gleichsam zu unserem Ich zu machen! Zwar mag die durch Einfühlung gewonnene Sicherheit der Ergebnisse ein subjektive genannt werden, aber sie ruht, wie das Geschmacksurteil, nicht nur auf subjektivem Ermessen, sondern auf dem objektiven Untergrund jenes 'Gemeinsinns,' den Kant in der 'Kritik der Urteilskraft' erkannt und fein analysirt hat.

Ich habe im Vorstehenden von dem reichen und bedeutsamen Inhalt der vorliegenden Schrift nur eine ungefähre Vorstellung geben können. Wer sie mit Aufmerksamkeit studiert, wird, abgesehen von dem rein religionsgeschichtlichen Gehalt, in den Darlegungen von Jones eine Fülle wichtiger Gedankenkeime entdecken, die später in der Literatur und in der Philosophie aufgingen. So ist nach meiner Ueberzeugung der Anstoss zur späteren Geniebewegung, sowie die Entstehung des Begriffs vom Originalmenschen, der in ihr eine so grosse Rolle spielt, bei Boehme und seinen Nachfolgern zu suchen. Anstatt vieler Belege erwähne ich nur die folgenden Worte eines seiner englischen Anhänger: "I am divine and heavenly *in my original*, in my essence, in my character. . . . God is the fountaine of this spirit (of mine)."<sup>3</sup>

Sonderbarer Weise scheint Jones das ausserordentlich starke politische Element, das in den Lehren Weigels und Boehmes gährte und deren Eingang in England wesentlich förderte, fast ganz übersehen zu haben. Denn nicht in der aristokratischen Gemeindeverfassung des Calvinismus liegen, wie manche Historiker uns wollen glauben machen, die Wurzeln der modernen Demokratie, sondern in der Forderung der Glaubens- und Gewissensfreiheit, wie der Trennung von Staat und Kirche, die von jenen deutschen Mystikern zuerst mit überzeugender Kraft erhoben und, einer Brandfackel gleich, in die weitesten Volkskreise geschleudert wurde. Es ist darum nicht zufällig, dass das Grundrecht der religiösen Freiheit seine volle staatliche Verwirklichung zuerst in der Kolonie William Penns, der gemeinsamen Schöpfung englischer Quäker und deutscher Mennoniten, Weigelianer, Boehmisten und Schwenckfeldianer, fand und von da aus als eines der Grundgesetze in die Verfassung der Vereinigten Staaten überging.

JULIUS GOEBEL.

<sup>3</sup> B. M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers*, p. 268.

UMLAUT UND BRECHUNG IM ALTSCHWEDISCHEN  
von Axel Kock, Lund, Mai 1916. Pp. V and 391.

This work has arisen in part out of a number of the author's articles that have been contributed to leading Swedish and German philological journals, in part out of the study of the investigations of other scholars. It is not only the result of long continued research, but it has been written and arranged with unusual care. All explanations of linguistic developments have been stated with scientific precision and illustrated with a few but ample examples. Thus the book does not consist of a large collection of facts but it fairly glows with the bright light of intellectual penetration into facts. The large index of 57 pages containing the individual words treated and the carefully prepared table of contents place the rich stores of the book at the disposal of the reader.

The book treats chiefly of mutation and breaking in Old Swedish, but it also treats the corresponding developments in the other Old Norse languages. This valuable comparative study has aroused in the reviewer the regret that this investigation was not extended to the other Germanic languages so that we might at last have a comprehensive study of mutation and breaking in Germanic. This comparative study of the Old Norse languages, however, has cleared away a number of older theories and misunderstandings, so that indirectly light has also been thrown upon developments in the other Germanic languages. Thus we can no longer regard as Pre-Germanic *i*-mutation of *e*, as in OHG *giflidi* (NHG *Gefilde*) from *Feld*, for we still find *e* before *i* in Pre-Norse runic inscriptions, as in the name *erilar* (corresponding to the Icelandic form "*iarl*" *jarl*). Everywhere in the book the greatest pains have been taken to fix the exact or relative time of the linguistic developments. Likewise the geographical spread of the sounds has been treated very carefully.

The explanation of the phonetic forces involved in the vowel changes is unusually clear and convincing and sometimes the expression is very felicitous. For example, in explaining *a*-mutation of *i*, as in "*heðan*" hence, from here from Pre-Norse "*hiðan*" he calls the change of *i* to *e* a "partial assimilation" of the stem vowel to the vowel of the next syllable, thus distinguishing this development from "complete assimilation," as in the change of *i* in Old Norse "*lifa*" live to *a* in the modern dialectic form "*lava*" under the influence of the vowel *a* of the ending.

The comprehensive nature of the book is a desirable feature. The author has treated every phase of the subject so that it has become an invaluable book of reference. It is to be hoped that in the scientific labor of our time more will feel called to gather small contributions together and treat them comprehensively, as in this admirable work.

*THE ATTITUDE OF GUSTAV FREYTAG AND JULIAN SCHMIDT TOWARD ENGLISH LITERATURE (1848-1862)*, by Lawrence Marsden Price, Ph.D. Instructor in German in the University of Missouri.—*Hesperia*, Schriften zur germanischen Philologie, herausgegeben von H. Collitz. No. 7. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press. 1915.

Dr. Price by no means overestimates the value of his treatise when he calls it a contribution to the study of the influence of English writers upon German literature in the nineteenth century; for it is indeed a valuable contribution and throws new light on the deplorable ineffectiveness of the majority of the so-called Young German writers. The compass of Price's investigation is clearly indicated by the headings of the five chapters into which it is divided. They are: 1) Walter Scott and medieval romanticism (J. Schmidt's thorough knowledge and appreciation of Walter Scott's writings is traced through the former's "Grenzboten" articles), 2) Subjective idealism in English poetry (Schmidt's comparison between ultra-idealistic tendencies in German literature with the characteristic tendencies of Byron, Shelley, the Brownings, etc.), 3) The Young English prose writers (Schmidt's views on Lytton, Thackeray, Charlotte Brontë, Carlyle, etc.), 4) Charles Dickens and the advantages of English life (Schmidt's estimation of Dicken's writings and his notions of the sound traits and advantages of English life), 5) "Soll und Haben" and Freytag's participation in the "Grenzboten" movement.

As can be seen from this very condensed summary of their contents, the first four chapters present, in a well-arranged and systematized form Julian Schmidt's views on the later German Romanticists and writers known as "Das junge Deutschland" as contrasted with English writers of the same period. To record these sometimes surprising views without contradicting them outright, or at least expressing one's opinion about them was, no doubt, an extremely difficult task which was surely not much facilitated by the more or less favorable attitude the author takes toward Schmidt and his estimates of English literary and intellectual achievements. But Price can rest assured that he has carried out his intention, "to be Schmidt's editor, not his critic," with remarkable objectivity; at least the writer can give him that assurance since he has convinced himself by comparing a number of Price's statements with sometimes widely separated passages in the "Grenzboten" articles.

But when Price maintains in his preface that he did not in this study relegate Gustav Freytag to a place of secondary importance, his assertion can only be interpreted as an excuse for a certain discrepancy between his title and the contents of his treatise. It is true he has endeavored "to bring out the parallelism between



Freytag's well-known literary practice and Schmidt's less known opinions in regard to English literature," but the very nature of his material as well as his problem forced him to pay far more attention to Schmidt's ideas than to Freytag's novels. No doubt, a great deal that is given in the first four chapters is necessary for a full understanding of the fifth, dealing with Freytag's relation to English literature, yet it remains a fact that everything he has to say about the latter is crowded into this one chapter; and his is by no means the longest of the whole treatise, since it takes up only 20 of the 120 pages of the book. Had the author exchanged the names in the title, no one could find any fault with his arrangement, and the note in the preface would have been superfluous.

Still this lapsus calami does not in the least impair the value of the thesis. If the author has reserved only one chapter to G. Freytag, this chapter, nevertheless, seems to embody the most important contribution of the whole book to the history of German literature. With due emphasis, Price points to the importance of Freytag's association with Julian Schmidt for the moulding of the former's literary ideals. Through him Freytag was led to make a thorough study of the technique of the contemporary English novel, and from this analysis of the works of Scott, Dickens and others emanated the influence of these writers upon Freytag's "Soll und Haben." While tracing the influence through this novel, Price furnishes in detail the proof to Salzer's statement (*Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* p. 1852) that for the pleasing structure of the action Freytag is indebted to Scott and for the delineation of the dramatis personae and the humoristic atmosphere to Dickens. That Freytag wrote his novel with the definite purpose of giving living form and expression to his literary ideals and to contribute to German literature that new element which he found it was lacking, becomes evident from Freytag's long critical "Grenzboten" contribution of the year 1853 from which Price properly gives an extensive quotation since it is not embodied in Freytag's "Gesammelte Werke."

That the author has not carried his investigation further and tried to test Freytag's later novels for "English-Grenzboten influences," is indeed, as he admits himself, somewhat arbitrary, especially in view of the surprising conclusions which he draws from his discussion. He maintains (p. 110) that "the time is not yet ripe for a final estimate of the work of Julian Schmidt. Critical opinion in regard to him still varies largely in accordance with the extent of the critic's agreement with his moral aesthetic and political principles." Does Price really expect that there ever will be a time when the valuation of Schmidt's views will be unanimous among the critics? Why should the lot of this one writer be more fortunate than that of many others far more prominent and important in the history of German thinking? Schmidt's criticism of his German contemporaries was largely negative, for men like



Hebbel, Ludwig, and Keller he had done practically nothing as Kummer (*Deutsche Lit. Gesch. d. 19. Jahuh*, p. 440) rightly points out. If there was any "spiritual kinship" (Price p. 102) between Schmidt and these men, Price has not shown where it found its expression outside of a few traits in the technique of O. Ludwig's novels. Personal relationship may have existed between the two groups, but it does not necessarily establish common literary ideals.

Is it not a fact that Julian Schmidt, self-appointed critic as he was, of the intellectual endeavors of his countrymen largely followed the fashion of the day but thereby failed to draw the lesson from the 18th century for his own time and country? Like Bodmer and Haller and Klopstock he holds up to the Germans English writers, English intellectual ideals and even English traits of life as worthy of emulation, but he forgets entirely that Herder had taught these same German people that they must find the ways and means for their own intellectual and spiritual restoration within themselves, only for the method of finding these means can they look to their foreign contemporaries. Today we may fairly say, it was well that the really talented writers of his time did not take their cue from Julian Schmidt, but followed their own intellect in their endeavor to develop German literature.

In view of the present crisis between the two nations which is obviously as much an intellectual as a political one, I for one hope that Dr. Price may soon find time "for that larger survey which he says himself is much needed, of the influence of English writers upon German literature in the nineteenth century." For his thesis leaves no doubt that he has an intimate knowledge of the literatures of England and Germany, it also shows enough evidence of a thorough, methodical training for that kind of work. However, an investigation of the opposite influences should be undertaken at the same time. Much light could thereby be thrown on the differences between the two peoples and literary discussion may thus for once attain a usefulness which it has not been able to find heretofore.

A. BUSSE.

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*GOTTFRIED KELLERS LEBEN.* Von Emil Ermatinger. Mit Benutzung von Jacob Baechtolds Biographie dargestellt. 3 Bände, Stuttgart und Berlin, 1916. (1. Band 677 SS.)

Nur der erste Band dieses Werkes ist erschienen, die zwei weiteren sollen nach Kriegesschluss folgen. Eine Umarbeitung der Bächtoldschen Keller-Biographie sollte das Werk werden, hat sich aber zum groszen Teil zur selbständigen Arbeit ausgewachsen. Und wenn der Keller-Forscher auch noch mit Pietät zu Bächtolds Werk zurückkehrt, massgebend ist doch, im ganzen

genommen, nur Ermatinger! Streng philologisch aufgebaut, mit allem historischen Detail, wovon vieles eben seit Bächtold zu Tage gefördert worden, überragt das Werk das Bächtoldsche, welches auch aus gewissen Rücksichten bedeutendes Material unterdrückt hatte!

Aber nicht in der Aufspürung geschichtlichen Details, obwohl er hier getreulich weitergearbeitet, auch nicht im Vergleichen der Handschriften, oder sonstigen philologischen Feinheiten bestehen Ermatingers Vorzüge, sondern in der Benutzung des gesamten Materials, einschliesslich der zahlreichen Spezial-Arbeiten, zur Schaffung des abschliessenden Gesamtbildes Kellerschen Lebens und Wirkens!

Vor dieser umfassenden Belesenheit in der zeitgenössischen Literatur musz man staunen, und kann dabei unter ähnlichen germanistischen Werken nur noch an Bielschowskys oder Meyers Goethe, oder an Schmidts Lessing denken! Die ganze Tragweite dieser Arbeit kennt nur der, welcher die ganze Keller-Literatur durchgearbeitet hat. Denn die ist ins Riesenhafte gewachsen! Kellern ist zwar kein Jahrbuch gegründet worden, wie eine Reihe moderner Schriftsteller es erlebt, dagegen kam alle paar Jahre eine weitere Biographie. Mit so vielen Biographien ist kein anderer Neuerer bedacht worden, von den zahllosen Artikeln, Doktor-Dissertationen, Spezial-Forschungen, Würdigungen, Schmähungen usw. abgesehen!

Dazu kommt in Ermatingers Werk noch der wissenschaftliche Apparat. Man kann hier gut abnehmen, was einem Neuphilologen alles zu Gebote stehen musz; nicht nur Literaturwissenschaft, Textkritik, Ästhetik usw., auch Psychologie, Geschichtswissenschaft und sogar Naturwissenschaft, Politik und Volkswirtschaft!

In der Analyse ist schon so viel gearbeitet worden, von Bächtold ab, dass man eine grosse Umwertung Kellers nicht erwarten konnte. Nur ein paarmal kommt Ermatinger in eine schwachpulsige, subjektive Deutungsart hinein. Die ästhetische Deutung von Kunstwerken ist so ganz auf das Gefühl angewiesen für ihre Kriterien, dass man in dem Bereich das Höchste, aber auch das Unwarreste, Dünnergigste, Verschwommenste erzeugen kann. Ermatinger versucht sich auch in dieser Deutungsart—wie der Literarhistoriker es ja musz—es geht ihm aber wie vielen, die diese Deutungsart zu weit treiben und die solchen Vergleichen, dem Dichter nachgefühlten oder auch selbst zusammenspintierten Absichten usw. nachgehen: sie *ästhetisieren* schliesslich.

Solche Stellen sind bei Ermatinger sehr wenige, z. B. dass der Anlaut der Namen Jukundus und Jukunda vom Dichter zur Bezeichnung ihrer seelischen Zusammengehörigkeit benutzt worden sei, ist doch ganz unbedeutend, selbst wenn es wahr wäre!

Um zu zeigen wohin solche ästhetische Hypothesen führen können, ein Beispiel. Max Polheim,<sup>1</sup> hat die Sieben Legenden

<sup>1</sup> Euphorion, Bd. XV, ss. 755-66.

zergliedert. Ihm stellen No. 1 und 5 die Rippen des Gebäudes dar; No. 2, 3, 4 sind nur lose verbunden mit No. 1, während No. 6 und 7 wieder für sich stehen. Das ergibt folgendes verwickeltes

2 3 4

Schema: 1 5. Und das alles mit sogenannter höchster

6 7

künstlerischer Absicht des Dichters! Ja, sogar die Zeilen der verschiedenen Legenden hat der Dichter symmetrisch abgezählt! Eugenia und Vitalis enthalten respektive 530 und 720, dagegen No. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7 haben respektive 250, 380, 250, 270 und 200 Zeilen. Das wächst einem zum Hals heraus, würde man im gewöhnlichen Umgang sagen, und dabei an manches Wort Goethes denken, wenn er nach tiefen Intentionen seiner Werke befragt wurde! "Legt ihr's nicht aus, so legt was unter!" möchte man auch hier ausrufen!

Zudem haben wir hier ein brillantes Beispiel, an dem man so recht abnehmen kann, wie "wissenschaftlich" solche Auslegung oft werden kann. Ermatinger behandelt dies selbe Problem (s. besonders S. 480 f.) der Architektonik der Sieben Legenden, kommt aber zu ganz anderem—nebenbei viel befriedigenderem—Ergebnis. Nach Ermatinger ergibt sich folgendes Schema: 1-2-3-4-5-6-7; also Verschleifung jeder Legende mit der folgenden, die letzte ausgenommen, welche für sich steht, gewissermaßen unabhängig, und doch den Sinn der ganzen Reihe zusammenfassend.

Als Führer auf dem Gebiete der Kellerforschung ist Ermatingers Buch nicht nur durchaus zuverlässig, es ist maszgebend. Literaturangaben sind dem 1. Band nicht beigegeben. Man kann aber versichert sein, dass seine Angaben auf guten Belegen ruhen und dass die gesamte Keller-Literatur benutzt worden ist. Die Übersetzungsliteratur ist allerdings etwas zu kurz gekommen. Ausstattung und Buchschmuck sind angemessen und in jeder Hinsicht vorzüglich, nur das Titelbild enttäuscht. Dem Verlangen, ein nicht bekanntes Bild zu bringen, haben wir dieses geschmacklose Konterfei zu verdanken, was mir als Kellerverherrer, der den Meister immer im besten Lichte vorführen möchte, sehr leid tut.

*Miami University, Juni 1916.*

C. H. HANDSCHIN.

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OSCAR LUDVIG OLSON: *THE RELATION OF THE HRÓLF'S SAGA KRAKA AND THE BJARKARÍMUR TO BEOWULF*. A Contribution to the History of Saga Development in England and the Scandinavian Countries. (Chicago dissertation, 1916)

This investigation appears as no. 1 of the third volume of the *Publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian*



*Study*.<sup>1</sup> It is a decidedly talented performance. Its chief interest, to the present writer, lies in a further successful corroboration of Axel Olrik's thesis that Northern England, as the meeting ground of Celtic and Scandinavian culture, gave the Icelandic saga, especially of course, the Fornaldarsögur, a not inconsiderable number of new motifs and impulses. The general case seems to be that Scandinavian activity furnishes the realism of a story, its backbone of facts, and Celtic lore the subsidiary motifs and embellishments. In the Helgi story, to cite only one example, the figure of the treacherous Sculd, Hrólfr's half-sister in the oldest sources even, is given fuller life in the Hrólfs saga by the incorporation of the Celtic motif of the Loathy Lady;<sup>2</sup> and in the Fróða þáttur of the same saga (treating of the "exile-return" story of the brothers Hróarr and Helgi) Olson prettily shows that the main lines of the action are found already in early Scandinavian Heroic poetry, whereas the details of the brothers' flight, their concealment, rescue, and revenge resulted from contact with Celtic material in the Meriadoc and Macbeth stories, of which there are clear traces especially in Saxo's version.

The title of this study is a misnomer, not being sufficiently inclusive. It covers well the first section which treats of the origin of the Bjarki-Hjalti story and the relative age of the Bjarkarímur. Footing on the results of Olrik, laid down chiefly in his volumes of *Dansk Helteedigtning*, Olson is able to show the origin of the dragon which is slain by Bjarki outside the king's hall as being, in the last instance, due to a substitution for the bear (of Saxo's version) on account of the hero's own bear nature—a trace of totemism, by the way. It is not in the least related to the dragon in Beowulf.

Here a little too much stress is, in the writer's opinion, laid on this dragon being called (N. B. by the coward Hjalti) *hitt mesta tröll*. The term *tröll* is applied to animals and men of unusual strength, ferocity, or ugliness, but does not necessarily imply any supernatural qualities.<sup>3</sup> Hence it is of little practical use to devote a number of pages to explain why the drinking of the animal's blood does not give Hjalti any troll-like qualities. No, the animal is just an honest dragon and no troll, and the drinking of its blood harms Hjalti no more than the eating of Fáfnir's heart Sigurd. On the other hand I cannot see the least connection between this story and the legend quoted from Arnason.—By the way, one ought to think that to give up almost a whole page of fine print to describing the general nature of trolls would have been unnecessary in a learned monograph on Scandinavian folklore!

<sup>1</sup> Urbana, Ill., 1911 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *Dansk Helteedigtning* I, p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. such expressions as *hann var hitt mesta trollmenni fyrir sakir afis ok vaxtar*, Fld. III, 285; the Bjarkarímur on the same occurrence has it that Hjalti became *ramr sem tröll*. Cf. also our own X-genitive "he is the devil of a fellow" etc.



In connection with the motif of propping up the dead monster, it would have been helpful to compare other examples such as the ones in the *Finnbogasaga*, the *Færingasaga*, the *Thiðrekssaga*, and the *Qrvar Oddssaga*, especially as the reason for Bjarki's action is discussed in detail. To be sure, I am not convinced by the author's vindication of the *Hrólfs saga* in this point. It is a somewhat lame proof of Hjalti's newly acquired heroic strength to knock over a stuffed animal!

In agreement with F. Jónsson, and against Orlík, Panzer, Lawrence, and other scholars it is demonstrated conclusively that with respect to the nature of the monster the *Bjarkarímur* are of later composition than the *Hrólfs saga*. Finally, a good deal of learned trifling is disposed of once for all in showing that the sword-name *Gullinhjalti* in the saga—whence Hjalti's name—is not connected with the words *gylden hilt* in *Beowulf* which actually refer only to the handle of a sword; as indeed the often asserted connection between *Beowulf* and the *Hrólfs saga* is not demonstrable.

Least successful, technically, is the third part of the study which deals with the various versions of the *Hróar-Helgi* episode in Saxo, the *Skjöldungasaga*, etc. I fear that it is a case of easy writing which makes hard reading, especially in matters of complicated genealogies such as the *Scylding* line!

Fault might also be found with the too lengthy quotations of authorities and that sufficient distinction is not made, by typographical devices, between what is quoted and what is the author's own. Some details: I cannot agree with the author's contention that Bjarki's renouncing his kingdom in Norway, in order finally to become *Hrólfr's* man, is unmotivated as being against human nature and shows servile imitation of earl Siward's life history. Rather, it shows a joint between the fairy-tale like story of Bjarki's origin and his later deeds under the great king. And, for that matter, is it so unusual for a hero to leave his "ness-kingdom" and to go on adventures and carve out a realm with his own good sword?—The boys *Hráni* and *Hamur* do not wear masks at *Sævil's* court, in order to disguise themselves, which would certainly have led to detection; but *þeir vóru jafnan í kúfum* (cows) *ok tóku aldri ofan kúflhattuna*.—Why does Olson say that in Saxo's version "*Halfdan's* name has become *Harald*," seeing that Saxo's account certainly is the older.

All of these minor criticisms are not meant in any way to detract from the writer's high opinion of this essay in a difficult and extensive field.

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*THE CORRESPONDENCE OF GRAY, WALPOLE, WEST, AND ASHTON (1734-1771).* Chronologically Arranged and Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Index by Paget Toynbee, M.A., D.Litt. In two volumes. With portraits and facsimiles. Oxford. The Clarendon Press. 1915. 8vo. Price, 21s. net.

When Mr. Toynbee announced, in *The Athenæum* for March 14, 1914, that he had found a considerable number of unpublished letters of Gray, Walpole, and West, much interest was aroused among all students of the eighteenth century. The Clarendon Press has now published these letters in an admirable dress. The two volumes contain two hundred forty-eight letters, of which one hundred eleven are now printed for the first time, namely eighty-nine by Gray, five by Walpole, nine by West, and eight by Ashton; twenty-one are now first printed in full, fifteen being by Gray, one by Walpole, one by West, and four by Ashton. The remainder (one hundred sixteen letters) are reprinted from various sources. The entire collection includes one hundred fifty-three letters by Gray, thirty-five by Walpole, thirty-nine by West, and twenty-one by Ashton. Its chief interest, then, is for students of Gray.

The hitherto unpublished letters of Gray, Walpole, and West were found in the possession of the late Sir Francis E. Waller, Bart., of Woodcote, Warwick, who was killed in action near Neuve Chapelle, France, on October 25th, 1914. He was the possessor of a valuable collection of Walpole correspondence, which was bequeathed to the then head of the family, Sir Wathen Waller, the first Baronet, by Walpole's executrix and residuary legatee, Mrs. Damer (only child of Field-Marshal Conway), who died in 1828. The Ashton letters now first published were transcribed from Mitford's copy in Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 32,562.

Mr. Toynbee's reputation as an accurate scholar, and the pains he has evidently taken to make this a correct edition of the letters, may be taken as a sufficient guarantee of the trustworthiness of the book.<sup>1</sup> The late Mr. Tovey, it seems, produced a text of Gray's Letters not altogether free from errors, due partly to misreading of Mitford's handwriting; which is sometimes difficult to interpret, and partly to carelessness of transcription. Moreover, it now becomes evident that the abbreviations in Mitford's transcript have not, as Tovey supposed, "a counterpart in the original, but were evidently introduced by Mitford merely for his own convenience." In Mason's work as an editor Mr. Toynbee has no confidence whatever. "He altered dates, trans-

<sup>1</sup> A few misprints have been noted: Dryden's King Arthur was first produced in 1691 (i. 57, n. 14). For "one" (i. 144, l. 8 f. b.) read "are." In ii. 21, l. 4 f. b. two letters have apparently fallen out; read "assiduis."

ferred passages from one letter to another, combined together letters of widely different dates, 'improved' the grammar and diction, and even went so far as to insert matter of his own." It is not easy to think of other things that Mason might have done to make his edition more nearly worthless. Duly mindful of the shortcomings of his predecessors, Mr. Toynbee has relied upon the originals as far as possible; where the original was not extant he has followed either a transcript or the earliest printed text, fully indicating his source in every instance. Everything that could be desired has been done for the convenience of the student. The index alone fills eighty-four pages. The edition is in general entirely worthy of the editor and of the Clarendon Press.

What, now, of the contents of these volumes? Of the Gray letters, it cannot be said that any are of uncommon significance. There is, for example, no criticism of any consequence (see, however, in Letter 157, some interesting comments on Spranger Barry). Many of the new letters are brief business' notes; still more are made up of gossip. On the other hand, they carry back a year or more our knowledge of the intimacy of Gray and Walpole; as the editor points out, they indicate that Gray and Walpole were far closer friends than some have hitherto supposed; and they furnish further evidence of Walpole's heavy indebtedness to his obliging friend in the composition of his so-called "learned" works—the Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, the Anecdotes of Painting, and the Historic Doubts on Richard the Third. It is painful to think of a man of Gray's ability spending so much time in this way. Many of the letters are sprightly and amusing, and reveal Gray in a different light from those of a later time, in which there is more of the sombre and the melancholy. Here is his lively description of matriculation at Cambridge (Letter 2):

"First they led me into the hall, & there I swore Allegiance to y<sup>e</sup> King; then I went to a room, where I took 50,000 Latin Oaths, such as, to wear a Square Cap, to make 6 verses upon the Epistle or Gospel every Sunday morning, to chant very loud in Chappel, to wear a clean Surplice, &c."

Equally interesting is his description of the baccalaureate examinations (Jan. 27, 1735):

"They are obliged to set in the theatre for three days, from 8 in the morning till 5 at night without any fire; the first two days, they are liable to all the impertinent Questions w<sup>ch</sup> any Master of arts is pleased to ask them; they must answer every thing in Philosophy, which is proposed to them, & all this in Latin: the 3<sup>d</sup> day the first Moderator takes 'em out, half a dozen at a time, into a Gallery atop of the theatre, in sight of every body, but out of hearing; he examines them again, as long as he will, & in what Sciences he pleases: the Junior-Moderator does the same thing in the afternoon; & then both the Proctors, if they have a



mind; but they seldom do: the next day the Vice-chancellor & two Proctors tell them, whither they shall have their degrees, or not; & put on their Batchelours Gown & Cap."

Some of the letters are characterized by a frankness of utterance which will be painful to many in a time when reticence has been carried to an extreme. It is not, however, quite clear even yet whether Gray himself relished this sort of coarseness or whether he merely thought his correspondents would do so. The times were undeniably coarse, and probably Gray was in reality no greater sinner against good taste than many another of whom less is known. We must not, then, be too hard on him.

The new letters by Walpole, West, and Ashton in these volumes (twenty-two in all) are of slight importance. Walpole's letter to West on Jan. 3, 1736 (no. 51) contains some good lines which have been attributed by Mr. Gosse to Gray, who possessed a copy (see Gosse's edition i. 205-7); thus the authorship of these lines is cleared up. In Letter 59 we find Ashton giving some review of himself, which is interesting in view of the part he is said to have played in the Gray-Walpole quarrel. From this letter it appears that Ashton was unpopular in certain quarters and possessed an unattractive personality.

Aside from the letters there are two poems by Gray: one a translation of sixteen lines from the ninth book of Statius' *Thebaid*, an effort which may be regarded as Gray's earliest extant work in verse; and the other a poetical epistle addressed to Walpole on Dec. 8, 1734, Gray being then almost eighteen. This is doubtless Gray's earliest extant original poem. The two are scarcely remarkable in any respect save one, the freedom with which the young poet varies his metrical structure by the frequent use of an alexandrine. The epistle starts out well with a description of his soul's visit to Hades; but the description abruptly breaks off to make way for a protestation of Orozmales' fidelity "to his Celadony"—as if either his imagination or interest in the theme had suddenly failed him.

West is represented by ten hitherto unpublished pieces, including translations from the *Georgics* (ii. 458-542) and the *Odes* of Horace (iii. 13); imitations of madrigals by Passerat, Lingendes, Gabriel Gilbert, and St. Gelais; a Latin poem on the death of Queen Caroline; English poems on Lady Walpole's Chelsea grotto and on the view from the Thatched House at Richmond; and a fragment of his tragedy of *Pausanias*. The last named has slight merit; many of the lines are rough, as might be expected in a first draft, and save for the rather dramatic evidence of *Pausanias*' treachery, there is nothing significant in the few lines preserved. The other pieces, however, are more worthy. In his imitations West did not stick too slavishly to the original, and his translations are smooth and direct in style. He wrote equally well in Latin and English; his Latin verses, if conventional, are creditable to the



traditions of Eton. Had he lived and persevered in authorship, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he would have added lustre to his century.

The members of the Quadruple Alliance form a most interesting group. Every one of the four achieved some distinction. Even Ashton became a Cambridge D.D., a preacher at Lincoln's Inn, the author of a respectable volume of sermons, and the subject of portraits by Eckhardt, Gainsborough, and Sir Joshua Reynolds. Gray's slender volume of verse places him among the greatest poets of his time; and Walpole is well known in many lines. It is melancholy to observe that the Quadruple Alliance went the way of all the earth. West passed out of the lives of the group in 1742, the year in which the *Elegy* was probably begun. Ashton had already, in 1741, become estranged from Gray; and Walpole, after some disagreeable experiences, finally broke with Ashton in 1750. The friendship of Gray and Walpole, however, though interrupted for four years (1741-5), continued throughout Gray's life, to the lasting credit of both men; and to the end of his own long career Walpole never ceased to express due admiration for his more learned and more distinguished friend, the poet of the *Elegy*.

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### THOMAS WARTON AND THE HISTORICAL POINT OF VIEW IN CRITICISM

The avowed purpose of Miss Rinaker's monograph on Thomas Warton<sup>1</sup> is "to estimate the intrinsic and historical importance" of the eighteenth century poet, scholar, and critic. "To this end," the author says in her preface, "it discusses the relation of all his work—his poetry, his criticism, his history of English poetry, his various antiquarian works—to the literary movements of his day." Miss Rinaker has found it impossible to make important additions to existing knowledge of Warton's life but she has used to good purpose sixty-two hitherto unnoticed letters found in the British Museum, the Bodleian, and the Harvard College libraries, as well as some interesting and valuable manuscript notes taken down by Warton on his antiquarian journeys through England. Another welcome feature of the study is the carefully drawn bibliography of sources for the *History of English Poetry*, compiled "both as an evidence of Warton's industry and erudition and as an interesting list of the books on such a subject available to a scholar of that period." The value of the monograph lies in these things,

<sup>1</sup> *Thomas Warton, A Biographical and Critical Study*, by Clarissa Rinaker. University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. II, no. 1. February, 1916.

for which every student of the eighteenth century should be grateful, rather than in Miss Rinaker's estimate of Warton's intrinsic and historical importance.

As a commentary on Warton's life and work, the book is marred by insufficient critical detachment. The writer is too deeply and irrevocably given to romantic modes of thought and feeling, too nearly oblivious of all that may be or has been said on the other side, to provide an adequate criticism of a man whose writing shows pretty constantly a divided mind, an English love of compromise, a desire to keep the balance true. Warton's activity fell at a time when the out-going and in-coming tides of literary tendency were struggling for mastery. The struggle is seen in the lives and work of individuals as well as in English literature at large and is as evident in Young, in Gray, in Mason, as it is in Warton.

When the tide set strongly for romantic shores, Warton came to be regarded as predominantly, almost exclusively, romantic. An age, like the untrained individual reader, finds in a writer what it wants to find, but scholarly criticism should estimate Warton for what he actually was, not for what, so to speak, he has become. Miss Rinaker views Warton through romantic spectacles; she has the early nineteenth century contempt for "the rules," for "decorum," for judgment as opposed to imagination. Therefore she does not accept Warton's frequent pronouncements in favor of these things as genuine but explains them as due to his desire to win sympathy for his new views, even at the cost of granting the validity of the old. (See p. 44) But John Hughes, who, in an edition of Spenser thirty-nine years earlier than Warton's *Observations on the Faerie Queene*, had made precisely the same argument for Spenser's poem, as belonging to a new genre, for which Warton is commended, is put down as a "pseudo-classic" and so disposed of as a rival. (p. 42) This rather severe treatment of Hughes, whose poems, essays and plays entitle him to kindlier consideration from a romantic critic, illustrates a second phase of Miss Rinaker's critical attitude. Thomas Warton is to her, in a double sense, a sort of romantic hero, to be vindicated against all comers. Some of his natural enemies she finds among recent scholars who have entered into Warton's labor, but have "unjustly scorned its superficiality or inexactness" (p. 48). One would have said that Warton's reputation is high among reputable scholars and it seems unfortunate that no names are given to substantiate this charge. Others who stand between Warton and his deserts are those who have found fault with his work in matters of detail. The chief offender among these is, of course, Joseph Ritson—not a pleasant person, certainly, but one of a sort that will always be indispensable as long as scholarship retains any attractions for men so easy-going as Thomas Warton. The one hundred and sixteen charges of

error made by Ritson against the *History* are considered "certainly a very small number to be gleaned from three quarto volumes" (p. 115). Where it is necessary to admit that Warton was at fault, as in the case of his appropriation of three notes from Fawkes's edition of Douglas, Miss Rinaker lays the onus of blame upon Ritson, who had already so much to bear, for his acrimony in pointing out the matter rather than upon Warton for dishonesty or blamable negligence. All other charges of literary theft that have been brought against Warton are similarly disposed of, often with skill.

Warton's neglect of his duties as clergyman, his pluralism and enjoyment of fat livings while giving his life to almost anything but the church are glossed over by citations that go to show that he was after all a good fellow (p. 16). The historical method is helpful here, for what Warton did nearly all other clergymen of his time did. *Tout comprendre, c'est tout pardonner*. Even in her admissions of shortcomings in Warton, Miss Rinaker often does him what most readers will be likely to think more than justice, as, for example, where she says, "As far as we can judge from the poetry which Warton wrote, excellent as some of it is, his was not a great poetical genius" (p. 35). This is so very true that the words "great" and "genius" seem oddly out of place. The admission that he had not a *great* poetic genius seems to leave room for the implication that he had poetic genius of some sort. Miss Rinaker seems to imply the existence of some criterion of a man's poetical genius aside from the poetry which he actually writes, but she does not say what it is. The impression is left that Warton failed to write great poetry because of an uncongenial environment. Aside from the fact that the conditions of Warton's life were about as nearly ideal as one can imagine, this plea is always the mere sentimentality of hero-worship. There is no evidence that Warton did not write all the poetry there was in him, as Gray did, as every man does. He may have been an inglorious but he certainly was not a mute Milton.

The clearest illustration of Miss Rinaker's *parti pris* is seen in her repeated claims for Warton as an originator. Similar claims have been made before, largely because for a long time Warton was the earliest eighteenth century critic and poet with any marked romantic tendencies who was familiar to students. Professor Courthope refers to him as "perhaps the earliest pioneer of the Romantic Revival." (*Life in Poetry: Law in Taste*. p. 6) Elsewhere he speaks of him as the first to show an interest in the theme of solitude, which had in reality been a commonplace in poetry since Petrarch's *De Vita Solitaria* and which Petrarch himself drew from the ancient world. These remarks shed less light upon Warton than upon the condition of English scholarship when they were written, but the time for such things is past. The



assertion that any man, except Adam, has done anything for the first time is always hazardous.

Miss Rinaker says that Warton was the first sincere admirer of Gothic architecture in the eighteenth century, making light of the rival claim of Horace Walpole by asserting, with truth, that his study of the Gothic was largely a pose and a fad. But the fact is, as we might expect, that neither of these men was the first. Dr. R. D. Havens, in his article on *Romantic Aspects of the Age of Pope* (Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc., XXVII, 3), gives several unquestionable and much earlier instances. Again, Miss Rinaker says that Warton "first described the progressive development of poetry, the essential unity of the whole, the relation of part to part and to the whole" (p. 124). Francesco Quadrio's *Storia e Ragione d'Ogni Poesia*, 1741-52, is earlier, more extensive in scope, better constructed.

Credit is not always given where credit is due. A minor instance of this neglect is seen on p. 94, where Miss Rinaker quotes from Warton's *History* a sentence on "original genius." This sentence is quoted, apparently, as evidence of Warton's "revolt against the classical age." There is not a shade of meaning in the sentence that had not been expressed on page after page of Young's *Conjectures on Original Composition*, nineteen years before. Warton must have known several still earlier expressions of the same sort. Even Giraldo Cintio praises Ariosto for having more original genius than art—"più della natura che dell' arte."

But by far the most important assertion of Warton's originality is that to the effect that he was the founder of the historical method in criticism. This assertion is repeated over and again, twice with an attempt at qualification, usually without hesitation, as, for example: "He [Warton] produced a revolution in criticism"; "He substituted untried avenues of approach"; he became the "founder of a new kind of criticism"; "he introduced the modern historical method of criticism" (all on p. 43); he laid "the foundations of modern historical criticism" (p. 47). Again it is said that "no critic before Warton had realized the importance of supplementing an absolute by an historical criticism, of reconstructing, so far as possible, a poet's environment and the conditions under which he worked, in order to judge his poetry" (p. 47). This last sentence should be kept in mind as the nearest approach that is made toward a definition of what Miss Rinaker means by the historical method. If the claim made for Warton is valid, it is very important indeed. If it is not valid, one feels justified in taking some pains to correct so serious an error.

There is nowhere any indication that these statements are to be understood as applying to English criticism only. Warton is made the founder of this method of criticism for all Europe. Even if the assertions just quoted held good for English criticism alone, as they do not, it would then be necessary to show that they



hold good for Europe at large. For Thomas Warton read European literature and criticism. If there were no other way of proving this, the bibliography which Miss Rinaker has compiled would prove it. Moreover, when it is a question of establishing Warton's claim to the use of a comparative method, Miss Rinaker insists upon his knowledge of Spanish and Italian. Why does she not mention it, at least, in connection with the use of the historical method? This method had been known in Italian criticism for two centuries and had been illustrated in documents with which Warton was certainly familiar, since he quotes from at least one of them, and that one contains the main arguments of the others. All this matter of historical criticism had been worked over in Italy, in a field very similar to that in which Warton was engaged—the controversy over Ariosto, the Italian Spenser, whose relation to the "rules" was very like Spenser's, who was the model for most of Spenser's departures from the rules, and who was justified by his early critics in just the way that Warton was to justify Spenser. Miss Rinaker would have avoided a serious mistake if she had practised the same comparative method which she rightly commends in Warton's criticism.

Among the most emphatic words of Warton quoted by Miss Rinaker in order to support his claim to the discovery of the historical method are those of the well-known sentence from the *Observations*: "It is absurd to think of judging either Ariosto or Spenser by precepts which they did not attend to." (It may be worthy of notice that neither Warton nor his critic raises the question whether they *should* have attended to these precepts.) Warton then proceeds to show that both Ariosto and Spenser worked in a new genre for which no rules had been laid down. The coupling of Ariosto with Spenser is very significant because it was in connection with the Italian poet that the same things had been said before. In this, as in so much else, Warton follows his lead quite openly and seems, according to modern standards, curiously unconcerned to conceal his indebtedness. For this is precisely what Giovan Battista Pigna and his master, Giraldi Cintio, had said exactly two centuries before, in defending Ariosto. Their opinion was paraphrased by Torquato Tasso in his *Discorso del Poema Eroico*, Lib. Sec., a work cited by Warton in his *History*.<sup>2</sup> Tasso says: "Il romanzo (così chiamano il Furioso e gli altri simili) è specie di poesia diversa dalla epopeja, e non conosciuta da Aristotele; per questo non è obbligato a quelle regole, che dà Aristotele dell' epopeja. E se dice Aristotele che l'unita della favola è necessaria nell' epopeja, non dice però che si convenga a questa poesia di romanzi non conosciuta da lui." It is well known that Tasso abides by the rules in his poem, where they do apply,

<sup>2</sup> My attention has been called to the passages in Tasso and Pigna by Mr. Robert E. Rockwood, A.M., of Columbia University, who will make a detailed study of these relationships in an early publication.

and that he mildly condemns Ariosto for the multiplicity of his fable, but there is no difference in this respect between Tasso and Warton. The passage quoted is given by Tasso as a résumé of the opinions of Ariosto's defenders, but he represents the cardinal doctrines of his opponents with perfect fairness.

Again, Miss Rinaker quotes as evidence of Warton's priority, these words: "In reading the works of a poet who lived in a remote age, it is necessary that we should look back upon the customs and manners which prevailed in that age. We should endeavour to place ourselves in the writer's situation and circumstances. Hence we shall become better enabled to understand how his turn of thinking, and manner of composing, were influenced by familiar appearances and established objects, which are utterly different from those with which we are at present surrounded." (p. 47) To the man who first enunciated and applied this principle, all honor is due, if he can be found, but that man was not Thomas Warton. What essential difference is there between the view just stated and that elaborated by Giraldo Cintio in his *Discorsi intorno al comporre de i Romanzi*, 1554? "Vedonsi anco nell' Odissea d'Homero," he says, "molte cose, et specialmente quand egli fa che Nausicaa, figliuola d'Alcinoo, se ne va al fiume con le altre fantesche a lavar panni, ilche al nostro tempo sarebbe disdicevole, non dirò a figliuola di Signore, o di gentil' huomo, ma di semplice artigiano. Et questa all' hora aveniva perche i Poeti di que primi tempi seguivano una certa loro rozza semplicità, che era lontana da quella Maestà che . . . apparavi poi insieme con l'eccellenza dell' imperio di Roma. . . . Ne quali serebbe gran vitio volere seguitare Homero in quelle cose che come al suo tempo convenivano, così rimasero nella Maestà di Roma sconvenevoli, et similmente sconvenevoli sono ne i nostri tempi." (Pp. 31-32 of the 1554 edition.)

These remarks are important not because they are the only examples of historical criticism before Warton but because they are taken from the very field of Italian criticism with which Warton was most certainly familiar. The same questions were raised, with similar results, in Spain, in connection with the plays of Lope de Vega, who admitted the validity of the rules, like the Italians, like Warton, but said that his plays belonged to a new genre. The controversy of the Ancients and the Moderns, both in France and in England, brought the matter up again and led to many unmistakable pronouncements in favor of the historical point of view and of a relative aesthetic. Such pronouncements are to be found, for example, in Charpentier (*De l'Excellence de la langue française*, 1683, I, ch. 9), in Boileau's *Lettre à Perrault*, 1700), in Fontenelle's *Digressions sur les anciens et les modernes*, 1688, and in the Abbé du Bos's curious anticipation of Taine in studying the influence of geography and climate upon art (*Reflexions sur la poésie et sur la peinture*, 1719). This reference of matters

of taste to climate had been anticipated in Jean Bodin's *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*, 1566, which was known to Sidney, Harvey and Bacon. The most familiar treatment of it is in the writings of Montesquieu, which Warton certainly had read.

A few words will make it clear that Warton was preceded in the use of the historical method by Frenchmen. The Abbé de Pons writes in his *Lettre sur l' "Iliade" de La Motte* (1714): "Si l'on fait attention au siècle grossier dans lequel naquit Homère, si l'on a égard aux mœurs rustiques qui régnaient alors, si l'on ne perd pas de vue l'impossibilité morale d'atteindre à la perfection dans un essai hasardé sans le secours des règles et des exemples, on jugera Homère un grand génie, et le premier homme de son siècle rustique, en même temps qu'on jugera son poème très défectueux pour un siècle aussi éclairé que le nôtre."

It will be noticed that the Abbé de Pons does not question the validity of the rules, but this does not disqualify him in the comparison with a critic like Warton, who could say in the opening paragraph of his *Observations* that it was evidence of bad taste in the Academicians della Crusca to prefer the poem of Ariosto to that of Tasso and that it may be urged as an instance of Spenser's weak and undiscerning judgment that he chose to follow Ariosto rather than Tasso, the plan of whose work was much more regular and legitimate than that of his rival.

That the use of the historical method is by no means a certain indication of romantic proclivities is shown in the following words of a man so thoroughly neo-classical as Fenelon: "Les anciens ont un grand avantage: faute de connaître parfaitement leurs mœurs, leur langue, leur goût, leurs idées, nous marchons à tâtons en les critiquant." (*Lettre sur les occupations de l'Académie*, 1716). Above all, it is proved in many a passage of Saint Évremonde, whom no one has ever regarded as a romantic critic. The historic point of view is so pervasive in the writings of the exiled Frenchman that he has been regarded by some, erroneously, as I hope I have shown, as the discoverer of it. His work is so well known and so important in precisely this matter of historical criticism that one is at a loss to understand Miss Rinaker's failure even to mention him. Saint Évremonde's essays and letters were translated into English in 1685-6, forming one of the first extended bodies of criticism from a single pen in the language, and they ran through several editions before Warton's time. His actual contribution to the theory of the historical method is slight but he made that method known to those in England to whom the barriers of language were important and who were unacquainted with the earlier manifestations of the same point of view in their native literature. "Il faut convenir," he says, "que la *Poétique* d'Aristote est un excellent ouvrage: cependant il n'y a rien d'assez parfait pour



régler toutes les nations et tous les siècles." (*De la tragédie ancienne et moderne*, 1672.) Again he writes: "Nous envisageons la nature autrement que les anciens ne l'ont regardée. Les cieux, cette demeure éternelle de tant de divinités, ne sont qu'un espace immense et fluide. . . . Tout est changé: les dieux, la nature, la politique, les mœurs, le goût, les manières. Tant de changements, n'en produiront-ils point, dans nos ouvrages? Si Homère vivoit presentement, il feroit des poèmes admirables, accommodés au siècle ou il écriroit." (*Sur les poèmes des anciens*, 1685.)

The admired and influential writings of Saint Évremonde would have domesticated the historical method in England if it had been unknown there before they appeared. That it was known there long before that time, however, Mr. G. M. Miller has sufficiently shown in his dissertation, *The Historical Point of View in English Literary Criticism from 1550-1770*. This study, published in 1911, is defective in several ways and certainly overworks its central thesis, but it should nevertheless have made impossible such assertions regarding Warton's priority as those under discussion. Avoiding obscure names and considering only those writings which Warton must have known, we find, as indubitable exponents of the historical method, such documents as Samuel Daniel's *Defence of Rhyme*, 1602; Sir William Temple's essay *Of Poetry*, 1692; John Dennis's *Impartial Critick*, 1693; Addison's *Discourse of Ancient and Modern Learning* (of uncertain date and ascribed to Addison by Hurd); the prefaces to *A Collection of Old Ballads*, 1723 (Lowndes says on the authority of Dr. Farmer that the editor was Ambrose Philips); Thomas Blackwell's *Enquiry into the Writings of Homer*, 1735.

The use of the historical and comparative methods in Temple's essay must be familiar to every thorough student of English literature. Like the Abbé du Bos, but before him, he goes to that extreme of relativity which we commonly associate with Montesquieu and Taine, asserting in a famous passage that England's superiority in humor is due to the freakishness of her climate. John Dennis may be echoing Temple in the words: "To set up the Grecian Method [of criticism] amongst us with success it is absolutely necessary to restore not only their Religion and their Polity, but to transpose us to the same Climate in which Sophocles and Euripides writ." (Quoted by Miller.) Addison's *Discourse* makes the point that a work of art has upon contemporaries an effect quite different from that which it is to make upon posterity. He illustrates by saying that a local legend in Virgil was to Virgil's first readers much what a modern allusion to Arthur or Guy of Warwick is to us. Pigna had said the same thing many years before: "Rinaldo poi Brandimarte & altri paladini sono a guisa di Theseo, di Giasone, & d'altri Heroi, et e la Tavola rotonda come la Naue degli Argonautici." (*I Romanzi di M. Giovan Battista*



*Pigna*, 1554. p. 21.) Blackwell's *Homer* ascribes Homer's greatness to a "concourse of natural causes," among which a large body of legend ready to the poet's hand, an "expressive religion," naive customs, picturesque speech, and climate are mentioned. He insists that to understand Homer aright we must keep in mind the ancient modes of recital and reconstruct imaginatively the mood and situation of his audience.

The ease with which these quotations have been gathered would seem to indicate that many more might readily be found. They are sufficiently numerous to show that instead of being a new thing in Warton's time the historical method was almost a commonplace of criticism. They do not show any extended application of the method, and no quotations of reasonable length could show that. Indeed, Miss Rinaker would have been much nearer the truth if, instead of saying that Warton laid "the foundations of modern historical criticism," she had said that he was one of the first to add importantly to the superstructure. In one of the two places where she qualifies her categorical statement, she says that no important results followed from the glimmerings of the method that had visited earlier minds. The present writer is disposed to think that one of the important results of this earlier exposition of the method is to be found in the fact that Warton used it. It was Warton's extraordinary erudition that made his more extensive application possible. By the date of his birth and by his position in life he just escaped the gentlemanly obscurantism, the French hatred of mere learning, which Temple inveighed against and which made impossible for so long anything resembling a parade of learning in polite letters. Then too, Warton's extended use of this point of view was assisted by what Addison and Steele would have called his "master-passion," antiquarianism. Miss Rinaker points out clearly that his "passion for the past" was the key to his entire life. It is no more a wonder than a sin "for a man to labor in his vocation." But the thing that most powerfully assisted Warton was the great increase of interest in history and historiography since the beginning of his century. Professor Courthope thinks that Gray would have done better work than Warton on the *History* and regrets that Warton spent so much time on research rather than upon higher criticism. (*History of English Poetry*, Introduction). This seems a mistake. We feel at once the grotesque wrongness of Bolingbroke in his *Letters on the Study and Use of History*, where he complains of the fact-grubbing methods of contemporary historians. He thinks that all the essential facts have been gathered and that men should now address themselves to the task of arranging them in final literary form. This in 1752! Yet such an attitude was more nearly justifiable toward the history of the time than it would have been toward English poetry. Warton did, wonderfully well on the whole, just the sort of thing that most cried out for a doer.

Miss Rinaker's rather numerous discoveries of new and unprecedented points of view in Warton will surprise even those few of her readers who have in mind none of the facts by which her assertions are to be refuted. For there is the initial improbability that an important critical method should have originated in England, a country which has nearly always followed the lead of France in critical matters—seldom with more docility than during the lifetime of Warton. There is the improbability that the essentially romantic temper of the English mind should have gone without expression throughout the whole period of what we may consider to have been classic domination. One needs to go only to the poetry of Warton's father, which curiously anticipates every important interest and theme in the poetry of the brothers to see that romantic modes of thought and feeling never died out, in England. Finally, there is the improbability which Miss Rinaker, in her anxiety to vindicate her hero at all points, misses altogether,—the improbability that a man of Warton's mind, temper, tastes, and habits will ever do anything surprisingly novel. Warton was, in fact, unusually imitative and "derivative." It is difficult to point out anything that he did or said or wrote for which the model or, at least, the suggestion, does not readily occur to one's mind. The poetry that a man writes ought to be as good an indication as anything of his originality. Warton does not seem to have cared even to appear original in his verse. His early work is often almost a mosaic of phrases from Milton and in his later poetry he partially transfers allegiance to Gray. There is little likelihood that he thought of this as plagiarism, though he could be sarcastic about Pope's appropriations from those very poems from which he himself drew so largely—the minor poems of Milton. The probability is that in this matter also Warton effected an unconscious compromise between neo-classic and romantic standards. He retained the old doctrine of imitation but imitated a modern model. It is not only the phrase but the metrics and the themes of his models that he imitates. His ruins, graves, rivers, solitudes, were threadbare themes—dear to him for that very reason. Samuel Johnson went unerringly to the point in one line, at least, of his versified comment on Warton—"All is strange, yet nothing new." And this need not detract from the real, though very mild, charm of Warton's verse to one who does not share in the modern romantic craving for mere novelty in art. It is mentioned only as an index to Warton's type of mind, which was in all important respects "lunar," and not "solar."

Miss Rinaker is convinced that Warton was a revolter from the classic age. "Warton's revolt against the classic age," she says, "is nowhere more apparent than in the stand he took for imagination and spontaneity as the essential qualities of poetry, and

against reason and artificiality as its corrupters" (p. 94). Then let us try out the question of Warton's "revolt" on just this ground where Miss Rinaker says it is most apparent. In the *Observations on the Faerie Queene* Warton writes: "Nothing is more absurd or useless than the panegyric comments of those, who criticise from the imagination rather than from the judgment, who exert their admiration instead of their reason, and discover more of enthusiasm than discernment." Never, surely, was there a milder revolutionist, never a more tender iconoclast or a more rational antagonist of reason. The fact is that in matters critical Warton was a compromiser, a balancer of old and new. In other things he was positively reactionary. Revolt simply was not in him. And just because he argued for reason as well as for imagination, just because he saw that reason is not, as Miss Rinaker implies it is, the corrupter of poetry, he will seem to many a far larger and better man than his most impassioned apologist, "discovering more enthusiasm than discernment," has made him out to be.

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*THE LIFE AND ROMANCES OF MRS. ELIZA HAYWOOD.*

By George Frisbie Whicher, Ph. D., Columbia University Press, 1915, pp. xi+210.

Although Mrs. Haywood was once read and admired by a large public, unfortunately for her memory the most certain of her claims to immortality is the malodorous treatment given her by Pope. Even the wasp of Twickenham outdid himself in malignity and obscenity in that passage of the *Dunciad* beginning,

See in the circle next, *Eliza* placed.

Whatever additional recollection the ordinary reader has of Mrs. Haywood is probably due to Scott's sarcastic dismissal of the "whole Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy tribe", and the similar contempt of Coleridge and Thackeray for "Jemmy Jessamy stuff." Along with the vast bulk of her work, which is deservedly forgotten, have gone also the *Female Spectator* and a few other pieces worthy of a somewhat better fate.

The task of striking a balance between the estimate of her contemporary followers and the permanent value of her work is beset with peculiar dangers. The specialist is likely to lose his sense of proportion and assign to the subject of his investigation undue importance. Into this fault there is slight danger of Dr. Whicher's falling: he is saved by a keen sense of humor, which, along with other agreeable qualities of style, makes his book delightful reading. If he fails at all in the way of justice, he



undervalues Mrs. Haywood; it is not certain that he has made the most of the few claims that might be advanced for her on historical grounds.

The material of the book is conveniently classified under the following chapter headings: "Eliza Haywood's Life," "Short Romances of Passion," "The Duncan Campbell Pamphlets," "Secret Histories and Scandal Novels," "The Heroine of 'The Dunciad,'" "Letters and Essays," "Later Fiction," "The Domestic Novel," "Conclusion," "Bibliography," and "Chronological List." The writer found his material scanty only in the case of Mrs. Haywood's biography. The exact date of her birth, her maiden name, her whereabouts immediately after her elopement from her husband, and the work produced during the ten years after Pope's attack are matters that apparently cannot be absolutely settled. In the other divisions of the book the material to be treated is distractingly abundant. The *Biographia Dramatica* would not be far wrong even today in singling out the "Divine Eliza" as "the most voluminous female writer this kingdom ever produced." In quantity her work is a respectable second to that of her contemporary Defoe.

Curiously enough, however, it presents comparatively few nice questions in regard to authorship and dates. The most interesting one of these relates to the authorship of two of the Duncan Campbell pamphlets. *The Dumb Projector* (1725) has been attributed both to Defoe and to Mrs. Haywood. Dr. Whicher is undoubtedly correct in assigning it (pp. 83-4) to Mrs. Haywood, who the year before had published *A Spy upon the Conjuror*. The other pamphlet in question is *Secret Memoirs of the late Mr. Duncan Campbell* (1732). Students will, I think, accept Dr. Whicher's conclusion: "At least a cautious critic can say that there is no inherent improbability in the theory that Defoe with journalistic instinct, thinking that Campbell's death in 1730 might stimulate public interest in the wizard, had drafted in the rough the manuscript of a new biography, but was prevented by the troubles of his last days from completing it; that after his death the manuscript fell into the hands of Mrs. Haywood, or perhaps was given to her by the publishers Millan and Chrichley to finish; that she revised the material already written, supplemented it with new and old matter of her own, composed a packet of Original Letters, and sent the volume to press." (pp. 88-9).

There are two important corrections made by the author. He calls attention (p. 119, note) to Professor Lounsbury's confusion (*The Text of Shakespeare*, 287) of *Memoirs of Lilliput*, octavo, printed in 1727 and *A Cursory View of the History of Lilliput for the last forty-three years*, 8 vo. 1727. He makes it evident also (p. 127) that the same critic (*The Text of Shakespeare*, 275) underestimated the damage done to Mrs. Haywood by Pope's brutal attacks in the *Dunciad*. It is true that her most success-



ful books were produced afterwards; but before that time, she had fallen into disrepute as a popular writer, and had regained her standing only after several years of struggle when she was forced to various shifts, including anonymous publication. In opposing Dunlop's view that *Betsy Thoughtless* probably suggested to Miss Burney the general plan of *Evelina* (pp. 161-2), the author's reasoning is less trustworthy: the resemblances which he readily admits constitute pretty strong grounds for the belief that Miss Burney knew the earlier novel.

Summing up the historical value of Mrs. Haywood's work, Dr. Whicher finds in her long novels, including even *Betsy Thoughtless*, little that contributed to the technique of English fiction. "She was never able to apprehend the full possibilities of the newer fiction, and her success as a novelist was only an evidence of her ability to create the image of a literary form without mastering its technique" (p. 169). Her *romans à clef* contributed something, he thinks, to the democratic spirit of such novels as *Pamela* by representing the aristocracy as the "vilest and silliest part of the nation." Probably, however, the most abiding result of Mrs. Haywood's literary experiments came from the "amatory romances and scandal novels." In spite of their melodramatic exaggeration of the tender passion, they added an element to the novel of manners. They at least attempt to analyze the workings of the mind under the stress of great emotions. Occasionally they are successful and thus anticipate the analytical method of Richardson. "Both romance and realism were woven into the intricate web of the Richardsonian novel, and the contribution of Mrs. Haywood deserves to be remembered if only because she supplied the one element missing in Defoe's masterpieces." (p. 76.)

Unless Dr. Whicher's general estimate minimizes the importance of Mrs. Haywood's periodical essays, it is, I think, quite acceptable. The book serves a very useful purpose by presenting the facts in regard to Mrs. Haywood herself, and is even more valuable as throwing light on various aspects of English literature during the thirty-six years of her activity as an author.

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NOTE:—In Dr. Withington's article, *After the Manner of Italy*, (Jour. of Eng. Germ. Philol. XV, 3, 423 ff.) *Les Masques Anglais*, Paris, 1909, is attributed to Paul Reyber, instead of Paul Reyher. Dr. Withington was in Belgium while his article was going through the press.

## NOTES

The last issue of *Edda*, a journal of literary research published at Christiania, Norway, ought to be known and widely read in America as one of the really significant Shakespeare contributions of the centennial year. It would seem that this journal is as yet but little known in this country, except to literary specialists, and possibly not even to all of these. And yet *Edda* is clearly one of the two or three most important literary journals published today. It is a journal of research and, as such, is planned to be a central organ for the whole of the Scandinavian North. Its editor is Professor Gerhard Gran and the "Editorial Secretary" is Dr. Francis Bull, both of Christiania University. The coöperating staff is made up of 25 Norwegian scholars, assisted by 20 Danish, 12 Swedish, 4 Finnish, and 1 Icelandic scholar; in addition to these there is a foreign staff of 12 well-known writers, as e.g., Gustave Lanson for France, H. V. Routh for England and Franz Schultz for Germany. Other foreign members of the staff are: W. A. Craigie of Oxford University, Gustav Neckel of Heidelberg, H. Logeman of Ghent, Belgium, Fr. von der Leyen of Holland, et al. The journal is published in large octavo, appears in 4 numbers a year, with a total of 640 pages. It is excellently printed and in every way attractive in appearance. The name *Edda* has been chosen because that name points back to the earliest literary-scientific treatise on Germanic soil, namely *Snorre's Edda*. While, as is natural, emphasis is laid upon investigations in modern Scandinavian literature, a good share of the space is given to studies in non-Scandinavian literature, while early European documents and medieval writers receive considerable attention. Thus the following studies may be noted: "Georg Dandin" by Werner Söderhjelm; "Jacques Jasmin" by J. K. Larsen; "Wordsworth" by V. Grønbech; Giovanni Pascoli" by H. E. Kinck; "William Butler Yeats" by Per Hallström; "Edgar Allen Poe" by Gunnar Bjurman; "Noccolo Machiavelli" by H. E. Kinck; "An Old Hindu Drama" by Sten Konow; "The Conception of Virtue in Early Greek Literature" by Emil Smith; "Fundamental Laws of the Epic" by Moltke Moe; "The Three Holy-eves, A Study in Popular Narrative Style" by Agnete Bertram; "Old Testamental Skepticism" by Johs. Pedersen; "La principales directiones de la critique et de l'histoire litterature en France" by Alfred Jolivet, etc. There have been articles dealing with Eddic lays, the Oldest Form of the Balder Saga, Danish Ballads, Early Catholic Poetry in the North, Holberg, Thorild, Wergeland, Ibsen, Bjørnson, Selma Lagerlöf, Gustaf Fröding (4 articles), M. Hansen, etc., and problems connected with the relation between Scandinavian and non-Scandinavian literature. There are also published letters of well-known writers, memoirs, etc., under a department for "Documents"; in this department there have been some new letters of Ibsen, Bjørnson and Kielland, and even of Jørgen Moe and Adam Oehlenschläger. There is promised for an early issue some correspondence between Asbjørnson, the collector of folk-tales, and the Brothers Grimm. Every issue contains one or more reviews of recent non-Scandinavian literature; in this field there was recently a long article on American literature by Prof. O. J. Campbell. Articles are printed in a Scandinavian language or in English, French or German. The contents of the Shakespeare issue can be briefly noted here. There is an article by

C. H. Herford on "Shakespeare's Treatment of Love and Marriage"; by Johan Mortensen on "Hamlet"; by Niels Møller on "Shakespeare at Work"; by Vilh. Grønbech on "Shakespeare and the Pre-Shakespearian Drama"; by Ch. Bastide on "La France et les Français dans le théâtre de Shakespeare"; by Marie Luise Gothein on "Der lebendige Schauplatz in Shakespeares Dramen"; by William B. Cairns on "Shakespeare in America"; by W. P. Ker on "The Form of Shakespeare's Comedies"; by O. Walzel on "Aufzugsgrenzen in Dramen Shakespeares," etc. The first and longest study is that by the Norwegian literary historian Chr. Collin, who under the title "Fra Shakespeare-tidens Idékamp" treats of the 'Battle of Ideas in Shakespeare's Age' and studies Shakespeare as a poet of problems. Collin shows that Shakespeare thought much about three of the most fundamental of life's problems, and tried to solve them or gain greater clearness for himself in regard to them by translating them into living men and women engaged in the battle of life. These three ideas are: 1, that of how far it pays to be good and rather suffer whatever it be than commit a wrong; 2, that of the true type of the ruler and the leader and the true art of government; 3, that of the world-order (Verdensstyrelsen). Collin hasn't much good to say for G. B. Shaw's anti-Shakespearian articles in the *Saturday Review* in 1895 and 1898. After quoting Shaw's utterances he concludes: "Thus speaks one of the wittiest of the disciples of Shakespeare's philosophical clowns, first court fool of king Demos, and at the same time one of the wits of the Fabian Society, economist of economists, philosopher, popular orator, theatrical and musical critic, writer of good plays seasoned by learning from the grand reading room of the British Museum, specialist in Wagner and Ibsen, proclaimer of a new idea of God (patterned freely after Samuel Butler the Younger), so versatile and so prominent, and to such an extent unwilling to put his candles under a bushel that I myself am on the point of forgetting Shakespeare for Shaw, as Shaw does in his Shakespeare criticisms" (translated).

GEORGE T. FLOM.

July, '16.



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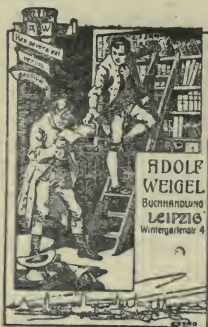
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## A THEORY OF ABLAUT

Thesis: The IG. ablaut *e*, *o*, the so-called "qualitative" ablaut, arose, just as did the so-called "quantitative" ablaut, from a reduction of stress; the *o*-stage resulted from a *partial* reduction of the stress, and represents an intermediate stage between *e* and the complete loss of the vowel.

Scholars have been inclined to look upon qualitative and quantitative ablaut as *two essentially different* phenomena. (Cf. Hirt, *Der idg. Ablaut*, p. 1, Streitberg, *UG. §§ 44, 45*, and *Got. Elementarbuch*, § 81; Bethge, in *Dieter, Altger. Dial.* § 17, etc.). They hold that the quantitative ablaut is due to a reduction of stress, but admit that the real nature of the qualitative ablaut *e*, *o* is not understood. It has generally been supposed to be connected in some way with *musical accent*, or *pitch*.

I wish to try to show that both phases of this phenomenon rest upon the same principle, namely, a reduction of stress; and that the vowel *o* merely represents an intermediate stage between the full vowel *e* and its complete loss. This theory seems to be supported by generally accepted facts in the fields of psychology, physiology, and physics.

First, I must discuss the question of the position of the accent in the IG. verb, with special reference to the syllable of reduplication.

## I. ACCENT OF SYLLABLE OF REDUPLICATION IN IG.

*Psychological Basis of Verb Accent*

Thesis: In IG. the syllable of reduplication was originally more strongly stressed than the root syllable.

The opinion obtains at present among scholars that at least at the time of the rise of the IG. dialects, the reduplicated perfect singular was accented on the verb-root, not on the syllable of reduplication. This view rests chiefly upon the facts that this is the normal accent in Skt., and that in Germanic the voiceless spirant occurs, according to Verner's law, in the preterite singular, as in the infinitive. (Regarding the latter point see § IV below.) But there is considerable evidence which points toward an accent of the syllable of reduplication; in Skt. there are a few cases of variable and double accent, as *dadhîta* and *dādhîta*. (Cf. Brugmann, *Kurze vergl. Gram.* § 623.) Again, in Greek and Latin and Germanic, the syllable of reduplication was generally stressed,

λέλοιπα, mémini, taítok. To be sure, these may represent a later shift of position, but so also may the Sanskrit. Even if we admit, however, that the chief stress rested on the root at the time of the rise of the IG. dialects, there is no reason for denying the possibility of its having been at an earlier period on the syllable of reduplication. (Hirt, *Der idg. Akzent*, p. 177-178, avoids a positive statement.) In IG. times the reduplicating prefix had become a mere formative element.

I believe that originally at the time of the rise of IG. ablaut *e, o*, the syllable of reduplication was more strongly stressed than the root. This view is plausible on theory from the point of view of psychology. Let us glance briefly at the phenomenon of reduplication. One of the chief functions of reduplication in IG., as in other languages, was to express the idea of repetition with reference to an act, e.g., *derk*, "see," *dedorka*, "I see repeatedly or frequently." This form of speech arose, no doubt, first in words which represented an attempt to imitate certain repetition-sounds in nature, as Greek *πιπιρίζω*, *δολιρίζω*; Latin *pīpīlare*, *ululāre*, etc., and from these it was extended so as to designate a *special manner* of performing any act, namely, the *iterative* manner. And naturally the idea of iteration or repetition with reference to an act would associate itself with that particular sound-element of the word by which this special manner of performing the act was distinguished from the simple, single act, that is, the iterative idea attaches chiefly to the syllable of reduplication.

When we shift our attention from the simple act to a special manner of performing the act, then this latter occupies the focus or region of greatest clearness in our attention and the simple act is removed somewhat toward the margin of attention. It is not, however, a case of complete suppression of the first idea, because we cannot lose sight of the *act* when focusing the attention on a special manner of performing the act; it is merely that the latter element occupies a region of greater clearness in our consciousness than the former. There are varying degrees of partial clearness, i.e., degrees between clearness of attention and the removal from the realm of the conscious. Now the psychologists tell us that our physical reactions are most intense on the focus of attention; in speech this expresses itself in an increase of stress, which is normally accompanied also by a raising of the pitch; (to be sure, this normal parallel change both of pitch and stress may be upset by

the introduction of some strong emotional element). Hence from the point of view of psychology, it is only natural that originally the syllable of reduplication should have been more strongly stressed than the root syllable, or that the root syllable should have undergone a reduction of stress as compared both with the syllable which now represents the focus of attention, and also with the ideal root syllable when the simple act occupied the focus of attention; and we shall see in the following sections that the vowel *o* as compared with *e* represents from the standpoint of both physics and physiology a reduction of stress (and pitch). This theory of accent finds support in the accent of other forms of the verb, e.g., the perfect plural, Germanic *hlþum*\* < *hēhlþamē*, *buðum* < *\*bēbuðamē*, *nēmum* < *\*nēnmamē*; and again in the perfect participle Germ. *buðans* < *\*buðanás*, *stigans* < *\*stiganás*, *numans* < *nmanás*, etc. Let us look first at the perfect plural. The simplest and most natural way of conceiving of most acts is that they are performed by *one* person. The performing of an act by more than one person constitutes the *abnormal*, the *unusual* situation, in contrast to the *normal singular*; i.e., the idea of *plurality* crowds itself into the focus of attention. Is not this the real reason why in IG. the personal endings were accented in the dual and plural, but not in the singular? As to perfect plural, we have then two elements, repetition and plurality, which predominate over the fundamental idea of the act itself. These two elements together crowd the original idea even farther out into the margin of attention, and the physical reaction for it is weaker than in the case of the reduplicated singular, in fact so weak that the sonant element of the syllable, which is the chief bearer of the stress, is lost, i.e., the vowel disappears entirely.

Or take the case of the past participle. The two chief suffixes in IG. were *-nó* and *-tós*; with these sound groups there was associated the idea of the *person* or *thing affected* by an act, or of a *state resulting from* an act, e.g., Germanic *bitans* < *bitanás*, "bitten," "the bitten one" (of course, another substantive might be used in connection with the participial form, as the *bitten man*); *burans* < *buranás*, "the borne one"; *numans* < *numanás*, "the taken one or object" IG. *plnós*, "filled;" or IG. *\*dētós*, "the thing given," etc. In all of these cases the focus of attention is so occupied by the *person* or *thing* or *condition* connected with the act that the reaction for the act itself is very weak, i. e., the sonant element of that



sound-group is lost (except when this would result in an unpronounceable combination of consonants, as in *dātós*.)

Again, the accent in causative verbs and in the optative mood is entirely in accord with this psychological principle. The IG. causative suffix *-éjo* is psychologically quite parallel to the reduplicating prefix; each represents in connection with an act that element which occupies the focus of attention, hence each is more strongly accented than the element which represents the simple act itself; but in centering our attention either on a *special manner* of performing an act or on the *causing* of the performing of the act, we can crowd out only to a slight degree the idea of the act itself, and consequently in both cases we find in the root the vowel *o*, which represents a partial reduction of stress and muscular tension as compared with the associated vowel *e*: Greek *τρέπω*, turn, *τροπέω*, cause to turn; *φέρω*, bear, *φορέω*, cause to bear; Gothic *frawairþan*, to perish, *frawardjan*, to destroy; Modern German *trinken*, *tränken*; *sitzen*, *setzen*, etc.

The IG. optative suffixes *jé*, *ī*, in connection with a verb, expressed the idea that an act or a state was *desired* or *not desired*, or was a *possibility*, but by implication *was not*, or *should not be a reality*, the sound-group which represented this attitude of the speaker toward the *non-existence* of the act or state drew to itself the strong stress, to the complete suppression of the primary sonant element of the verb-root; e. g., Old Latin *siem* < *esjēm*; OHG. *sīm*, *sīs*; so also in perfect forms, as Skt. *vavṛtyat*, OHG. *wurti* < *wrtī* < *Vvert* etc.<sup>1</sup>

Another reason for maintaining that the syllable of reduplication was originally more strongly stressed than the root-syllable is the very fact that the vowel *e* passed over into the vowel *o*, because the sound *o* as compared and associated with the sound *e* represents a reduction of stress, of pitch, and of muscular tension of tongue and vocal cords, as will be seen from following sections; generally accepted facts of physiology and physics bear out this statement, and it is in accord with the practical experience of singers.

## II. PHYSIOLOGY OF TONGUE MUSCLES IN VOWEL FORMATION

There are three chief sets of muscles in the tongue, the main ones running lengthwise, then transverses running from the cen-

<sup>1</sup> In the thematic verbs, as IG. *bher-o*, the opt. suff. *i* combined with the theme vowel *o*, losing a large part of its energy, as a result of which the root-vowel was strengthened and preserved, or restored; thus opt. IG. *bheroi*, Goth. *bairai*, OHG. *bere*.



tral septum out to each side, and lastly the small vertical muscles which extend from the upper surface of the tongue down a short distance into its body. The muscles of this third group enable us to make the surface of the tongue tense, convex, or concave; those of the second group, to make the tongue wide or narrow, and to turn the sides up and down. But for the point in question, namely, the ablaut *e, o*, we need consider only the muscles of the first group and in particular only one, the big *genioglossus*, which is attached to the rear side of the chin bone and radiates from there out into the tongue in its entire length from root to tip. Three sections can be distinguished: (a) the *anterior fibres* which lead toward the front part of the tongue; (b) the *middle fibres* which terminate in the central part of the main body; and (c) the *posterior fibres* which go to the back and root of the tongue and are attached to the hyoid bone. The contraction of this muscle as a whole draws the tongue forward in the mouth, and the contraction of the anterior fibres pulls the point and tip down behind the lower teeth. In addition to the *genioglossus* we should note a small pair of muscles which are used to draw the tongue *back* and *up*, namely, the *styloglossus*, the two parts of which are attached to the styloid processes slightly below and behind the ears and terminate in the sides of the tongue.

Now we must remember a few facts about the action of muscles:

(a) Muscles act by *contraction*; we receive a stimulus either actually from without, or from memory or imagination; this is conveyed to the brain, thence by the motor nerves to the muscles, which as a result of the stimulus contract; the intensity of the contraction varies with the intensity of the stimulus. (b) The tongue muscles, like other muscles, are at all times, even in rest, partially contracted. If, for example, the *genioglossus* be relaxed, the tongue from its own weight falls back in the mouth, and unless controlled and directed and held up in its backward movement by the *styloglossus*, it may cause strangling, as, for example, in anaesthesia, in which precautions must be taken to hold the tongue forward mechanically. (c) When a muscle contracts, its opposite or antagonistic muscle relaxes proportionately; and when the contracted muscle relaxes, its antagonistic muscle contracts back to normal, or even beyond normal if the preceding contraction has been a particularly strong one. (d) The tongue is a flaccid mass which can be pulled and squeezed into many different shapes and positions by the contracting muscles.

Let us now look at the tongue positions for the chief vowels from the point of view of the contraction of the tongue muscles. We speak of *i* as representing high front tongue elevation, *e* mid-front, *a* nearly normal, *o* mid-back, and *u* high back elevation. What really happens is this: if the large genioglossus is strongly contracted, the point of the tongue is drawn down behind the lower teeth, and the main mass of the tongue is *piled* or *humped* up in the front of the mouth close to the hard palate; the so-called *elevation* of the tongue is merely the natural consequence of its being drawn forward. If the contraction of the genioglossus is less tense, the back of the tongue is not humped quite so high, the result being the vowel *e*. A further reduction of the contraction results in the *a* position, and still further reductions result respectively in the *o* and *u* positions. For the two latter there is a corresponding contraction of the *styloglossus*, by which the tongue is drawn back and slightly up.

Now, to be sure, the tongue can be placed in any of these positions and also in many intermediate ones, either deliberately and consciously, or automatically as the result of habitual associations. We are not concerned here, however, with what the tongue *can* do, but rather with that it *does* do naturally when the nerve reaction is weakened, as a result of the removal of the primary suggestion from the region of greatest clearness to a region of partial clearness in our attention. If we *normally* associate the sound *e* in the root *nem*, i. e., a contraction of the genioglossus, with the *act of taking*, when this *act* occupies the focus of attention, then there would be a corresponding relaxation of this muscle when the stimulus is weakened as a result of the removal of this *act* to a region of only partial clearness in our attention. And this relaxation of the genioglossus, which may follow either an *actual* or an *imagined*, a *potential* contraction, allows the tongue to fall *back* in the mouth; the styloglossus, which is the antagonistic muscle, catches the rebound, so to speak, and contracts slightly beyond normal, thus controlling and directing the tongue in its backward movement and giving it that position which is most advantageous to the production of the tone which, in a certain sense, is the counterpart of *e*, namely, *o*. The meaning of this will become apparent in the following section.

The theory that *o* is the counterpart of *e* from the point of view of physiology as well as of physics is strengthened by the

OHG. change of *e* to *i* before *u*, that is, *gibu* < \**gebu*. The *u* position is the counterpart of the *i* position, just as *o* is of *e*; and if the tongue is going to operate from a front contraction to this *extreme* back position *u*, it prefers to do so from the *extreme* front position *i*, just as it does from the less extreme *e* to its less extreme counterpart *o*. It seems as if the main tongue muscle, the genio-glossus, prefers to contract to an extent proportionate to its following relaxation. It, like all muscles, shows a preference for *pendulum motion*. And again, when the movement is reversed, i. e., from a weaker toward a stronger contraction, this large muscle seems to prefer to perform all or at least a large part of its work at the very beginning; this is the physiological principle involved in the change of *e* to *i* before *i*, as OHG. *irdin* beside *erda*, and in all forms of umlaut, as *gesti* < *gasti*, *löcher* < *lohhir*, *würfel* < *wurfil*, and in the change of *u* to *o* before *a*, as *gold* < *gulfas*. Of course, the psychological element of mental keenness, alertness, anticipation, plays the important rôle in determining the physical reaction.

### III. PHYSICAL PROPERTIES OF THE VOWELS

In order to bring out clearly just why in IG. the sound *e* became *o* and not something else, when a part of the stress was removed, I shall have to state a few fundamental facts regarding the physical nature of musical sounds in general and of the vowels in particular, for a vowel is a musical sound. The best recent work in this field has been done by Professor D. C. Miller, Professor of Physics in Case School of Applied Science, Cleveland, Ohio; his book is entitled *The Science of Musical Sounds*, The Macmillan Company, 1916.

Sound is produced by the vibration of an elastic body; this sets up a disturbance in the surrounding air. If the vibrations are regular and periodic, the disturbance of the air takes a definite wave-form, and we receive it through the ear and perceive it as musical tone. We can hear sounds ranging from about 16 to 30,000 per second, although the upper limit of the musical scale is about 4200. If the vibrating body, or generator, vibrates as a whole in its entire length only, then the resulting tone is a pure tone, or fundamental; but if in addition to its vibration as a whole there is also a vibration of two or more parts, or sections, then these partials, or overtones, are added to the fundamental,



and the total result is a compound tone. Most musical tones are compound. The tuning fork, however, gives out a pure, simple tone. The *loudness* of a tone depends upon the energy brought against the vibrating body, i. e., upon the size or amplitude of the waves that are sent out. The *pitch* is determined by the frequency of the vibrations per second, increased frequency producing rise of pitch. Increase of frequency is the result of increase of tension of the generator. The *quality* of a tone is determined by the number, composition, and frequency of the partials, or overtones. The tone of a vibrating body is reinforced and amplified if the waves are caught up and allowed to *resonate* from a resonating surface or in a *resonance chamber*, as, e. g., the box of a violin, or the pipe of an organ or of a reed instrument. The resonance chamber picks up especially certain of the characteristic overtones of the generator and amplifies them, but it naturally cannot reinforce anything except what is furnished to it by the vibrating body, the generator.

Now the organs of speech constitute a musical instrument; the vocal cords are the generator of the sound, and the chest, but more especially the mouth and nasal cavities, form the resonance chamber. The average vocal cords have a considerable range of pitch, and the resonance chamber can be given a great variety of shapes by means of the muscles of the tongue, jaw, and lips. The resonance chamber has a pitch and tone quality of its own, the *resonance* tone, German "Eigenton," apart from the pitch and quality of the vocal cords, the *voice* or *cord* tone. As the shape of the resonance chamber changes, its pitch and tone quality change. This can be determined by whispering the vowels; also by fixing the mouth for the different vowels and then sounding a tuning fork of the corresponding pitch before the mouth. It has been found that *i* has the highest resonance pitch, *u* the lowest; the intermediate pitches down from *i* to *u* are through *e*, *a*, *o*. There has been some difference of opinion among investigators as to the relation of the resonance tone to the voice tone. But the recent work of Miller verifies the conclusions of Helmholtz, one of the greatest physicists of the nineteenth century, and we may accept their view as the most trustworthy. According to these scientists, the mouth resonance is identical with one or two of the overtones or groups of overtones of the vocal cords, and these overtones are picked up and amplified by the resonance chamber.



I should judge, then, that we are justified in concluding that there is a natural adjustment between the vocal cords and the mouth; the resonance chamber is for each sound so shaped as to resonate to the best advantage the tone furnished to it by the vocal cords, and on the other hand, the cords are tuned up to furnish at least those overtones which are best suited to a given resonance chamber.

The physicist has several devices for recording the wave-form of a sound, and thus he is enabled to study the composition of a tone and to determine the number and pitch of the overtones; this is of great importance, for it is the overtones that give to each tone its characteristic quality. Professor Miller has analyzed the tones of the eight vowel-sounds which occur in the English words: *father*, *raw*, *no*, *gloom*, *mat*, *pet*, *they*, *bee*, i. e., *a*, *ɔ*, *o*, *u*, *æ*, *ɛ*, *e*, *i*, and has recorded the set or sets of overtones which constitute the characteristic resonance of each of these vowels. He finds that in each of the back vowels there is *one* set of partials, within a certain narrow range of pitch, that give to each sound its characteristic quality, and this he calls the chief *region of resonance*. The pitch of these partials is highest for the sound *a* in *father*, representing a frequency of about 1050 vibrations per second, and it gradually becomes lower for *ɔ*, *o*, *u*.

He finds further that in each of the front vowels, *æ* (*mat*) *ɛ*, *e*, *i*, there are *two* such sets of partials, or two characteristic regions of resonance, first, a low one, which in each vowel-sound is practically identical with that sole region of resonance of its corresponding back vowel, and second, another one of very high pitch, or frequency; the pitch of this second set of overtones increases from *æ* (*mat*) to *i* (*bee*) regularly, as that of the other set of lower overtones decreases. For example, the characteristic overtones of *o* have a frequency of about 460 vibrations per second, those of *u* about 325. The vowel *e* has two sets, or regions, a lower one with a frequency of about 480, and a high one of about 2500; the two regions of *i* are at about 308 and 3000. In the front vowels it is this second region of high frequency which gives to each its characteristic quality; and it has been shown by actual experiment (the synthetic reproduction of the vowel-sound by a group of pipes, in which each one represents one of the component elements of the sound; any one of them can be removed at

will) that if this second region of high frequency be removed, then *i* becomes *u*, and *e* becomes *o*.

It seems to me that these facts are of the greatest importance in a study of IG. and Gmic. sound-changes. In the case of the ablaut *e*, *o*, we have merely to see whether in actual speech anything happens that would naturally tend to eliminate that set of higher overtones of the vowel *e*, as a result of which *e* would pass over into *o*. Those overtones are present both in the cord tone of the larynx and also in the resonance tone of the mouth cavity, for the resonance chamber can only reinforce what is furnished to it by the generator. Let us look at each of these.

If we examine drawings of the shape of the mouth cavity in the different vowel positions, we notice that for the front vowels this resonance chamber consists of two parts, the larger and more oval part between the tongue and the soft palate, and a smaller, narrow part between the front of the tongue and the hard palate. In advancing from the sound *e* to the sound *i*, the back chamber becomes larger and the front passage smaller. For the back vowels with the tongue in the back of the mouth, the resonance chamber has only one part, and this is in front of the tongue extending up to the lips. But this one chamber resembles closely both in size and shape the rear one of the two chambers of the corresponding front vowel; the rounding of the lips for the back vowel aids materially in forming such a chamber. The resonance chambers of corresponding back and front vowels are, then, practically the same, except that the front vowels have in addition a small narrow passage, or vestibule, in front of the larger chamber. Now, since the frequency of vibrations increases as the size of the resonance chamber decreases, it is evident, according to Helmholtz and Miller, that in the front vowels with their two sets of high overtones the lower ones are resonated in the larger back chamber and the higher ones in the front narrow passage. If this front narrow passage is lost, as it is when the tongue falls back to the *o*-position upon the reduction of the stress and tension, then the high partials have no suitable resonance chamber and they disappear, but the tongue takes the position necessary to create again the *large* chamber in which the other, the lower overtones of *e*, which are the same as the characteristic overtones of *o*, can resonate.

If the high overtones of *e* disappear from the *resonance tone*, as a result of the changed shape of the mouth cavity which, as we saw in the preceding section, was caused by the relaxing of the tension of the large muscle, the genioglossus, is it probable that they also disappear from the cord tone? I think it is; for the same cause that brought about the relaxing of the genioglossus, namely, a weakening of the energy of the reaction, would also produce a weakening of the energy of the stimulus to the vocal cords; and it is a well-known fact of physics that a reduction of the energy which is applied to a vibrating cord is accompanied by a suppression of the higher overtones; the more lightly a cord vibrates the more nearly does it approach a pure tone. This can be easily tested by striking, first gently, then strongly, a note on the piano; the strong stroke will bring out clearly some high partials which will not be heard when the stroke is light. The reduction of the energy of the vibration is also accompanied by a lowering of the tension of the vocal cords (for the organism works as a whole) resulting in a lowering of the actual pitch of the cord tone. This is, however, not the essential point in the explanation of the change of *e* to *o*. We can pronounce any vowel at almost any pitch in the ordinary range of the voice. The high partials which distinguish *e* from *o* are eliminated, *not by a lowering of the pitch of the cord tone*, but as was stated above, by a *lowering of the energy or force of the vibration*. But this much is true, that there is a natural tendency of the resonance tone and the cord tone to follow each other. As the pitch of the voice falls we are inclined to use the *o* and *u* tongue positions, and as it rises we prefer the *e* and *i* positions, and conversely. All singers know that it is difficult to sing a high note on the sound *u*, or a low one on the sound *i*. So we may say that there is a natural and instinctive adjustment of the parts of the organ of speech to each other. The reduction of the stress, or energy, brings about a change in the shape of the resonance chamber and a corresponding change in the quality of the cord tone.

#### IV. LOSS OF SYLLABLE OF REDUPLICATION

Reduplication served originally to express the idea of *repetition* or *frequency*. But if one does a thing *repeatedly*, then, by implication, one has done the thing *formerly*. This element of the completed or *perfect* act, or the *past time*, then became the



dominant one in the concept, and the *raison d'être* of reduplication having disappeared, the syllable itself began to be lost. This loss in Germanic was encouraged by two facts: first, the new vowel *o*, which had been evolved by natural process, constituted a difference (as compared with *e*) great enough to carry with it the idea of *past* time in contrast to the present *e*; second, in the perfect plural the syllable of reduplication had so merged with the root in such verbs as *nēmum* (<*nēnmamē*), *gēbum* (<*gēgbamē*), that these forms were apparently without a reduplicating prefix; this no doubt encouraged the dropping of the reduplication in the singular. (Cf. Hirt, *Der idg. Ablaut*, p. 196.) This occurred long before the sound-changes known as Verner's Law, so that at the time of that change the chief stress was on the root of the verb in the pret. singular, as in the present.

#### V. ABLAUT IN SUBSTANTIVES

A word must be said concerning the relation of the *o*-sound in nouns to the *e*-sound in related verbs, as Greek *δῶμος*, house, *δέμω*, build, *λόγος*, speech or word, *λέγω*, speak, *φῶρος*, that which is brought, tribute, *φέρω*, bear; Germanic *barn*, "child", *beran*, "bear," etc. Most such nouns are the names of the result of an act, or of something connected in some other way with an act. Speaking in terms of psychology, the act itself has been removed slightly from the focus of attention, supplanted by some special element connected with the act; the stimulus for the act itself is weakened, hence the intensity of the whole physical reaction which regularly accompanies the *clear* idea of the *act* is reduced, and the *o*-sound is produced instead of the *e*-sound.

Originally there may have been some other sound-group with which this idea of the *result* of the act was associated; i. e., it is possible that *λόγος*, *δῶμος*, etc., do not represent the original form and accent. But this is an entirely unnecessary speculation. It is quite possible for the idea of the *result* of an act to become associated mentally with that *reduced* physical reaction itself, which resulted from the removal of the idea of the *act* to a region of only partial clearness of attention.

#### VI. OTHER ABLAUT SERIES

1. The ablaut *ē*, *ō*, Goth. *lētan*, *laifōt*; Greek *ρήγνυμι*, *ῥρωγε*, calls for no special discussion; the change of *ē* to *ō* is quite parallel to that of *e* to *o*.



2. The ablaut *a*, *o*, Greek ἄγω, drive, ὄγμος, furrow, occurs in a few words. It presents some difficulties in connection with our theory. But I believe we can say this much, that, given *a* as the starting point, the primary reaction, then *o* represents in comparison with it a stage of reduced tension and energy. The change from *e* to *o* is the normal one, and the reduced stage of *a* was made to conform to this, partly from analogy, but also because there is no common intermediate stage between *a* and *o*. This ablaut disappeared, of course, in Germanic.

3. The Germanic ablaut *a*, *ō*, Goth. *faran*, *fōr*, may represent either IG. *o*, *ō*, or *a*, *ā*. This brings us to a discussion of such pairs as Greek φόρος, but φῶρ, thief, ποιμένα, ποιμήν, shepherd; Latin *rēgo*, *rēx*; *ēdo*, *ēdi* (Germanic *ētan*, pret. \**ēt*); *vēnio*, *vēni*; *fōdio*, *fōdi*; *lēgo*, *lēgi*; etc. The explanation generally given, namely, that the short vowel was lengthened upon the loss of a following vowel, is good for such forms as φῶρ, φόρος; *rēx*, *rēgo*; but it is hardly satisfactory for the perfects *vēni*, *lēgi*, etc. It seems more probable that this type, with a lengthened vowel in the perfect, originated in verbs with an initial vowel, as Latin, *ēdo*, *ēdi*, \**ōdio*, *ōdi*, in which the long vowel represents a vocalic reduplication, *e-edi*, *o-odi*, etc., and that from these it was extended to verbs with an initial consonant. Another explanation is given by Sommer, *Laut- und Formenlehre der lat. Sprache*, p. 598. He holds that they are similar in formation to the Germanic preterite plurals *nēmum*, *gēbum*, and that *ē* was carried over from the plural into the singular.

## VII. SUMMARY

I have tried to show, first, that from the point of view of psychology there was a partial reduction of stress on the root syllable in all forms which show the vowel *o*, as compared with an original *e*, and a still greater reduction of stress in those forms in which the vowel disappears altogether; and secondly, that in the light of physiology and physics, the sound *o*, as compared with an associated sound *e*, actually represents and corresponds to a reduction of stress and muscular tension of the whole organ of speech. I may say that I have submitted these propositions to specialists in these three fields of science, and they all assure me that the statements here made are in accord with generally accepted views in the respective branches.

Should we not then abandon the customary distinction between *qualitative* and *quantitative* ablaut, between "Abtönung" and "Abstufung," and say that *all ablaut is quantitative*, resulting from a greater or less reduction of the stress and muscular tension on the syllable in question; that the *change of vowel quality* is merely an *incidental but necessary result* of this *reduction*; and should we not abandon the view that both *o* and *e* are full-grade vowels ("Vollstufen") of ablaut, and recognize that the *o*-grade is really the *reduced* grade, the intermediate stage between the *e*-sound and the complete loss of the sonant element? The so called reduced grade *ə* is, I believe, of no special significance; it represents nothing more than *some* sonant element in consonant combinations which would otherwise be unpronounceable, as *\*dātós*; but it does not always occur here, e. g., in forms like Latin *pēdis* < *\*pədəs*, and Germanic pp. *\*gebanas* < *\*gəbanas*, in which the difficulty of pronouncing is overcome by retaining or restoring the full *e*-sound which is *normally* associated with the simple root. And it certainly is not necessary to postulate *ə* in connection with *l*, *r*, *m*, *n*, because the liquids and nasals can be pronounced easily as sonants in connection with consonants.

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## LESSING'S FEELING FOR CLASSIC RHYTHMS

In the fields of philology and literary criticism, Lessing claimed to go back of traditional interpretations to the sources, sweeping away all baser accretions, and referring to pure Greek examples as embodying the highest standard from which there is no appeal.

Severe "classical" studies (well represented in Lessing's puritanical father) were a proud tradition in the straitened home of his boyhood; at the St. Afra school there was a decided stress laid upon antique learning—but this was a rather dusty and formal learning, with too little of the authentic sweetness of the Attic charm; it was apprehended intellectually, rather than sensuously.

The eighteenth century walked in metrical darkness, and was far removed from a direct, simple feeling for original values. Among Lessing's own verse we find sundry Latin hexameters and distichs, as well as four verses in hendecasyllables.<sup>1</sup> All of these seem formally correct, and all bear the marks of having been done rather mechanically, with little indication of musical feeling. In a letter of April 2, 1757,<sup>2</sup> occur ten good Latin senarii, which are possibly Lessing's own work.

In seeking to arrive at an estimate of Lessing's attitude toward the harmonies of classic verse, we may begin with his earliest public utterance concerning the *Messias* (Nov. 1749), a fling at Reichel's appreciation of that work:<sup>3</sup> "Er dringt . . . nicht in das Innere dieses Heldengedichts ein. . . . Er fängt an zu lesen; er sperrt Maul und Nase auf, und sieht das Sylbenmaasz an, wie die Kuh das neue Thor. Er entdeckt unentdeckliche Schönheiten darinne [as if that were not a legitimate function of criticism!] und giebt dadurch einen Beweis von der Feinheit und der scharfen Ausdehnung des Trommelfells seiner Ohren."<sup>4</sup> Surely this is a most unworthy contempt for the delicate science of rhythms—a study which engaged the devoted attention of Diony-

<sup>1</sup> The 113 verses translating the opening of Klopstock's *Messias* (*Sämtl. Schriften*, Lachmann-Muncker V, 92) are usually ascribed to Lessing's brother Theophilus.

<sup>2</sup> XVII, 99.

<sup>3</sup> *Kritik über den Wohlklang des Sylben Maases in dem Heldengedichte, der Messias*. Cf. *Schriften*, IV, 41.

<sup>4</sup> IV, 41.

sus and Longinus, of Cicero and Quintilian and Klopstock, and (perhaps most thorough of all German students of the subject) of Johann Heinrich Voss, who was anything but the palpitant Pietist whom Lessing subconsciously despised in Klopstock. As an especially absurd example of Reichel's aesthetic sensibility, Lessing ridicules his admiration for the line:

Siehl itzt streckt schon der Sprössling der grünenden Ceder den Arm aus!  
probably as true-sounding a verse of the kind as could be found.

Lessing, as far as we know, never attempted Horatian stanzas, either in Latin or German. Rhetorical effects claimed his interest in Vergil,<sup>5</sup> and he focused his attention upon meaning, rather than form. In discussing higher harmonies, he made the "poetic period" the chief charm in the Aeneid.<sup>6</sup> In 1750 he interprets Horace's

Legitimumque sonum digitis callemus et arte

merely as directed against "unharmonische Verse."<sup>7</sup> His fragmentary treatise on the Pantomime of the Ancients (cir. 1749)<sup>8</sup> is largely concerned with dancing, but neglects the discussion of rhythms. In 1754 he published without protest the statement of Mylius that if Greek tragedy were written down as prose, no one could detect that it was in verse.<sup>9</sup> A few years later, in mentioning Klopstock's brief treatise, *Von der Nachahmung des griechischen Sylben Maasses im Deutschen*, it is plain to see that Lessing handles its substance in a gingerly fashion, and in most general terms. In the same article he quotes some of Fischart's appalling German heroics,<sup>10</sup> observing, "Die Hexameter sind, nach der damaligen Zeit recht sehr gut."

Discussing Klopstock's ode to Frederick V., Lessing says: "The metrical form which the poet chooses is Horatian; . . . Throughout, the value of the syllables and of the caesura are observed exactly, a cause for greater admiration from the fact that until now the German language has been so unaccustomed to the Roman fetters."<sup>11</sup> Had Lessing said, "these are as good

<sup>5</sup> XV, 438.

<sup>6</sup> VIII, 45.

<sup>7</sup> IV, 70.

<sup>8</sup> XIV, 144.

<sup>9</sup> Mylius, *Schriften* p. 308.

<sup>10</sup> VIII, 45.

<sup>11</sup> IV, 400.



Asclepiadeans as are now practicable in German verse," no fault could be found—but he marks the form *welchen* as an "exactly-observed" spondee, and makes the final cadence of the first three lines pyrrhic in place of iambic, despite the fact that two of them end in the words *geboren ward* and *Menschenfreund*. The Glyconic, however, which is identical with the first three lines save for the omission of one choriamb, he causes to end, properly, in an iambic cadence. In other words, trochee, spondee, pyrrhic, and iambus all looked alike to Lessing in the Third Asclepiadean strophe. One is compelled to think of Quintilian's testimony as to the enormous difference to the Roman ear in the final cadence even of prose sentences.

In Lessing's printed scansion of Klopstock's Alcaics, again,<sup>12</sup> he darkens counsel by false quantities and metrical divisions, at the moment when he pretends to enlighten the uninstructed as to how to read and enjoy these verses: of *gleich erschufst* and of *schnellen Hauch* he makes dactyls; he mixes trochee and spondee in the early part of the verse, closes the fourth line correctly with a spondee, while ending the first three incorrectly with trochees. After such a confused treatment of form, I am free to confess that his dash of cold water, "Was für eine Verwegenheit, so ernstlich um eine Frau zu bitten," loses somewhat of its chill.<sup>13</sup>

In the 39th *Litteraturbrief* (1759: *Schr.* VIII, 85) Lessing mentions an English translation from Vergil which had appeared in London. The anonymous author establishes purely arbitrary rules as to position and prosody in general, and delivers himself in hexameters like these:

Sicilian Muses to a Strain more noble ascend we!  
Woods and low Tamarisks delight not every fancy.  
Groves if we sing of, those Groves be worthy a Consul.  
Now is the last Epoch of song Cumaeen arrived:  
A new and wondrous series of Things is arising.

Lessing's verdict on this astounding paraphrase is, "As far as I, a mere German, may pass judgment upon this new attempt,

<sup>12</sup> IV, 376.

<sup>13</sup> Only the serious, all-too-serious, student would reckon closely with Lessing's breezy verses

Horaz, wenn ich mein Mädchen küsse, . . .  
Dann seh ich, ohne kritische Schlüsse,  
Dich tiefer als zehn Bentleys ein—

but if he *had* held to this thesis, it would have brought him about as far as he actually got in dealing with Horatian prosody.

it has succeeded excellently. I have not noted one verse here that could be scanned in more than one way, and I believe that we might be proud if we had many such good hexameters in German."

Of special interest is Lessing's reaction to the Sapphic strophe. I beg indulgence for digression here into a field which is larger than the scope of this paper. After the decline of Roman culture, Christian hymns were written in good Latin Sapphics for centuries, such as the admirable productions of Gregory the Great, in the sixth century. Paulus Diaconus, two hundred years later, introduced a spurious embellishment in the way of a sort of interior rhyme in certain stanzas of the hymn *Ut queant laxis resonare fibris*, though without neglecting quantities.<sup>14</sup> In the ninth century we see in Hrabanus Maurus a carelessness as to quantity in a few end-syllables.<sup>15</sup> As late as the 11th and 12th centuries there exist correct hymns of the sort. In the 12th century, however, the hymn *De Conceptione beatae Mariae virginis*<sup>16</sup> shows the change to accentual verse. The outer appearance, number of syllables, general phrasing, are the same, but the quantities have suffered hopeless shipwreck (the first line, for instance, has but one short syllable, in place of the necessary four).

At the time of the Humanist revival, scholarly poets went back to faultlessly correct church Sapphics:—Pius II, 1460; Sebastian Brant, 1494; Jacobus Montanus, Jakob Meyer, Eobanus Hessus, Erasmus, Melanchthon, George Buchanan, and the rest, though we have no testimony as to their exact vocal rendering. One of the very earliest of German "reproductions" is Martin Mylius's *Passio Christi* of 1517,<sup>17</sup> (written to the tune *Ut queant laxis*), which has taken on an utterly alien iambic cadence throughout, and rhymes together the three long lines. The last important collection just preceding Luther's influence, the *Hymnarius Sigmundslust*,<sup>18</sup> contains a considerable number of German reproductions of Latin Sapphic hymns, in which the bastard accentual scheme (which we know so well from the singing of *Integer vitae*

<sup>14</sup> Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, I, No. 127.

<sup>15</sup> W., I, No. 137.

<sup>16</sup> W., I, No. 201.

<sup>17</sup> W., II, No. 1338.

<sup>18</sup> W., II, No. 1347 ff.

in student days) is fatally fixed upon German prosody and German consciousness:

So wir des martners tryumph löblich feyren,  
Christum den Herren mit lob frölich singen,  
Ausz des erwölung Blasius ist khumen  
In khlarer Hymell.<sup>19</sup>

The most of these hymns have no well-defined scheme of rhyme. So learned a metrist as Jakob Minor has no feeling against this accentual treatment of the strophe. Accidentally, it tallies with the word-accent in *Integer vitae*, but in such verses as

Pinus, aut impulsa cupressus Euro

it ruins the accent of the third word.

Luther and his immediate imitators had little stomach for exotic niceties. Johann Kolrose, in 1532, superimposed upon the Sapphic not only end-rhyme, but inner rhyme:<sup>20</sup>

Gott vatter Herre, Sun und haylger gayste,  
Wir bittend seere, dein genad uns layste  
Yetz und am ende, das der feynd nit schende,  
Uns von dir wende.

The development toward the close of the sixteenth century is represented by Thomas Bremel,<sup>21</sup> who accents as in the preceding specimen, but uses the forms *abab* and *aabb* without inner rhyme. This form *aabb* remains the favorite "Sapphic" throughout the eighteenth century, and even until now. Before Klopstock, we need note in this field only Pyra and Lange's strange attempts, of about 1745, in which the long lines are thrown into a straight-away iambic cadence, resembling the original only in having eleven syllables and no rhyme (Lange, it is to be recalled, passed as the leading Horatian in Germany):

Ich höre lauschend auf der Lieder Innhalt,  
Die Zärtlichkeit rührt meine Brust. Ich fühle  
Mich selbst. Die Sehnsucht zittert in den Saiten.  
Du denckest an mich!

Returning to Lessing, we find only one deliverance in regard to this measure. In his preface to the works of Mylius (1754) he praises particularly certain Sapphic odes, "which keep very

<sup>19</sup> W., II, No. 1398.

<sup>20</sup> W., III, No. 118.

<sup>21</sup> W., V, Nos. 67, 68



successfully to this delicate metrical form, and have many graceful passages"—the "delicate metrical form" being, however, the pre-Klopstockian rhymed and accented stanza (the *aabb* type of Bremel), which obviously causes Lessing no distress whatever.

I venture a few theoretical remarks based upon years of patient declamation, and upon the faith that ancient metrists spoke intelligently when they asserted that a long syllable has always the time-value of two short ones. The essence of the Sapphic, in my opinion, is the decorative figure —  $\cup$  — — (also the chief ornamental pattern in the Alcaic): psychologically, the lighter élan of the trochee is followed by the settling down to a steady attack on the part of the spondee. I respectfully reject the accepted modern theory that these two units are of the same length as musical measures. Sappho and Horace did not toil through the night to elaborate this nice combination, if the rhythm moved inexorably onward, or failed to stay its feet and make delays. The hexameter, to be sure, forges ahead continuously, but these interrupted rhythms<sup>22</sup> were also pleasing to the ancient ear. It is true that Voss, in his *Zeitmessung der deutschen Sprache* (1802), affirms stoutly: "They all move *in the same time*, without which no order or harmony could exist—for the dance must then degenerate into a disorganized hopping"—but many modern musical compositions illustrate my contention. In Wolf-Ferrari's *La Vita Nuova* (Canzone 13) is the movement (through subsequent single measures): 4-4; 3-4; 4-4; 4-4; 3-4; 3-4; 3-4; 4-4; 3-4. So in Pierné's *St. Francis*: 4-4; 3-4; 4-4. In Harty's *Mystic Trumpeter*, the "Procession of the Priests" (which offers suggestive analogies to the movement of the noblest of all Sapphic liturgic festival odes) proceeds, "In very precise rhythm," to the cadence: 3-4; 2-4; 3-4; 2-4; 3-4; 2-4; 3-4; 3-4; 2-4; 3-4; 2-4; 3-4; 2-4; 3-4—and so on.

Some time ago the Chicago Choral Society gave an evening of Modern Greek Folk Songs. "Song and dance," said Mr. Nicolay, in reviewing this performance, "are inseparable in these heroic expressions of Greek life. . . . Three types appear to dominate: the simple 3-4 rhythm, the 2-4, and an alternate of the two, which we commonly call 5-4 rhythm, strongly stressed and regular.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Quintilian's *percussiones περσασμοί*, and his statement that the sequence, spondee *plus* trochee, as a closing prose cadence, was very gratifying to him.



It is remarkable, by the way, that the folk-song of S. E. Europe generally seems to find this 5-4 an instinctive dance-step."

Such steps are not unknown in co-educational circles. The well-liked "canter," I am credibly informed, is a waltz-step, alternating with a two-step. Mr. Vernon Castle, whose practical feeling for rhythms is favorably spoken of, introduced in February 1914 a new movement which he called "half-and-half." "It is really a 5-step," he commented, "and the count goes: 1, 2, 3; 1, 2." All this has direct value when applied, for instance, to the scansion of Horace. There is no ground for prolonging the second syllable in the longer lines: it frequently falls within the bounds of a single longer word, where a vicarious lengthening is scarcely conceivable. The dance-rhythm is manifest: "Atqui corporis quoque motui, et signa pedum non minus saltationi quam modulationibus adhibet musica ratio numerorum."<sup>23</sup> And the poet's own words in his ode dedicating the *Carmen Saeculare*,

Lesbium servate pedem, meique  
Pollicis ictum—

what is this, in effect, but an intimation to the dancing maidens and youths that the measure is varied, and that they must "watch their step"?

In later years Lessing showed occasional, though hardly illuminative interest in the whole subject. Klopstock made a short visit to Hamburg in June 1767, while Lessing resided in that city. The latter wrote to Nicolai on August 4: "Klopstock ist hier gewesen, und ich hätte manche angenehme Stunde mit ihm haben können, wenn ich sie zu genieszen gewuszt. . . . Er hat auch ein ziemlich weitläuftiges Werk von den Griechischen Sylbenmaaszen geschrieben; worinn viel gutes kritisches Detail ist." It is plain that Lessing evades here any discussion of the remarkable substance of Klopstock's long work on metrics. On August 14, he again writes: "Seit dem ich Klopstocks Abhandlung gelesen habe ich ganz eigene Grillen über die Prosodie gefangen. Ich will sie ehstens zu Papier bringen und Ihrer und Moses Beurtheilung unterwerfen."

This project was not carried out, though it is doubtless referred to in the letter to Ramler of Nov. 6, 1768, where Lessing asks for Ramler's translation of the odes of Horace, with the indication of

<sup>23</sup> Quintil., 9, 4, 139.

their relative difficulty in reproduction in German, as well as an opinion as to their relative rank in euphony.<sup>24</sup> In the *Collectanea* (1768-1775) is preserved a note:<sup>25</sup> "I had once the idea of determining the effect of various metrical feet by reference to the different kinds of pulse-beats. I planned to learn from the physicians whether (and in what way) a different kind of pulse-beat was the especial concomitant of each violent emotion; . . . I then proposed to investigate the different metrical feet, and make sure which one coincided with each especial kind of pulse-beat . . . which would naturally, then, be those which best correspond to the emotions which are connected with such pulse-beats. . . . A physician at Nancy, Mr. Marquet, has published a work "On the Method of Determining the Pulse-Rate through Music." The Author claims that a natural pulse has the same rhythm as the minuet. . . . The more the pulse varies from the cadence of the minuet, the more it approaches pathological conditions. . . . I must read this work at my earliest opportunity." We find also a suggestion<sup>26</sup> that a study of Ennius's procedure in taking over the hexameter into Latin might shed light on the problem of writing heroic verse in German.

The foregoing survey, which is fairly complete, leads to grouping Lessing among those of whom Klopstock mildly asserts (I am inclined to believe with a direct aim at Lessing): "Es giebt Kenner, die zwar die Alten gelesen, aber sich nicht so genau um ihre Versarten bekümmert haben, das sie die Nachahmung derselben entscheidend sollten beurtheilen können."

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<sup>24</sup> Ramler himself showed very striking advance in using the forms of Horace's odes between, say, 1767 and 1789.

<sup>25</sup> XV, 279.

<sup>26</sup> XV, 266.

## TRACES OF THE WARS OF LIBERATION IN THE SECOND PART OF FAUST

### I

When Karl von Holtei, the well-known actor and novelist, in 1828, visited Weimar where he gave a series of successful dramatic readings, he was honored with an invitation to Goethe's house. After dinner Goethe engaged him in a conversation, during which the poet told him that he had heard good reports in regard to his readings, and at the same time explained why he had not been present at the meetings. Encouraged by Goethe's remarks Holtei, who was to read *Helena* the following day, ventured to ask the poet about a certain passage which he did not understand. Holtei's account of this part of the interview runs as follows: "Ew. Excellenz!" sagte ich fest, denn jetzt wollte ich doch etwas Positives mitnehmen, "ich soll morgen die zu Faust gehörige Helena vorlesen. Ich habe mir zwar alle Mühe damit gegeben, aber alles verstehe ich doch nicht. Möchten Sie mir nicht z. B. erklären, was eigentlich damit gemeint sei, wenn Faust an Helenas Seite die Landgebiete an einzelne Heerführer verteilt? Ob eine bestimmte Andeutung" . . . Er liess mich nicht ausreden, sondern unterbrach mich sehr freundlich: "Ja, ja, ihr guten Kinder, wenn ihr nur nicht so dumm wäret! Hierauf liess er mich stehen."

The passage on which Holtei hoped to get some light, with the encouraging result just mentioned, is the one which I propose to discuss in this paper. It is the episode (ll. 9419-9505) following the remarkable scene, during which Helena, with the celerity of the adept, falls in love with Faust at first sight and immediately takes a highly successful lesson in composing German poetry. While the two are sitting on the softly pillowed throne where they are soon "drawn nearer and nearer to each other, bending and swaying shoulder to shoulder, knee to knee, hand in hand," at the same time building lofty rhyme in concert, Phorkyas-Mephistopheles enters violently, chides their ill-timed dalliance, and informs them that the lady's husband, Menelaus, is coming, and with him his whole force, to storm the castle and to avenge his latest injuries. Faust is greatly annoyed by the bold interruption, "not even in peril will he brook senseless violence," and here he does not see any danger. At this moment "signals, explosions



from the towers (meaning, of course, the shooting of cannon), trumpets and cornets and martial music are heard. A powerful army marches across the stage." It is Faust's army, the leaders of which separate themselves from their columns and step forward to take his orders. They are to drive Menelaus back to the sea where he may resume his old occupation of a pirate. Having accomplished this, they are to partition and manage the conquered country. Germanus is to have "the bays of Corinth," the Goth is entrusted with "Achaia and its hundred dells," the Franks are to march to Elis, Messene is to be the Saxons' share, and the Normans are to clear the sea and make Argolis great. Sparta, however, is to remain the territory of Helena who, as queen and patroness, will preside over these various dukedoms.

Having given these general orders, Faust descends from the throne, and the princes close a circle around him in order better to hear his instructions and commands, while the light-headed Greek chorus-girls express in appropriate dithyrambic strophes their admiration for Faust's strategic talents.

Picturesque and beautiful as this whole episode is, the careful reader will not refrain from asking what it all means. Turning to the most recent commentators, Erich Schmidt and his faithful double Witkowski, he is told that he must think of the conquest of the Peloponnesus in 1204 when William of Champlitte divided the country among his knights, and Guillaume of Villehardouin, like Helena, retained the sovereignty.

Some readers will perhaps be satisfied with this sort of explanation which consists essentially of the unloading of a sufficient amount of learned matter upon difficult passages, in the confident belief that the proper understanding will grow of itself from under the well-fertilized ground. Other readers who are less easily contented will inquire why Goethe should have again emphasized the *motif* of the sacrifice or, in other words, why Mephistopheles should interrupt the lovers at all and repeat the threat of the impending death of Helena and her companions, which he had used so successfully before, at the very moment when the union of Faust and Helena has progressed to a point so promising that the chorus feels justified in singing the customary epithalamium.

It might, of course, be said that Goethe had introduced our episode as a sort of transition in order to justify the change of scene from the inner court-yard of the castle to the hilly and rocky



landscape of Arcadia where, later on, the offspring of Faust and Helena, the little rubber-man Euph Orion, the poetic image of Lord Byron, is to be born and to find soon after a premature death by jumping from one of the rocks. In view of the fact, however, that the whole third act plays in the Peloponnesus, of which Arcadia is a part and in which Faust's castle also is situated, no special device was necessary to bring about the change of scene or to explain Faust's sudden resolution to celebrate the wedding in the grottoes of Arcadia situated near Sparta. Moreover, the necessity of introducing our episode seems still more doubtful if we remember that Faust, as well as Mephistopheles, must know that Menelaus is safely in the lower world, from which only Helena and her gay companions have been resurrected.

The trouble which, owing to its loose connection with the plot, our episode has caused the critical reader since the time of Holtei's unsuccessful interview, could have been avoided, at least during the last thirty years, had the commentators not overlooked on what occasion the episode originated. As early as 1886, in the seventh volume of the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, Professor A. Berger, published what is without question the original draft of Mephistopheles-Phorkyas song or speech (ll. 9419-9434):

Buchstabiert in Liebes-Fibeln,  
Tändelnd grübelt ihr am Liebeln,  
Müßig liebelt ihr im Grübeln,  
Doch dazu ist keine Zeit etc.

According to Berger the verses are written on a piece of paper which, in his opinion, may have served originally as the title-page of a manuscript. On one side of the leaf is written "Zu Wallensteins Lager." Separated from this inscription by a line, follow the words: *Bey Gelegenheit des Ausmarsches der Weimarschen Freywilligen*. There is no question in my mind that these words refer to the verses on the other side of the page and describe the occasion on which they originated. The conclusion to be drawn from this fact seems to me quite clear: the verses of Phorkyas as well as the entire episode which they introduce were suggested to Goethe by the momentous political events of the time and reflect the poet's attitude toward the wars of liberation.

To realize the full import of Goethe's statement concerning the origin of our verses, a brief survey of his political views will be in place.

## II

Contrary to Schiller, whose remarkable insight into the great forces of history and politics is now being recognized more and more, Goethe, despite his long and intimate connection with state affairs at Weimar, showed a lifelong want of interest, if not an innate aversion, in regard to all matters political. While it is true that his autobiography, his notes to the *West-Oestliche Divan* and his *Materialien zur Geschichte der Farbenlehre* show the deepest insight into the history of literature and civilization, he nevertheless confesses with regard to political history: "die Weltgeschichte, der ich gar nichts abgewinnen konnte, wollte mir als Ganzes nicht in den Sinn." Contemptuously he speaks of politics as "Torheiten ins Grosse," and excuses his unconcern by saying: "für meine Person fand ich nichts Rätlicheres als die Rolle des Diogenes zu spielen und mein Fass zu wälzen." No wonder, therefore, that we find the same indifference also in his attitude toward German national affairs, an indifference which is perhaps best characterized by the words of the student in *Auerbach's Keller*:

Dankt Gott mit jedem Morgen,  
Dass ihr nicht braucht fürs Röm'sche Reich zu sorgen.

To be sure there was little to inspire patriotic enthusiasm in the gradually decaying structure of the old German empire which Goethe knew so well from his experience with the *Reichskammergericht* at Wezlar, and with most of his contemporaries he shared the disbelief in the possibility or even the necessity of a national revival or reconstruction. Nor did Goethe fully realize the historic significance of the French revolution and its possible disastrous effects upon German political conditions. While in *Hermann and Dorothea* we hear the distant thunder of the approaching storm, the chief characters of the beautiful village story are little affected by it, and the idyllic peace of the picture remains undisturbed.

The aloofness and retirement from the turmoil of the political world, which superficial observers have of late claimed to be the manifest destiny of the German mind, is characteristic of nearly all the classical productions, which originated during the interval of European peace between 1795 and 1806, the period of calm before death, as it has aptly been called. While in France during this period the lofty ideals of liberty and equality, of humanity and cosmopolitanism, were gradually being perverted into

their very opposites, the same ideals found a new and much deeper interpretation in the works of the German classical poets. It would be unjust to deny that the men who created the new German spirit were devoid of a certain national impulse, but their patriotism was of an ethereal kind, and they addressed themselves to an imaginary ideal nation which had as yet no place in the world of harsh political realities.

Again it was Schiller who foresaw as early as 1793 that out of the anarchy, into which the French revolution had developed, there would rise a despot who would lord not only over France but also over Europe. Schiller did not live to see the fulfillment of his prophecy as far as the final collapse of the old empire was concerned, and the reign of blood and terror which followed. It seems incredible now that Goethe, like Hegel and most of his contemporaries, did not only not feel the national humiliation but easily became reconciled to the new order of things and even idolized the man who had brought the fearful disaster upon Germany.

This appalling absence of healthy patriotic feeling, manifesting itself in the perverse cult of the oppressor, lasted with Goethe until the defeat of Napoleon had been accomplished. When the news of the victory of Leipzig first reached Weimar, Goethe seemed stunned. We are told that for days he kept to his rooms in utmost excitement. W. von Humboldt, who saw him a week after the battle of Leipzig, writes on October 26, 1813: "die Befreiung Deutschlands hat noch bei ihm keine tiefe Wurzel geschlagen. Er glaubt zwar ernstlich daran, aber stellt mit vielen Phrasen und Gebärden vor, dass er sich an den vorigen Zustand einmal gewöhnt habe, dass alles da schon in Ordnung und Gleis gewesen sei und der neue nun hart falle."

A few weeks afterwards, on November 19th, Louise Seidler, the artist, to whom we owe an excellent portrait of Goethe, saw him and writes about their meeting as follows: "Auch meinte er: man müsse sich auf alle Art zerstreuen und er arrangiere jetzt seine Kupferstiche nach den Schulen, dass sei Opium für die jetzige Zeit. Nimm dies wie du willst: mir war es leid, dass er für die jetzige Zeit, die zwar lastenvoll, aber überall gross und herrlich ist, *Opium* will. Auch meinte er: es sei unrecht, von den Studierenden und Professoren mit in den Kampf ziehen zu wollen, da jetzt schon so viel geschehe, dadurch Wissenschaften gestört



und so weiter würden. Uebrigens liess er sich nicht weiter über die Sachen aus; aber dass er nicht dafür enthusiastisch ist, beweist er doch auch, indem er seinem Sohne verweigert sich unter die Freiwilligen zu stellen, der es wünscht und in kein gutes Licht durch sein Bleiben gestellt wird."

Deplorable as it is to see the greatest German poet look for an opiate in order to make himself insensible to the great national rising about him, it is at the same time significant that he should view his favored occupations as a narcotic, and we can understand why later, when he was requested to write the "Festspiel" for the Berlin celebration of the liberation, the story of Epimenides, the Greek Rip van Winkle, who slept away a part of his life, should appeal to him. So deeply had Goethe lost himself in the dreamland of classicism and so thoroughly had he become a Greek, that he seemed to have lost his national consciousness. He was to experience, however, that the mighty waves of the popular rising, which surged about him were not to be resisted, and that the patriotic awakening was to seize him also.

During the latter part of November 1813, Duke Karl August who had severed his connection with the Rhine League, issued a call for volunteers to participate in the campaign against Napoleon. Among the many who responded were Goethe's son, who had finally overcome his father's objections, and Dr. Kieser, professor of medicine at Jena, whom Goethe had also tried to dissuade. The flames of patriotic enthusiasm had thus spread to Goethe's own hearth. If we desire to know what transpired in his soul during the days of inner suffering and struggle which ended in the self-victory expressed in the lines of *Epimenides Erwachen*:

Doch schäm ich mich der Ruhestunden,  
Mit Euch zu leiden war Gewinn;  
Denn für den Schmerz, den Ihr empfunden,  
Seid Ihr auch grösser als ich bin

we must turn to Professor Kieser's letter of December 12, 1813. Kieser's writes: "Um 6 Uhr ging ich zu Goethe. Ich fand ihn allein, wunderbar aufgeregt, glühend, ganz wie im Kugelschen Bilde. Ich war zwei Stunden bei ihm und ich habe ihn zum ersten Male nicht ganz verstanden. Mit dem engsten confidentiellen Zutrauen teilte er mir grosse Plane mit und forderte mich zur Mitwirkung auf . . . Ich fürchtete mich beinahe vor ihm; er erschien mir, wie ich mir als Kind die goldnen Drachen



der chinesischen Kaiser dachte, die nur die Majestät tragen können. Ich sah ihn nie so furchtbar heftig, gewaltig, grollend; sein Auge glühte, oft mangelten die Worte und dann schwoll sein Gesicht und die Augen glühten, und die ganze Gestikulation musste dann das fehlende Wort ersetzen. Ich habe seine Worte und Plane, aber ihn selbst nicht verstanden . . . Er sprach über sein Leben, seine Taten, seinen Wert mit einer Offenheit und Bestimmtheit die ich nicht begriff. Ob ihn der grosse Plan, den ich Ihnen nur mündlich sagen kann, so ergriff? Dann muss ich ihn noch mehr schätzen und sein Zutrauen gegen mich ehren."

Unfortunately Kieser does not disclose the nature of Goethe's great plan, but there is little doubt that it was concerned with the patriotic national movement, in which he had now resolved to participate. It was during those turbulent days and hours that the poet came to realize the irresistible force of the sacred popular will aspiring to freedom and unity, or, as he has it in *Des Epi-  
menides Erwachen*:

Brüder auf! die Welt zu befreien!  
Ehre winkt, die Zeit ist gross.  
Alle Gewebe der Tyranneien  
Haut entzwei und reisst Euch los!  
Hinan! Vorwärts- Hinan!  
Und das Werk, es werde getan!

So erschallt nun *Gottes Stimme*,  
Denn des *Volkes Stimme*, sie erschallt,  
Und, entflammt von heil'gem Grimme,  
Folgt des Blitzes Allgewalt.  
Hinan! Vorwärts- Hinan!  
Und das grosse Werk wird getan!

From this time on Goethe was heart and soul with his people again.

On January 31, the Weimar volunteers marched out. On the preceeding evening, at Goethe's request, "Wallenstein's Lager" was performed, to which he had added a final scene appropriate to the memorable event and culminating in a tribute to the patriotic and prophetic genius of his great friend Schiller:

Und so hat der Dichter das Wahre gesagt,  
Wie wir es denn alle nun wissen.  
Ihr Jünglinge seid, so wie es nun tagt,  
Zum Marsch und zum Streite beflissen.  
Gedenket an uns in der blutigen Schlacht,

Und habt ihr das Werk mit, das grosse, vollbracht,  
So bringt uns, was Ihr uns genommen!

It would indeed have been strange, had Goethe failed to confide what moved his deepest breast during these historic moments to the poem to which, more than to any other, he was wont to entrust the secrets of his inner life. While the martial tunes of the marching volunteers were ringing through the streets of Weimar, Goethe had Mephistopheles, who often embodies the poet's conscience, utter the violently reproachful verses:

*Buchstabiert in Liebesfibern*  
Tändelnd grübelt nur am Liebeln,  
*Müssig* liebelt fort im Grübeln!  
*Doch dazu ist keine Zeit.*  
Fühlt ihr nicht ein dumpfes Wettern?  
*Hört nur die Trompete schmettern!*  
Das Verderben ist nicht weit,  
Menelas mit Volkeswogen  
Kommt auf euch herangezogen,  
Rüstet euch zum herben Streit.

From the lofty height, to which the patriotic rising had carried Goethe, his previous occupation appears to him now as a frivolous dalliance. Like Faust he had trifled away his time in the dream-land of classicism while his people were fighting for their national existence, and like Faust he had resented as a bold interruption of his ideological reclusion all tidings of approaching danger. By a curious metamorphosis in the poet's imagination, however, Menelaus now seems to have become identified with Napoleon, who no longer is the poet's idol but the enemy threatening with his hordes Faust's ideal realm.<sup>1</sup> To defend this ideal kingdom of Graeco-Germanic culture, symbolized by the union between Faust and Helena, Faust is aroused to heroic activity and summons the military forces of all the German peoples. It is here where the allusions to the contemporary events become so unmistakably transparent that the commentators accuse Goethe of violating poetic probability, although they do not understand why it was

<sup>1</sup>How Goethe's attitude toward Napoleon changed during this time from adulatory hero-worship to the point of calling him a satanic force from the abyss, may be seen from the following lines in *Des Epimenides Erwachen*:

Und was dem Abgrund kühn entstiegen,  
Kann durch ein ehernes Geschick  
Den halben Erdkreis übersiegen,  
*Zum Abgrund muss es doch zurück!*

done so. The stage direction: signals, explosions from the towers, trumpets and cornets, martial music, marching of a powerful army, reflect directly the marching out of the Weimar volunteers. The spirit of the irresistible bravery of the troops, composed of Germans from the North and Prussians from the East, which freed their fatherland from the oppressor, rings through Faust's words:

Mit angehaltne*m* *stillen Wä*l*de*n,  
Das euch gewiss den Sieg verschafft,  
Ihr, Nordens jugendliche Blü*te*,  
Ihr, Ostens blumenreiche Kraft.

In Stahl gehü*ll*t, vom Stahl unwittert,  
Die Schar, die Reich um Reich zerbrach,  
Sie treten auf, die Erde schü*tt*ert,  
Sie schreiten fort, es donnert nach.

Drängt ungesä*um*t von diesen Mauern  
Jetzt Menelas dem Meer zu*rü*ck!  
Dort irren mag er, rauben, lauern,  
Ihm war es Neigung und Geschick.

It is significant that Goethe still conceives the political organization of his nation to be a sort of feudal system consisting of the old mediaeval "nations," such as the Franks, the Goths, the Saxons and the Normans, who are Faust's vassals. The bond which unites them, however, is not one of mere vassalage, but is the the bond of felty to the Graeco-Germanic civilization embodied in the union of Faust and Helena. What hovers immediately before Goethe's mind is the ideal German nation without a political body, to which he and Schiller, W. v. Humboldt and Fichte addressed their works. At the same time there rises before his vision, though subconsciously, the modern conception of the national State, the essence of which is might. Having accomplished the conquest of Menelaus, the various commanders, who are given dukedoms, shall lay the spoils of victory at Helena's feet. Although independent in the control and enjoyment of their newly gained possessions, they will together make their prowess and strength known abroad in the interest of the new empire.

Herzoge soll ich euch begrü*ß*en,  
Gebietet Spartas Kö*n*igin;  
Nun legt ihr Berg und Tal zu Fü*ß*en,  
Und euer sei des Reichs Gewinn.



Dann wird ein jeder häuslich wohnen,  
*Nach aussen richten Kraft und Blitz;*  
 Doch *Sparta* soll euch überthronen,  
 Der Königin verjährter Sitz.

All-Einzeln sieht sie euch geniessen  
 Des Landes, dem kein Wohl gebricht;  
 Ihr sucht getrost zu ihren Füßen  
 Bestätigung und Recht und Licht.

### III

The interpretation, based upon external as well as internal evidence, which I have given this episode in the preceding pages, finds further corroboration in the various paralipomena and prose sketches, which clearly show us the gradual development of the third act in the Second Part of Faust. Among these sketches, which disclose how Goethe struggled with the problem of reconciling the classical and the romantic, it is only the one designated by Erich Schmidt in his edition of the *Paralipomena und Schemata* (Goethes Werke XV, 2; Weimar 1888.) as No. 166<sup>2</sup> which throws any light upon our episode. From this we may conclude that this sketch originated either simultaneously with the episode or immediately after it, and that the sketches 162-165, as well as 167, which do not contain this reference, are of an earlier date. Comparing sketches 162-165 inclusive, we observe that in these schemes Goethe had not yet found the connecting link between the first part of the act, conceived in the classical style, and the romantic second part. The very existence of these various sketches seems to indicate that the poet, biased by classical preconceptions, was in doubt as to how he would accomplish the transition to the romantic.

<sup>2</sup> *Paralipomenon* 166: H[elena]. zu sich einladend. F[ Faust]. Gegenkompl[iment]. [a R Ring Handkuss Schärpe] Thorwächter mit Geschenken . . . Werth H. Frage nach dem Reim. F. Einklang Nationalität Anklang der Entfernung von Ort und Zeit Ph[orkyas]. Heftige Nachricht von Menelas Anrücken [a R Aus der grossen Leere Bedürfniss des Eingreifens]. H. Schutz verlangend Faust verspr[echen] des Pr[eises] Vorüberziehenden. Vorst[ellung] . . . [a R mit Haken, Schicksal Menelas, Seeräuber, darüber: Germane Corint Gothen Argos Franken Elis Sachsen Messene Normannen Mantinea Sparta Sitz der K[önigin] Siegerchor Im Geschütz (Explosion) H. Furchtsam sich anschmiegend (Zelt statt des Throns hinweg geholt) Chor Wer verdächt es unserer Königin. Tanz oben Phorkyas interloquierte. Chor zu d. Phorkyas schildt Nachricht der Entbindung Nennst du ein Wunder das? Faust Helena Euphorien Kunsstücke Todt



It was the stirring events of the wars of liberation which, as we have seen, suddenly brought about the inner change in Goethe and his conversion to nationalism, and which inspired the composition of our episode. The transition long sought-for was found thereby. Traces of Goethe's change of heart are clearly to be seen in sketch 166, in which the fundamental ideas embodied in the final form of the poem are here expressed in a more abstract manner. Thus we find stated in clear terms the idea of nationality which has dawned upon the poet and has guided the poetic composition. Moreover, the marginal note: "Aus der grossen Leere Bedürfniss des *Eingreifens*," with which thus far the commentators have been unable to do anything, must be interpreted, in my opinion, as a direct reference to the transition from mere dreaming to action, the transition which, thanks to Fichte, then had taken place in the German nation as well as in Goethe.

That Goethe finally planned to introduce contemporary events to a still greater extent, seems to follow, in my opinion, very definitely from the initial words of sketch 168.<sup>3</sup> As the close of sketch 165 indicates, the poet originally intended to treat Menelaus' approach as a clever ruse of Mephistopheles to deliver Helena into Faust's arms. After this purpose had been achieved, Mephistopheles was simply to announce Menelaus' departure. As we have seen, it was only as a result of the wars of liberation that the motive of a real war by a large army was introduced. The wars of liberation furnished the prototype not only for this war but also for the idea of a celebration of victory and peace. I see in the words: "Beschreibung des Friedens Fernes Donnern. Freudenschiessen," the echo of the German peace celebrations, for one of which, in May 1814, a few months after the marching out of the Weimar volunteers, Goethe composed the *Festspiel Des Epimenides Erwachen*. Sketch 168, which explicitly provides for a peace celebration, must therefore have originated either contemporaneously with *Des Epimenides Erwachen* or immediately succeeding it. The reason why Goethe later dropped the plan of a peace celebration presumably was the sane second-

<sup>3</sup> *Paralipomenon* 168: Abzug der Fürsten. Beschreibung des Friedens Fernes Donnern. Freudenschiessen. Anschmiegen. Zelt statt des Throns. Chor schläft ein. Phorkyas erweckend. Nachricht von der Entbindung. Chor: *Nennst du ein Wunder das Helena*. Faust Euphorion. Kunststücke. Freudige Eitelkeit Tod Aufgehobener Zauber.

thought that the presupposition of the plot—the driving away of Helena's legal husband—did not justify such a celebration.

One of the most important results of the wars of liberation is, without doubt, to be found in the change in Goethe's attitude toward classical antiquity. At this time he became impressed with the conviction that a national civilization, purely German and independent of classical models, was possible as well as necessary. As K. Burdach has pointed out (*Goethe-Jahrbuch* XI, 17) it is from this period that the lines date:

Wir sind vielleicht zu antik gewesen,  
Nun wollen wir es moderner lesen.

This change in Goethe's sentiment found its most profound and beautiful expression also in that part of *Faust* which we have here been considering. When Phorkyas announces the miraculous birth of Euphorion, and the Chorus, after the style of classical enthusiasts, reminds him of the equally marvellous origin of *Hermes*, adding that

All, that still happeneth  
Now in the present,  
Sorrowful echo 'tis  
Of days ancestral, more noble;

Phorkyas replies (while "a beautiful, purely melodious music of stringed instruments resounds from the cave" to which "all listen, and soon appear deeply moved"):

Höret allerliebste Klänge,  
Macht euch schnell von Fabeln frei!  
Eurer Götter alt Gemenge,  
Lasst es hin, es ist vorbei.

Niemand will euch mehr verstehen,  
Fordern wir doch höhern Zoll:  
Denn es muss von Herzen gehen,  
Was auf Herzen wirken soll.

It is of the utmost significance that the Chorus, overcome by the melodious tones, the creation of the modern era of subjectivity, answers Phorkyas in the following verses:

Bist du, fürchterliches Wesen,  
Diesem Schmeicheltou geneigt,  
Fühlen wir als frisch genesen,  
Uns zur Tränenlust erweicht.

Lass der Sonne Glanz verschwinden,  
Wenn es in der Seele tagt,  
Wir im eignen Herzen finden,  
Was die ganze Welt versagt.

This tribute to the inwardness and the spiritual depth of German romanticism, as opposed to the frigid character of ancient plastic art, would have been impossible during Goethe's strictly classical period, and it seems to me highly probable, therefore, that the origin of these verses is contemporary with the jubilant closing strophes of *Epimenides Erwachen* and their emphasis upon "das Innere:"

So rissen wir uns ringsherum  
Von fremden Banden los!  
Nun sind wir Deutsche widerum,  
Nun sind wir wieder gross.  
So waren wir und sind es auch,  
Das edelste Geschlecht,  
Von biederm Sinn und reinem Hauch  
Und in der Taten Recht.

Und Fürst und Volk, und Volk und Fürst  
Sind alle frisch und neu,  
Wie Du Dich nun empfinden wirst,  
Nach eigenem Sinne frei!  
*Wer dann das Innere begehrt,*  
Der ist schon gross und reich;  
Zusammen haltet Euren Wert  
Und Euch ist Niemand gleich.

JULIUS GOEBEL.

## THE HANS SACHS STAGE IN THE CHURCH OF ST. MARTHA

The stage of Hans Sachs has been the subject of two special studies, a short incomplete one by Anton Glock,<sup>1</sup> and more recently a very full one by Max Herrmann.<sup>2</sup> The latter attempts a detailed reconstruction of the stage on which plays of Hans Sachs were performed in the Church of St. Martha in Nürnberg, and this study of the same subject will consider first the validity of Herrmann's conclusions.

Any attempt to reconstruct the stage of an early period wholly or largely upon the basis of stage directions is attended with great difficulties and uncertainties. In the case of Hans Sachs there is the favorable circumstance that he not only wrote plays, but, at least in the decade from 1550 to 1560, directed master-singer performances of his own plays, and may well have had this dual relationship in mind in both text and stage directions of the plays written during these years. There is also the circumstance that the two chief places where his plays were performed are both preserved, probably much as they were in his time. These two places, the chief "theaters" of Nürnberg for many years, were the Church of St. Martha, which for almost a century following the Reformation was not used for church services, and the refectory of the Dominican Monastery. The refectory, a plain rectangular hall, about seventy-five feet long and twenty-six feet wide, offers no peculiar conditions to help even in determining the position of the stage, to say nothing of any aids to its reconstruction. Herrmann confines his reconstruction therefore to the stage of St. Martha, attempting to adapt to its particular conditions the stage directions of those plays of Hans Sachs which were written in or after the year 1550.

Before examining Herrmann's reconstruction it is desirable to consider his justification for interpreting Hans Sachs' stage directions so definitely and exclusively in terms of the conditions of St. Martha. His first justification is that suggested above—only St. Martha has conditions that might be helpful for such an

<sup>1</sup> Die Bühne des Hans Sachs. Passau, 1903. A Munich dissertation.

<sup>2</sup> Forschungen zur deutschen Theatergeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance. Berlin, 1914.



attempt, but he says further (page 21): "It is the more permissible to take this place alone into account, since the archival sources give it first place; usually its use is granted by the city authorities, and so the arrangement of the play must be calculated to fit its conditions." What information pertinent to this point do the archives really give? The large number of archival notices pertaining to the drama<sup>3</sup> is due to the fact that public dramatic performances required the permission of the city council. There is reason to believe that there were also at times other performances, of which we have no record, given in the private "Sing-schulen" of the mastersingers. A cursory glance through the archival notices from 1550 to Sachs's death in 1576 shows that usually there were two companies each year performing plays of Hans Sachs during the "theater season," that this season was a comparatively short one, beginning generally at Candlemas (Feb. 2) and extending at the latest to the Sunday after Easter, that for the decade from 1550 to 1560 Hans Sachs appears almost every year as the leader of a company of players, that during the latter half of this decade and beyond it up to the year of the poet's death a certain Jörgen Frölich appears as leader of a company performing usually also plays of Hans Sachs. Examining more carefully the important decade from 1550 to 1560, we find in 1551 the first mention of permission to use St. Martha, granted however "because it had been used the year before." In the same year we see from other notices that Hans Sachs is giving plays. That his company is the one allowed the use of St. Martha is perhaps probable, but not certain. The archives show Hans Sachs giving plays in 1552 and 1554, with no indication of the place where they were given. There is no mention of master-singer plays in 1553 or 1555. In the season of 1556 we find for the first time clear evidence of the two companies, one directed by Hans Sachs and one by Jörgen Fröhlich, but with no mention of the places of performance. In 1557 we find the two companies again and learn definitely that Sachs is this year in the Dominican monastery and the knife-smiths under Frölich in St. Martha. In 1558 there are apparently the same two companies with no mention of places. In 1559 we find them again, with Frölich in St. Martha, and likewise in 1560, with Frölich again in St.

<sup>3</sup> Published by Hampe. Theaterwesen in Nürnberg, 1900.

Martha. After 1560 Hans Sachs' name does not appear again as leader of a company.

From the archives then we find Frölich mentioned as being in St. Martha in 1557, 1559, and 1560 and we find also that in subsequent years he is practically always in this church, to which he seems to have had a sort of traditional claim. Hans Sachs is in the Dominican monastery in 1557. This is the only actual mention in the archives of the place of his performances. We may be perfectly sure however that he was in the monastery in 1559 and 1560, since we know that Frölich had St. Martha in these years. Furthermore, since Frölich practically always had St. Martha, it is entirely reasonable to assume that he had it and Sachs had the monastery in 1556 and 1558. So we see that for the last half of this decade, Sachs directed his plays apparently exclusively in the Dominican monastery. These are the very years, too, in which Sachs shows his greatest activity as a playwright. During the early part of the decade he may possibly have directed performances in St. Martha, although we have no definite knowledge of it. These facts and inferences from the archives connect Hans Sachs as a director of plays much more closely with the monastery stage than with that of St. Martha and are thus in direct conflict with the contrary assumption which underlies Herrmann's whole reconstruction attempt.

For the development of his stage reconstruction Herrmann has taken a single play, selected, as he states, somewhat at random from those written in or after 1550, and has made it the center of his study, analyzing it very fully and bringing in incidents and details from other plays only when they are needed. This makes his argument rest to a somewhat unnatural degree upon this one play, one out of almost a hundred written in the years following 1550, and makes it important to consider the probability of this particular play having been written with the St. Martha stage in mind. The play is *der huernen Sewfrid* of Sept. 14, 1557. Its composition falls thus a few months after the theatrical season of 1557, in which, as we have seen, the archives inform us definitely that Hans Sachs was giving his plays on the monastery stage, and it falls in the midst of the five-year period from 1556 to 1560, during which his connection was probably exclusively with the monastery. It seems therefore utterly unreasonable to assume that in this play, or, for that matter, in any of the fifty-seven

plays of this five-year period, the stage directions were made especially applicable to the stage conditions of St. Martha, where Frölich was giving plays of Sachs, and not to the conditions of the monastery stage, where Sachs was directing performances of his own plays. But to assume his directions applicable in a like degree to both stages is to take from them that very feature of special adaptation to the peculiar conditions of St. Martha upon which Herrmann bases his reconstruction.

It may be pointed out further that there is reason to think that *der huernen Sewfrid* was not actually performed by either company, at least not in the few years intervening between its composition and the time when Hans Sachs ceased his activity as director. The notices in the archives unfortunately give only rarely the names of the plays performed. It seems significant, however, that all the plays that are mentioned as performed either by Hans Sachs' company or by the other company, about seven in all,<sup>4</sup> are plays written in the months immediately preceding their performance, and this too despite the fact that the number of plays written in each year was much in excess of the number performed, and there were thus many earlier plays that had not been given. This seems to establish quite clearly the fact that each company had at this time the practice of giving each season a small selection, usually two it would seem, from the newest Hans Sachs plays, i.e., from those written since the last season. Now it happens that for the season following the writing of *der huernen Sewfrid*, that is, for the season of 1558, the archives inform us exceptionally well of the plays given. Hans Sachs is permitted to give "seine zwo gemachte Tragedien," King David and King Cyrus, but not to begin with them before Candlemas, while the other company is allowed to play Hans Sachs' *Kindheit Christi*, but not its second play *vonn der Kunigin zu Franckreich*. This

<sup>4</sup> These are *Der abt im wildpad* (1550), *die unschuldig keyserin von Rom* (1551), possibly *Camillus* (1553), *die zerstörung zu Jerusalem* (1555), *die kindheit Christi* (1557), *König David* (1557), *König Cyrus* (1557), each performed in the "theater season" of the year following the dates here given, except that permission for the *abt im wildpad* was refused. Another play for which permission was refused was the comedy *vonn der kunigin zu Franckreich*, presented for approval by the other company in 1558. This was probably not a play of Hans Sachs. If it was one of his, it would have to be one of 1549 (cf. Vierteljahrschrift für Lit.- Gesch. III, 38) and would be an exception to this rule.

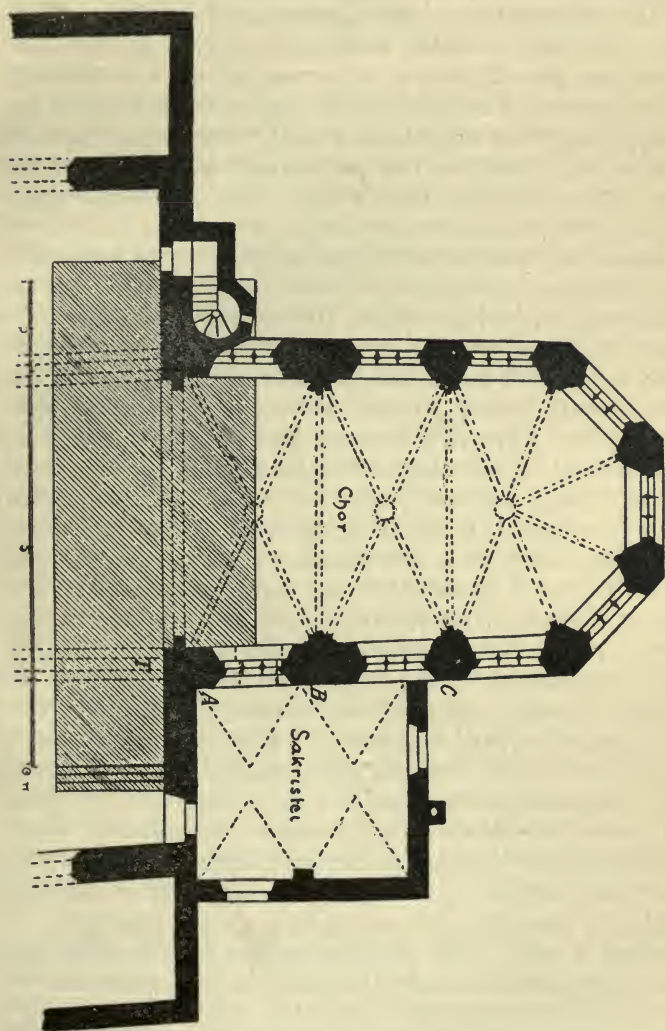


seems to indicate pretty clearly that *der huernen Sewfrid* was not given by either company in 1558, and if the practice of giving only new plays was adhered to, *Sewfrid* was not given at all, at least not during the next few years, while the writing of new plays and Hans Sachs' activity as director continued. This deduction applies, to be sure, only to the annual public season. About private performances in the "Singschulen" we know nothing except the probability that there were such. It would, in my opinion, have been better, if Herrmann had centered his study about one of the plays that we know were actually performed.

In the discussion thus far a number of reasons have been given for thinking that Herrmann was not justified in his assumption that Hans Sachs wrote his plays chiefly for St. Martha and with its conditions immediately in mind. Let us turn now to St. Martha and its stage, and see how satisfactory and hence perhaps how probable Herrmann's reconstruction really is. The church of St. Martha has been renovated or altered three times since the sixteenth century. The exact nature of these renovations is not known. Herrmann assumes that besides the demonstrable closing up of a door between the choir and the sacristy, the changes have not affected the parts which he considers were used in staging the plays. These parts are the choir with the space immediately in front of it, and the adjoining sacristy with its doors, one leading into the choir and one into the nave. He undertakes to adapt to this space the requirements of Hans Sachs' plays and their stage directions. According to his reconstruction the stage proper, a raised platform, occupied the space shown in dark lines on the accompanying cut. In the rear was a curtain of two parts, affording an entrance in the middle where the parts came together. A second entrance was through the front sacristy door and up steps to the front part of the stage. The rear curtain was placed so as to come just in the middle of the door from the sacristy into the choir, thus establishing a connection behind the scenes between the sacristy and the rear of the choir, and at the same time affording a third entrance. This entrance however, owing to the height of the stage, was a low cavernous one, which Herrmann uses only for a few special purposes. Looking at this stage, the audience would see on its right a high pulpit and on its left, a choir-chair,<sup>5</sup> both having, according to Herrmann, cer-

<sup>5</sup> Herrmann assumes but one choir-chair, saying (page 48) that this was probably the case, because St. Martha was the church or chapel of a "Pil-





tain stage uses, and would see two side altars on the wall spaces to each side of the choir, these not serving any stage purpose.

The church features of this stage are very prominent, and they have given rise to certain doubts and questions in my mind. In the first place it seems to me a very fine and a questionable point to assume that the old mastersingers would hit upon the idea of placing the rear curtain so that it would just bisect the door between sacristy and choir. Suggestions that I shall make later would obviate any need of this. Then the two side altars. We know that these were about five feet high and about three and a half feet wide, as one of them is still preserved in the Germanic Museum of Nürnberg. Around these was built up the stage platform, having a height, Herrmann assumes, of 95 centimeters. The audience would see therefore on each side an altar, about three and a half feet wide, rising only about two feet above the floor of the stage, surely a squatty and objectionable feature. The pulpit too must have projected prominently into one side of this stage. Herrmann states that the pulpit of 'Hans Sachs' time was not the one in the church at present, but he assumes that it was in the same place, i.e., on the sacristy side at the corner where choir and nave meet, and that the steps led down from it towards the front sacristy door as they do at present. He says in explanation of the scene in *der huernen Sewfrid* where the dragon abducts Chrimhilt (page 44): Der Darsteller des Drachen war seit dem Anfang der Vorstellung auf der Kanzel verborgen, zeigte sich einen Augenblick oben, stieg . . . die Treppe der Kanzel herunter (*Er lest sich herab aus der lueft*), kam ungefähr neben der ersten Bühnenstufe (an der Sakristeitür) an." Herrmann seems to put the pulpit stairs just where one of the truncated side altars would rise above the stage floor. Herrmann's one choir-chair also offers some difficulty. This is a fixed chair and is therefore a fixed and permanent feature of his stage, playing an important part, especially as the seat of royalty. As his stage is raised eighty centimeters above the floor of the choir (ninety-five above the floor of the nave), he must assume that the

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grims' Hospital." I have not been able to ascertain why this should limit the number to one. The following archival notice of 1590 speaks of chairs, i.e., choir-chairs, in the plural: *doch denjenigen, dies bei s. Martha halten werden, sagen, da sie etwas in der kirchen an den stuelen oder altarn zerprechen, dasselbig wider machen zu lassen.*

lone choir-chair stood on a small platform eighty centimeters high. This seems an unreasonable height in such a small choir. Its platform, with the steps leading up to it, would probably take about a third of the entire width of the choir, which was only six meters.

This reconstructed stage of Herrmann's has, as mentioned above, only two regular entrances, a middle rear one and a front side one. While the mastersingers, with their simple primitive methods of staging, could doubtless get along with two entrances if necessary, yet there are places in Hans Sachs' plays where at least a third entrance is very desirable, almost imperative, an entrance being needed from each side as well as from the rear. It seems the less probable that the Nürnberg mastersingers would limit themselves thus in the matter of entrances, in view of their familiarity with the stage of the school drama. The typical stage of the school drama had not only a number of curtain entrances to the *scenae* or "houses" in the rear, but also, at least in some cases, end or side entrances.<sup>6</sup> The archival notices show, and it has been pointed out by Herrmann and others, that there was an interest in the school drama in Nürnberg in the forties and early fifties of the sixteenth century, thus overlapping somewhat the development of the mastersinger stage. Herrmann points out (page 15) that several of Hans Sachs' plays written in these years have in their manuscript form stage directions alluding to the *scenae* and were evidently intended for the school type of stage.<sup>7</sup> He points out further that all these directions are missing in the first printed edition, which began to appear in 1558, and he explains this as being due to the fact that the stage with *scenae* was no longer used. This may well be true; the mastersingers may well have introduced changes suited to their purposes, but it does not seem reasonable to assume that they would give up any distinct advantages of a stage that they had once used, and such an advan-

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Expeditus Schmidt, *Bühnenverhältnisse des deutschen Schuldramas*, p. 131, and cuts 7, 9, and 10 on pp. 192 and 193.

<sup>7</sup> These interesting stage directions are found in three plays, *Griselda* (1546), *Hiob* (1547) and *Menechmi* (1548). Herrmann gives two or three not in Keller-Goetze, but omits two that are in Keller-Goetze: in *Griselda* (XXI, 352): *Nach dem get sie unter die zen mit irem vatter*, and in the title of *Menechmi* (XIII, 521): *mit 10 person zu spiln durch ein zena*. The use of the preposition *unter* in the one from *Griselda* is interesting.



tage would be a sufficient number of entrances to indicate clearly the action of the play.

Before supplementing this negative criticism with any positive suggestions as to the nature of the St. Martha stage, I should like to discuss two other conclusions of Herrmann, which, although resting directly upon his reconstructed stage, might, if valid, have an applicability independent of it. The most important of these is that the two expressions generally used in Hans Sachs' stage directions for the entrance of actors, *eingehen* and *kommen*, are used as technical terms with a distinction in meaning, *eingehen* indicating entrance in the rear, and *kommen* entrance in front through the sacristy door and up the steps. Herrmann's arguments may be summarized as follows: first, Hans Sachs uses as a rule only one expression (*abgehen*) for exits and hence there is no reason to think that the two terms for entrance are merely an esthetic variation of expression; second, assuming therefore a difference in meaning, Herrmann considers whether *eingehen* may not mean entrance to the empty stage and *kommen* mean coming to a group or "Bild" already on the stage, but he rejects this as having too many exceptions; third, he claims to find that the distinction of different entrances fits the action, although he admits exceptions. Here he emphasizes an extremely common situation in the plays, where the scene is in or before a king's castle, the curtain representing in a way the castle from which one *geht ein*, while one arriving from distant parts, "aus der Ferne," *kommt*.

To the natural question why Hans Sachs, the playwright-director, should indicate the places of entrance of the players and not the places of exit, Herrmann gives this answer (page 35): "Hans Sachsens Tendenz bei der Niederschrift ist nicht, Anweisungen zu geben, die der Schauspieler zu befolgen hat; . . . es ist auch nicht eigentlich der "Regisseur," der diese szenischen Bemerkungen für die Aufführung und ihre Einrichtung niederschreibt; wenn wir einen modernen Ausdruck anwenden wollen, sind sie vielmehr vom Standpunkt des "Inspizienten" aus zu verstehen. Der Dichter oder sein Vertreter steht hinter der Szene, um alles zu dirigieren und auch den Schauspielern im letzten Moment die nötigen Anweisungen zu geben, in der Hand eine besondere Abschrift des Stückes. . . . In ein solches Inspizientenexemplar, Hinweise über die Stelle einzutragen, an der

der Schauspieler abzugehen hat, wäre zwecklos . . .; dagegen war es sehr am Platze, die Auftrittsorte zu kennzeichnen, damit der Inspizient die Schauspieler am richtigen Platze hinausschieben konnte." This answer and in fact the whole theory seems to me forced and inherently improbable; furthermore, all the reasons already presented for doubting this stage reconstruction and for questioning the assumption of Hans Sachs' close relation to St. Martha all serve to throw doubts upon this particular theory. Nevertheless some answer seems desirable to the arguments advanced in its favor. The contention that the use of two terms for the entrance of actors and only one for their exit is a reason for assuming a distinction between the two does not seem convincing; it can be answered best perhaps by calling attention to the practice of some other dramatists. Hans Sachs' less known Nürnberg contemporary, Peter Probst, in his one comedy and seven Shrovetide plays, uses two terms, *eintreten* and *kommen* for entrance, and only one, *hinweggehen*, for exit, and no one could think of assuming a technical distinction here. Jakob Ayer uses the same two terms for entrance and one for exit that Hans Sachs uses; no one has ever thought of reading any technical distinction into his terms for entrance, and Herrmann's particular distinction could not apply, as Ayer's stage had doubtless more than two entrances. The same usage as in Hans Sachs is found in the "Pyramus-Thisbe" play of Damianus Türckis of about 1607.<sup>8</sup> Here *eingehen* is clearly used for entrance to the empty stage and *kommen* for coming to a person or group already on the stage. Herrmann dismisses this interpretation of the two terms in Hans Sachs, as having too many exceptions. It seems to me important however to observe that this distinction rests upon the natural difference between *gehen* and *kommen* and serves no technical stage purpose; it may rest upon a rather vague feeling for this difference and many exceptions may occur without any special significance attaching to them; on the other hand Herrmann's theory assumes a purely artificial technical distinction for a definite stage purpose, and frequent exceptions, in fact one might say any exceptions at all, would invalidate it. If the "Inspizient" relies upon the *eingehen* and *kommen* to tell him at which entrance to "shove out" the players, the terms must surely be used correctly. In consideration of this, and also in view of the facts already

<sup>8</sup> Stuttgarter Lit. Ver. Vol. 255.

adduced to show the improbability of the theory, it may well be claimed that the theory must fit the action of the plays very well indeed in order to establish its validity.

The number of plays from 1550 on is so great that it is impossible to present with any completeness the evidence as to how well this theory fits the plays. I may say that I have gone through all the plays<sup>9</sup> with this and a few other points in mind, and have found so many places where the theory manifestly does not fit, that I have been forced to conclude from this test also that it is without foundation. Only a few examples can be given. In *König Cirus*, written in 1557 and performed by Hans Sachs' company in 1558, two attendants *gehen ein* in the second act and announce that the queen is about to give birth to a child, the rear curtain representing, as Herrmann would assume, the king's palace. They leave and Harpagus *geht ein* from the palace and announces the birth. Then the king *kommt* to Harpagus from the palace with the babe in his arms. This *kommt* does not fit Herrmann's theory, but it agrees with the natural tendency to use *kommen* for coming to someone already on the stage. Another exception in the same play is in Act IV when the attendants *gehen ein* and the king and Harpagus *kommen*, all from the same banquet hall. In *König Saul* (also of 1557) in the first act Samuel *geht ein* from his house and says:

Derhalb thet ich frü auffstehn,  
Will könig Saul entgegen gehn.

Then Saul *geht ein*, evidently through a different entrance. In Act II Isay *geht ein* from his house and says to his three sons:

Dort kompt der prophet Samuel.

Samuel *geht ein*, naturally not through the same entrance as Isay. In Act VII David *geht ein*, coming however from distant parts, then Abimeleck *kommt*, apparently from his house, and says:

Wie kombst du her also von ferren.

<sup>9</sup>I have not been able to use the manuscript volumes that have been preserved; these should form the basis for the consideration of a question like this. It is a defect of the Keller-Goetze edition that it does not as a rule give the manuscript variants for the stage directions. A comparison however of the stage directions of the manuscript and the folio edition in cases where both have been published, i.e., in *der huernen Sewfrid* and in several comedies that Sachs lists with his Shrovetide plays as well as in all the regular Shrovetide plays themselves, shows practically no difference between the two in the use of *eingehen* and *kommen*, in *der huernen Sewfrid*, for instance, not a single difference.



This quite reverses the requirements of Herrmann's theory but fits the other tendency, Abimelech "comes" to David, who is already on the stage:

Herrmann's chief evidence for this theory of his consists in a detailed analysis of the use of *eingehen* and *kommen* in *der huernen Sewfrid*. He fits their use into his theory pretty well, but not without resort in places to assumptions that seem forced or too subtle for the sixteenth century stage. In Act I the smith and his helper *gehen ein* into the smithy, and Sewfrid, who comes from distant parts, *geht ein* also. To explain this Herrmann says (page 33): Eine solche (Schmiede) hat—wie der Zuschauer sich sagt—nur einen Eingang. Similarly he must assume that the Rosengarten (Act VI) has but one entrance, here the front entrance, as *kommt* is used for both Sewfrid and Dietrich, although it would be natural for them, coming to this meeting place for combat, to come from different directions, i.e., through different entrances. In a third similar case Herrmann assumes that the mountain (Act V) where the dragon keeps Crimhilt "has for those who cannot fly only one entrance"—here in the rear. So Crimhilt *geht ein* and likewise Sewfrid with his companions, but the dragon *kommt*, being able to fly. This is not only improbably subtle, it is not even logical; Crimhilt is not coming up the mountain, as Sewfrid is, she is living on it as a captive; she comes in from her "house" and hears Sewfrid approaching with the dwarf and giant, coming up, if you like, the one way that leads up the mountain but naturally entering by a different entrance from that of Crimhilt.

I have discussed this theory quite fully and aimed to show beyond any reasonable doubt its utter lack of probability, not only because of its importance, if valid, but also because Herrmann, assuming its validity, uses it in numerous other details of his attempt to reconstruct and visualize the staging of Hans Sachs' plays in St. Martha, and a rejection of it removes at least some of the support from these other contentions. It may be asked whether my conclusion is that Hans Sachs uses *eingehen* and *kommen* quite arbitrarily and without any distinction. A careful examination of his usage has convinced me that there is nothing back of his use of the two terms except a tendency, not at all consistently carried out, to use *eingehen* for entrance to the empty stage and *kommen* for coming to a person or group already on the stage. There would naturally be many accidental agree-

ments between this tendency and Herrmann's theory, for a person coming to one already on the stage would naturally in many cases come by another entrance, and these cases may have suggested the theory.

The most important of Herrmann's contentions that rest in part upon his assumption of a technical use of *eingehen* and *kommen* is a theory with regard to the position of the herald on the stage. The herald, in Hans Sachs' plays, not only speaks prolog and epilog but also very often takes part as a king's herald in the action. From the observation that the herald is often at hand to receive orders when his coming has not been mentioned, from the interpretation of certain places in *der huernen Sewfrid*, and from an application of his theory of *eingehen* and *kommen*, Herrmann concludes that in all scenes where the herald needs to be at hand, therefore chiefly at the court of kings, he has his position on the steps leading from the front sacristy door to the stage, and stands here close to the wall, so that players entering can pass in front of him. Here he remains, according to Herrmann, during the greater part of the performance, visible to the spectators, belonging half to the real world, half to the imaginary world of the drama, the steps on which he stands forming the bridge between these two worlds: Kunstraum und realer Raum gehen hier ineinander über. This is a very pretty theory, but in my opinion not convincingly established by Herrmann and altogether improbable. The very questionable nature of his reconstructed stage with its stairs by the sacristy door and of his theory of *eingehen* and *kommen* throws of itself serious doubt upon this view of the position of the herald. However there remains the fact of the herald's being so often at hand without his coming being mentioned, a fact which might suggest some more or less permanent position of the herald on the stage. These cases admit however of an explanation which seems to me simpler and more natural. In these cases, practically without exception, the king is also on the stage, in fact we know of the herald's presence through some order of the king addressed to him. I feel sure that in these cases the herald has entered with the king, just as in countless cases where his entry with the king is expressly mentioned. His regular role, aside from prolog and epilog speaker, being that of a king's herald, he is the natural attendant of the king, coming in with him and having his position near the king's

chair or throne, for Hans Sachs' kings are practically always seated while on the stage. In *Darius* the entrance of the herald as an attendant of the king is expressly mentioned every time that the king enters, although he neither speaks a word nor has a word addressed to him throughout the play. Similarly in *der gantz Passio* in Act VII King Herod *geht ein mit ernholdt und seim hoffgesindt*, although the herald takes no part in the further action of the scene. Usually however the entry of the herald with the king is mentioned only when he has some slight role to play. What would be more natural than to neglect occasionally to mention his entry even when later some command is to be addressed to him, or forget to mention his leaving the stage again with the king. Such neglect to mention entry and exit may be found occasionally in the case of other minor characters; Cleopatra *geht ein*, no attendants are mentioned, but a moment later she gives a command to a *hoffrau*, in King Iszboset and in perhaps a half dozen other plays, body attendants evidently enter unmentioned with some person of rank, for commands are later given to them. This natural explanation of the presence of the herald will account for all the cases mentioned by Herrmann (pages 40, 41) in trying to establish his theory, with the possible exception of the somewhat unclear situation in the Rosengarten scene of *der huernen Seufrid*.

Having attempted thus far to show the improbability of Herrmann's stage reconstruction and of certain other conclusions based upon it, it remains to be considered whether anything positive, any other type of stage, can be suggested as more probable. Any reconstruction as complete and detailed as that undertaken by Herrmann is, I consider, quite impossible. His attempt to use for this purpose the particular conditions and church features of St. Martha cannot be called successful and I do not think it probable that these features were used. As a result it is, in my opinion, altogether probable that the stage in St. Martha did not differ essentially from that in the refectory of the Dominican Monastery, a stage of which the general character is reasonably clear from Hans Sachs' plays and their stage directions, but of which many details are obscure. Its general features have been given by Kaulfusz-Diesch<sup>10</sup> and others: a raised stage of a neutral character representing any scene; a rear curtain or partition,

<sup>10</sup> Die Inszenierung des deutschen Dramas an der Wende des sechzenten und siebzehnten Jahrhunderts, Leipzig, 1905.



high enough to conceal the players, but not extending to the ceiling; no front curtain; no scenery; at least two entrances<sup>11</sup>; a small part of the stage floor removable, making a hole or "loch"; a throne or royal seat, probably a fixed feature always on the stage; a few movable requisites brought on from time to time as the action requires them. Whether this stage was enclosed on three sides, i.e., on sides and rear, or only in the rear, is not certain. The Terentian type of school drama stage seems to have had only rear curtains. On the other hand side curtains are clearly shown in a number of the interesting illustrations to Rasser's school drama *Kinderzucht* of 1574.<sup>12</sup>

The most probable location for this stage in St. Martha would seem to be in the middle of the front side, as Herrmann has placed his, but farther forward, so that the rear curtain would come in front of the whole choir. One advantage of this location would be that it would remove the stage from the disturbing altars, choir-chairs, etc., and conceal these features almost entirely from sight. Another would be that the stage would be a regular rectangular platform, such as seems to have been usually the case, whereas Herrmann's platform had to be built around and fitted more or less to side altars, pulpit stairs, and choir-chair. A third advantage is that it permits of an entrance on each side of the stage, something not provided for in Herrmann's reconstruction and yet desirable for several of Hans Sachs' plays. An instance is *Abraham*, where, at the beginning of Act II, Abraham *geht ein, setzt sich zu der thür; der Herr komt mit zweyen Engeln*, not coming to Abraham's house, but on his way, as he explains, to investigate the sins of Sodom and Gomorrah; *sie* (the Lord and angels) *thun samb wollen sie gehen*, i.e., continue their journey, *Abraham stellet sich für den Herrn* and implores him to spare the righteous, however few, in these cities. This scene could not well be given on Herrmann's stage, as it evidently needs three entrances. The door to Abraham's house would most probably be in the middle of the rear, and the other two entrances at the sides. If we assume

<sup>11</sup> I know of no foundation for Kaulfusz-Diesch's definite statement (p. 205) that the mastersinger drama got along with an entrance on one side and an exit on the other side of the stage.

<sup>12</sup> Some of these are reproduced by Bolte in the introduction to vol. VI of his edition of Wickram's works (Stuttg. Lit. Ver. vol. 236), others in an article by Schwabe in *Neue Jahrbücher f. d. Klass., Altertum, Gesch.* etc. Vol. XXX (1912), p. 196.

that the stage platform had considerable width and not much depth (and this is the shape of the stage in the illustrations to Rasser's *Kinderzucht*), the side entrances could be through curtain doors at the ends of the rear curtain, or around these ends as indicated in some of the old Terentian illustrations (see Exp. Schmidt, p. 189 ff.), or, if there were side curtains, possibly through these, although in this case it would be necessary, or at least desirable, to have further curtains on the sides arranged so as to hide the players from the view of the audience until they have entered. In general in the matter of entrance, if we think how easy it was to provide them by means of curtains and remember that the *scenae*, or "houses" of the school drama, each with its curtain door, were familiar to the mastersingers, it seems reasonable to assume for any play, the number of entrances that its action seems to call for.

Herrmann's stage in St. Martha has, in common with the more usual type of mastersinger stage, its "loch" or hole that could be made in the stage floor by removing a small section of it. Herrmann assumes the use of the "loch" for the fishing scene in *Cleopatra* and for the scene in *der huernen Sewfrid* where Sewfrid pushes the giant and a moment later the dragon down the mountain. Herrmann's reconstruction has however, as we have seen, still another opening, the bisected door between sacristy and choir, shortened by the height of the stage, thus forming a somewhat cave-like entrance, some three and a half or four feet high. This Herrmann uses for the dragon's cave in *der huernen Sewfrid*, for the lion's den as well as for the fiery furnace in *Daniel* and for a few other similar purposes. How are these scenes to be staged on the type of stage that I am suggesting for St. Martha. The natural assumption is that the "loch" was used also for these scenes. We know that on the stage of Jakob Ayer, the Nürnberg dramatist who was much influenced by Hans Sachs, the "loch" was often used for just such purposes. By making the stage about four feet high, a little greater height than that assumed by Herrmann, and increasing the resulting depth of the hole still more, if necessary, by some box-like stage requisite in front of the opening, the "loch" would make a fairly good dragon's or lion's cave, and, with the box-like requisite and smoke rising from below, would make a better fiery furnace than Herrmann's sacristy and abbreviated door. There are a few indications that

seem to point to a tradition of a rather high stage in the sixteenth century. The chronicle of Dietrich Westhof tells of plays in Dortmund in 1554, performed in front of the new school, "und die hogede daruf gespilt wort, was nicht hoger, als einem manne an die borst und als eine halve wijnkope hoge." (Exp. Schmidt, p. 48.) This is expressed as if the chronicler thought that "breast high" was unusually low for a stage. In a number of the illustrations to Rasser's *Kinderzucht*, spectators are standing close up to the stage which comes to their breast. In one illustration a spectator has even climbed a tree for the evident purpose of getting a better view. One of the living pictures reproduced by Herrmann (page 395) shows the stage-like platform with a height of about four feet.

One of the minor points mentioned by Herrmann (page 21) in trying to establish his reconstruction is an archival notice of 1591, quite a while, to be sure, after Hans Sachs' death, in which permission is given to use St. Martha: *doch denjenigen, dies bei s. Martha halten werden, sagen, da sie etwas in der kirchen an den stuelen oder altarn zerprechen, dasselbig wider machen zu lassen*. To this Herrmann says, "An den Chorstühlen oder Altären kann nur der etwas zerbrechen, der oben im Altarraum agiert." But the location that I suggest which places the choir and the side altars behind the scenes surely exposes them to as great or even greater danger of being injured.

Herrmann's reconstruction of the St. Martha stage, to the criticism of which much of this article has been devoted, is only the first of three long chapters devoted to a study of the Hans Sachs stage. The second and third chapters consider decoration and stage requisites, costumes and the art of acting. His study of stage requisites is based to such a degree upon his reconstructed St. Martha stage and his theory of the technical meaning of *eingehen* and *kommen* that its value is much impaired, if we do not accept his views on these points. His treatment of the other subjects of these chapters is in the nature of the case more independent of a particular type of stage and his discussion offers much of interest and value, which does not however come within the scope of this article.

In conclusion the results of this study may be summed up as follows: first, the reconstruction of the St. Martha stage that Herrmann has offered cannot be accepted as probable, being



not only open to objection in various details but being based upon a fundamentally wrong assumption of Hans Sachs' relation to the St. Martha stage; second, the stage in St. Martha was probably quite independent of the special church features of the place and not essentially different from the other Hans Sachs stage in the Dominican monastery, a stage reconstructable only in a very general way, upon the basis of Hans Sachs' stage direction; third, the most natural and probable place for this stage in St. Martha was just in front of the choir, permitting of entrances on either side and leaving the choir and sacristy available for various "behind-the-scenes" purposes.

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## CARL HAUPTMANN'S VERHÄLTNISS ZUR HEIMATKUNST

Carl Hauptmann ist hier zu Lande so gut wie unbekannt, aber auch drüben in Deutschland ist er durch seinen berühmten Bruder sehr, und gänzlich unverdienter Weise, in den Schatten gestellt worden. Er ist am 11. Mai 1858 geboren, also vier Jahre älter als sein Bruder Gerhart, trat aber erst 1894, und zwar mit dem Drama "Marianne," als Schriftsteller auf. Von Gerhart Hauptmann waren damals bereits sieben Dramen erschienen, darunter "Die Weber," eine seiner bedeutendsten Schöpfungen.

Carl Hauptmann's ganze Entwicklung war eine mehr alltägliche, oder mehr normale, als die seines Bruders Gerhart. Er studierte zuerst in Zürich, dann in Jena Naturwissenschaften und Philosophie, wurde zum Doktor promoviert und veröffentlichte 1893 die kritische Schrift "Die Metaphysik in der modernen Physiologie." Aber von da an wandte er sich ganz und gar dem poetischen Schaffen zu. Er trat zuerst als Dramatiker auf, doch bald auch als Erzähler. Seine Stoffe entnahm er in der Mehrzahl der Fälle aus den heimatlichen Bergen, und zwar nicht aus dem Waldenburger Gebiet, in dem sein Geburtsort Salzbrunn liegt, sondern aus dem direkt angrenzenden Riesengebirge. Auch hier ist die Oertlichkeit meist noch eine eng umschriebene, nämlich die Gegend um Schreiberhau, die der Dichter durch jahrelangen Aufenthalt in Mittel-Schreiberhau genau kennt.

Das Riesengebirge umfasst, mit Ausnahme einiger Berggipfel in den bayrischen Alpen, die bedeutendsten Bodenerhebungen im deutschen Reiche. Vor dreissig Jahren noch war es nur wenig besucht, doch jetzt, nachdem eine Zweigbahn bis direkt in die Berge hinein und über dieselben hinweg gebaut worden ist, kommen während des kurzen Sommers jährlich Tausende von Touristen dorthin; Amerikaner verirren sich aber nur höchst selten in diesen entlegenen Winkel Deutschlands. Zwar führt der Rodelsport jetzt sogar mitten im Winter viele Fremde hinauf ins Gebirge, doch die Gegend ist noch immer eine weltabgeschiedene.

An unsern Rockies gemessen schrumpft das Riesengebirge natürlich zu einer blossen Hügelreihe zusammen, ja der höchste Punkt bleibt sogar 300 *m* hinter Mt. Washington zurück. Doch besitzt es einen sehr eigenartigen Charakter, wie man ihn sonst nirgends in den deutschen Gebirgen antrifft. Es liegt auf der

Grenze zwischen Schlesien und Böhmen. Der weniger steil abfallende und deshalb bedeutend breitere Teil gehört zu Böhmen, die kleinere nördliche Hälfte zu Schlesien. Das Riesengebirge ist wie fast alle deutschen Gebirge dicht bewaldet. An seinem Fusse findet man Eichen- und Buchenwäldungen. Bei etwa 500 *m* Höhe beginnen die Fichtenbestände mit ihrem eigentümlichen, düsteren Charakter, die sich bis zu einer Höhe von 1200-1300 *m* erstrecken. Darüber kommt ein vielfach unterbrochener, ungefähr 100 *m* breiter Gürtel von sogenanntem Knieholz, das oft kaum Bruchhöhe erreicht, aber wegen seiner Dichtigkeit einen undurchdringlichen Wall bildet. Endlich kommt der Hochrücken, der Kamm geheissen, zum Teil noch mit einer grauen Grasnarbe bedeckt, zum Teil nacktes oder von trocknen Flechten überzogenes Gestein. An feuchten Stellen findet man hier und da gute Wiesen. Die besten und günstig gelegenen werden zur Heugewinnung, der Rest als Hutung benutzt. Viehzucht ist die Hauptnahrungsquelle der Kammanwohner.

In dieser waldigen Gegend findet man, wie zu erwarten, noch zahlreiche Vertreter der wild lebenden Tierwelt. Das kleine Raubzeug, wie Fuchs, Marder, Iltis, Wiesel u.s.w. ist bis jetzt keineswegs ausgestorben, auch ist noch kein Mangel an Hasen und Hochwild. Letzteres wird von den adeligen Grossgrundbesitzern, denen die Wäldungen grösstenteils gehören, sorgfältig gehegt. Natürlich gibt es auch noch genug Wilddiebe dort oben, die in bald heimlicher, bald offener Fehde mit den Hegern und Förstern leben. Häufig ist der Wilderer zu gleicher Zeit Pascher. Wilderer und Pascher halten jedenfalls zusammen, wofür Forstbeamte und Grenzjäger einander manchmal in die Hände arbeiten. Doch ist dies ein seltener Fall, da erstere hier in dieser Gegend zumeist Privat-, letztere aber natürlich Staatsbeamte sind.

Der sogenannte Kamm, der höchste, kahle Teil des Gebirges, zieht sich wie eine gleichförmige, nach Osten abfallende Mauer dahin, die nur von wenigen, unbedeutenden Einsenkungen und hervorragenden Kuppen unterbrochen wird. Der höchste Punkt ist die Schneekoppe mit 1603 *m*. Die Seiten dieses Gebirgsstocks sind von engen und steilen Tälern zerrissen, die fast alle den Namen "Grund" führen und von grossartig wilder Schönheit sind. Auf der böhmischen Seite sind der Aupa- oder Riesengrund und der Elbgrund, auf der Nordseite die Täler des Zackens, der Zackerle und Kochel die wichtigsten.



Das Klima, besonders das der Nordseite, ist natürlich rauh, und auf dem Kamme vergeht kaum je ein Monat im Jahre gänzlich ohne Schneefall. Während des Winters liegt der Schnee auf dem Kamme zwei bis drei Meter tief; die Wege sind dann nur an den in geeigneten Abständen aufgerichteten Stangen kenntlich, die an Höhe die gewöhnlichen Telegraphenstangen übertreffen, und zuweilen doch noch ganz vom Schnee verweht werden. Auf der Schneekoppe beträgt die Temperatur im Jahresdurchschnitt 32 Grad Fahrenheit, und vier bis fünf Monate lang steigt das Thermometer überhaupt nicht über den Gefrierpunkt. Die grösste Kälte ist aber nicht gerade bedeutend, sie beläuft sich auf ungefähr 20 Grad unter Null.

In diese Gebirgswelt hinein sind die Menschen schon vor mehreren Jahrhunderten tief eingedrungen; ja sogar an und auf dem Kamme haben sie sich angesiedelt und sind aller Unbill zum Trotz von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht dort sitzen geblieben. Es bestehen noch heute eine Anzahl der ursprünglichen, alten Holzhäuser, breit und niedrig mit tief herabhängendem Dach, die man Bauden nennt. Jetzt sind die meisten derselben für den Fremdenverkehr erweitert worden. Daneben ist eine ebenso grosse Anzahl neuer Bauten, teils aus Holz, teils aus Stein aufgeführt, entstanden, die zwar auch den Namen Bauden führen, sich jedoch von dem gewöhnlichen Sommerhotel fast nur durch die Lage unterscheiden.

Sechs Monate im Jahre leben die Menschen dort, auch schon die in den Hochtälern, beinahe ohne jede Berührung mit der Aussenwelt; die äussersten Vorposten sind oft längere Zeit von ihren Nachbarn abgeschnitten, und so können wir uns leicht vorstellen, dass sich unter der Bevölkerung jener Gegend gewisse, charakteristische Eigenschaften entwickeln, die wir aber keineswegs als blosse Rückständigkeit betrachten dürfen. Die Natur dort oben hat gleichfalls scharf ausgeprägte, besondere Züge und übt einen eignen Zauber aus, den wohl nur wenige nicht Einheimische voll und ganz empfinden können. Diese Gebirgswelt und ihre Bewohner nun spielen eine wichtige Rolle bei Carl Hauptmann.

Vier seiner Dramen haben Oertlichkeiten, die am Kamme liegen, zum Schauplatz; bei Gerhart Hauptmann trifft das nur von der versunkenen Glocke zu. Wichtiger für uns sind allerdings die erzählenden Schriften Carl Hauptmanns, doch auch auf die Dramen werden wir zurückkommen. Die Sammlung "Aus Hütten am Hange" (1902) umfasst sechs kleine Erzählungen, die alle in dem-

selben engen Kreise spielen; von den "Miniaturen" (1905) gehören mindestens ebenso viele hierher; aus den Sammlungen "Judas" (1909) und "Nächte" (1912) zwar nur je eine. Dafür aber schildert der Roman "Mathilde" (1902) die Entwicklung eines jungen Weibes, das dort zu Hause ist. Auch in Carl Hauptmanns bedeutendstem Werke "Einhart der Lächler" (1909) spielen einige Kapitel im Riesengebirge. Doch der Dichter ist nicht im geringsten an diese Gegend gebunden; er holt sich seine Stoffe bald hier bald dort, und behandelt alles mit gleicher Kunst, mit demselben feinsinnigen Verständnis. Die ahnungsvolle, schweigende Einsamkeit der Steppe, das gewaltige, geheimnisvolle Leben und Weben des Meeres schildert er ebenso eindringlich, anschaulich, wirkungsvoll und schön wie die Welt des toten Urgesteins. Er betreibt Heimatkunst fast unbewusster Weise und ohne jede Absicht. Zu einem programmässigen Schaffen ist er viel zu sehr Denker und Sinnierer. Das Leben ist ihm eine grosse Einheit, wie könnte er sich dann absichtlich auf einen so engen Kreis beschränken, den ihm der Zufall angewiesen hat. Für ihn lebt der Mensch in allem, in Busch und Baum, in Fels und Berg, in Wind und Welle, in der gesamten, unendlichen Natur. Der Zweck unseres Daseins ist ihm das Leben selbst, doch nicht ein Leben des Genusses im gewöhnlichen Sinne. Ein wahrhaftes Leben in seinem Sinne ist nur dem möglich, der von aller Ichsucht, ja von allen Wünschen frei ist. Erst diese Freiheit ermöglicht uns das vollständige Erleben des gegenwärtigen Augenblicks. Ziel und Zweck, das Streben nach Rank und Besitz hindern uns an diesem echten und wahren Leben. Selbst die Kunst darf nicht Zweck werden. Einhart Selle bekennt am Schluss seines langen Lebens: "Zwanzig Jahre und mehr hatte ich als Künstler gelebt und nicht begriffen, dass unser Leben nur leben will ohne Rest und ohne Spiegel". . . "Das Leben will nicht Belehrung sein, nicht Zweck haben, nicht Gabe werden, nicht bestimmt sein von tausend Blicken hier hin und dort hin. Adam und Eva noch immer in der weiten, einsamen Steppe, hungrig nach einander, sehnsüchtig nach Mitfreude, sehnsüchtig nach Mit-Leiden, hungrig nach Hoffnung, hungrig nach Zukunft. Weil über alle Dränge der Seele auf Erden der Tod sein Zeichen schrieb. Das ist es."

Der Mensch lebt also im Zeichen der Sehnsucht. "Heimweh ist eine verborgene Urmacht. Wer weiss aus welchem Paradiese

der Mensch ausgetrieben? Eine grosse Fremde ist die Welt." . . . "Aber der Künstler bildete je und je den Trost, erklärte die ewigen Irrtümer alles Lebendigen in Leidensstufen des Aufgangs, machte aus den Sünden der Seele den grossen Preis des Lebens, verriet uns und verrät uns immer neu die innige Bruderschaft zu Stein und Quelle, dass wir in Einöden und Felsengebirgen nicht mehr erzittern." Der Künstler redet die Sprache der Seele. "Mit dieser Sprache verstehen sich die Grossen aller Zeiten. Sie reden aus einem heimlichen Reiche, daraus wir wohl alle ausgetrieben sind. Eine Art Heimat. Das ist dann Heimatkunst." —Den letzten Ausspruch dürfen wir wohl mit Recht als eine Absage an alle tendenziöse Heimatkunst betrachten.—Nach Carl Hauptmanns Auffassung lebt alle Kreatur gleichsam unter einem Fluche und harrt noch immer der Erlösung, auf die wir aber mit Sicherheit hoffen dürfen. Eine sterbende Mutter tröstet ihren sündigen, von Leidenschaften zerrissenen und eben darum doppelt unglücklichen Sohn: "Der grosse, heilige Gott hat uns alle auf die steinige Erde verstossen. Er wird uns auch wieder in seine Himmel nehmen. Er wird uns allen vergeben." Und diese Sterbende spricht sicher dem Dichter ganz und gar aus der Seele.

Diesen Erlösungsdrang finden wir auch bei Gerhart Hauptmann, aber nicht in solch schlichten, eindringlichen Worten ausgedrückt. Auch das Mitgefühl mit den Leiden der Menschheit ist beiden Brüdern gemeinsam; bei Carl Hauptmann ist es aber gänzlich frei von aller Parteilichkeit, und in seinen Werken fehlt jede soziale Tendenz. Auch in der Technik unterscheidet er sich von seinem Bruder und der ganzen naturalistischen Schule, zu der man ihn oft gerechnet hat. Er beobachtet scharf, er schildert richtig, doch es ist nicht sein Ziel, ein Abbild der Natur zu schaffen. Die Natur kann unser Lehrmeister sein. "Aber von dem Meister muss sich der befreien, der ein Meister werden will. Von der Natur sich befreien! Die Natur zum Eigentum seiner selbst überwinden!"

Es sind wohl auch voll und ganz die eignen Ansichten des Dichters, die er Professor Soukoup in den Mund legt. Dieser erklärt: "Wir sind zu indisch, zu duldsam, zu versöhnlich. Es gibt für uns nur noch leidende, nicht mehr verschuldete Menschenkinder, womöglich nur noch von der Not um den Pfennig Geplagte. Die sozialen Leiden haben es uns angetan. Das gibt keine ehernen Schicksale. Das gibt keine wahre Tragödie.—Meine jungen



Freunde: Wir alle tragen zuerst die Last des Erdenkörpers und die heissen Geschenke seiner Triebe und seiner Freiheit. Wir sind nicht zuerst soziale, sondern kosmische Wesen. Wir alle tragen, verkettet wie wir sind in diese Triebe und diese Freiheit, unsre Verantwortung vor uns selber, und also nicht nur Leiden, sondern Sünden. Das grosse Lied der Kunst ist nie den Leiden eines dürftigen Gesellschaftslebens, es ist den ewigen, tiefen Gebrechten der Menschenseele, ihrer tragischen Naturveranlagung und Schicksalsverkettung gesungen. Vielleicht nur zu flüchtiger Stilung, vielleicht auch zu einer fernen Verheissung."

Dem entsprechend sind Carl Hauptmanns Werke nicht naturalistisch im gewöhnlichen Sinne des Wortes; doch Gegenstand und Sprache seiner ersten Dramen wurden die Veranlassung, ihn zum Naturalisten zu stempeln, für den er vielen auch noch heute gilt.

Sein Lebensideal, wie er es in "Einhart der Lächler" zum Ausdruck gebracht hat, finden wir wiederholt in seinen Werken in Gestalten aus der Heimat. Hierher gehört schon der alte, lustige Holzfäller in dem Drama "Waldleute," dem der Dichter den paradoxen Namen "Angst" gegeben hat. Trotz der Mühseligkeit und Aermlichkeit seines Lebens ist er immer heiter und zufrieden. Er hat eine sehr eigne Lebensphilosophie, die aus seinem Munde zwar etwas sonderbar klingt, doch im Wesentlichen von der des Dichters kaum verschieden ist. In den "Miniaturen" schildert dieser drei solche Lebenskünstler, zwei alte Männer, denen die Erfahrungen des Lebens diese Weisheit gezeitigt haben, aber auch einen Jungen, und zwar einen Landstreicher, einen der Armen und Enterbten, in dem aber der göttliche Quell reiner und stärker fliesst als in den ordentlichen, ansässigen Leuten. "Und überall findet der Landstreicher die Stelle, vor seinem Gott hinzusinken, und überall auch die Stelle, wo er einst begraben liegt."

Einer der beiden Alten, ein Schäfer, ist ein Einsamer, der ohne Wunsch und Verlangen in einförmiger Pflichterfüllung dahin lebt. Er hat sogar seinen Namen abgestreift.

"Schäfer nannten ihn alle, die ihn kannten.

"Denn Leute, die ihn anders genannt, gab es nicht mehr. Kinder, die ihn Vater genannt, hatte es ein paar gegeben. Aber sie waren längst flügge geworden und ausgeflogen, ins sichtbare dieser Welt hinaus einige—zwei liebe Jungen auch ins Unsichtbare, wohin nicht einmal mehr des Schäfers Träume leuchteten.

“Schäfer nannte ihn auch der Herr des Schlosses, der ihn gar achtete . . . Uebrigens hätte der Herr im Schlosse, der auch ein alter Herr war, gewusst, dass der Alte im Felde einen wirklichen Namen hatte. Aber wenn er ihn bei diesem wirklichen Namen einmal unversehens hätte nennen wollen, so wäre es dem Hirten plötzlich hart angekommen, wie ein schlechter Spass.” Dieser genügsame Alte hängt draussen bei seinen Schafen in der grossen, freien Gottesnatur seinen Träumen und Visionen nach. “Und wenn es dann Winter war . . . und die langen Abende das Gesinde beim kleinen Lichtspan um den Tisch sass, da wusste der Schäfer manche Weisheit aus dem verwichenen Sommerlicht und den weiten, hegerigen Lüften in das enge, ärmliche Dunkel zu malen, und die Knechte und Mägde staunten auf den alten ernsten Schnauzbart.”

Der andere dieser Alten ist ein Bettler, der schon die Siebzig überschritten, und der den Beinamen “Kinderspott,” und zwar mit Fug und Recht, führt, ohne sich aber im mindesten darüber zu kränken. Wollen und Streben hat auch bei ihm längst aufgehört; er trägt sein dürftiges Los mit ruhigem, heiterem Gleichmut, ja er findet sogar noch immer ein stilles Glück dabei. An einem Frühlingstage zieht er, nach der erzwungenen Ruhe des Winters, zum ersten Male wieder aus. Der Odem der erwachenden Natur, die Freude an all dem Grünen und Treiben, erregt in ihm eine seltsame Trunkenheit und ein letztes, heisses Aufflackern der Kräfte. Statt regelmässig zu betteln, wie es sich für ihn gehörte, steigt er in die Berge, bis zum Kamm empor, und sammelt Blumen wie ein sorgloses Kind. “Von dem Frühlingstage ist der Kinderspott nicht mehr heimgekehrt. Alle hatten ihn mit dem Bettelsack im Dorfe gesehen, aber niemand hatte auf ihn gross geachtet. Die Fülle Leben, die aus der Rinde quoll—o Frühling—du hattest seine letzten Wege mit Glanz und Reinheit erfüllt und ihn emporgeockt in die frohen Sonnenlüfte—und dann hinabgeockt über Felsen und Grat fallend in den stillen, einsamen Frühlinggrund. Denn unten fand man nach Tagen den Alten, den Bettelsack voll welker, silbriger Anemonen.”

Einhart Selle, der Künstler, hat an einem Frühlingstage eine ähnliche Erfahrung—ohne den tragischen Ausgang. Er kommt nicht über das Weichbild der Stadt hinaus, findet also kaum Gelegenheit abzustürzen. Aber “Meister Einhart war ein rechter, loser Zigeuner. Hut und Stock hatte er irgendwo hingeworfen.

Er pflückte die kühlen, frischen Blumen in seine Hände. Er war voll tiefen Erstaunens. Er trug die weissen, reinen, kleinen Kelche wie neue, verschlafene Wunder sorglich in den Händen vor sich und vergass sich ganz in deren Anschauen." Wohl bemerkt: es ist kein schwärmerischer Jüngling, sondern ein reifer Mann und gefeierter Künstler, der sich so vergessen kann, und es trennt ihn augenscheinlich keine gar grosse Kluft von dem armen Kinderspott. Ist ihm doch in den Bergen auch die Erkenntnis aufgegangen: "Selig sind, die geistig arm sind."

Die Liebe zur Natur und damit verbunden die Liebe zur Heimat findet man häufig unter den Bewohnern der Riesengebirgsgegend. Aber sie machen freilich nie viel Aufhebens oder grosse Worte darüber, während sie oft um so tiefer fühlen. Das Leben dort ist hart und mühselig, und doch sind ihrer viele, die es mit keinem andern vertauschen würden. Zum Teil ist wohl auch die Abgeschiedenheit und Weltunkenntnis mit schuld daran, aber die Anhänglichkeit an die heimatliche Scholle ist das ausschlaggebende Moment. Der Dichter hat dieses Thema zweimal behandelt, zuerst in der Erzählung "Eine Heimstätte", drei Jahre später in dem Drama "Die Austreibung," beide Mal mit tragischem Ausgang, und beide Werke stehen über dem Durchschnitt seines eignen Schaffens. In der Erzählung finden wir grossartige Naturschilderungen neben einer vorzüglich dargestellten, packenden Handlung. Die Rubeners haben schon seit Urgrossvaters Zeiten als Erbpächter hoch oben in einer Baude gesessen, es sind arbeitsame, genügsame, gesunde und kräftige Menschen. "So einer war Rubener — unbewegt — verschlossen, auch nicht gross Knecht und untertänig — stumm und stark in der Arbeit — sanft zu den Kindern und zum Weibe — und wortarm und in Gedanken versunken." Auf einmal will der Graf — wir könnten ihn leicht mit Namen nennen — die Pacht nicht erneuern. Rubener hält das zuerst für rein unmöglich und stellt es sich ganz einfach vor, den Grafen zu einer Sinnesänderung zu bewegen. Doch er verliert weder Mut noch Hoffnung, als er auf Hindernisse stösst. Als er aber den endgültigen Bescheid unten im Dorfe erhält, dass er heraus muss aus seiner Baude, irrt er den Abend und die Nacht durch ziellos umher. Als er zur erwarteten Zeit nicht daheim anlangt, ziehen seine beiden Buben, Kinder von zehn und vierzehn, mit ihrem Schlitten furchtlos aus, um Brennholz herbeizuschaffen. Auf dem Heimwege werden sie von einem



Schneesturm überrascht und kommen beide um. Rubener erträgt den furchtbaren Schlag ohne laute Klage, doch er ist innerlich gebrochen. Natürlich muss er aus der Heimstätte, und der Graf baut ein Schenkhaus an die Stelle. Unten im Tale, wo die Rubeners sich eingemietet haben, leidet es den Mann nicht daheim. Er kauft sich einen kleinen Wagen, einen Pony und eine mächtige Drehorgel, und zieht im Lande umher.

“Er spielte viele lustige Weisen, und es ging ein mächtiges Brausen aus dem dunklen Kasten, den er drehte, weit hinaus über die Dörfer. Aber er sah finster drein. Er hörte die Klänge kaum. Und wenn er im Wirtshause nachts Rast hielt, war er dumpf und für sich, der Kurbärtige. Gram lag in seinen Zügen und eine Verachtung, dass ihm kaum ein Fremder nahte. Jahre vergingen. — Wenn er dann einmal daheim war — selten —, wenn das kleinste, das längst ein launiges Mädchen geworden, Martin ähnlich, ihm neckend in das Grauhaar fuhr — die Mutter merkte es heimlich, dass er da doch noch wieder flüchtig lachen konnte. Aber Fremde sahen es nie. Die Menschen draussen gingen an ihm vorüber, wie Bäume am Wege. Sie sahen einen Düsteren und Gramvollen — und einen Verächter. Sie wussten nicht, dass er mit einer unbegreiflichen Sehnsucht umherging, — dass er nur wanderte, um Ruhe zu suchen, vergeblich — jahraus — jahrein.”

In der “Austreibung” kommt noch die Macht der weiblichen Schönheit und der Sinnlichkeit über den einfachen Bauer hinzu. Eines Nachts beim Tanze lässt er sich im Taumel der Sinne durch sein Weib zum Verkaufe seiner Baude bewegen, und in selbiger Nacht macht er die Entdeckung, dass die Frau ihn mit seinem Nachbar und Freunde betrügt. Auch er irrt darauf zwei ganze Tage lang umher und als er bei der Rückkehr den Buhlen der Frau im eignen Hause findet, erschlägt er ihn halb im Wahnsinn. Aber es ist nicht in erster Linie die Untreue der Frau, was ihm den Geist zerrüttet, sondern der furchtbare Gedanke, dass er nun aus seinem Vätererbe hinaus muss.

Das einsame Leben in den abgelegenen Wohnstätten hoch oben in den Bergen zeitigt oft eine stille, bescheidne Einfalt in diesen Menschen, die manchmal schon mehr an Dummheit grenzt. Auch diesen Zug hat Carl Hauptmann wiederholt geschildert, die fromme Einfalt in den beiden Erzählungen “Die Bradlerkinder” und “Einfältige,” die dumme Einfalt in “Die rote Liese.” Die letztgenannte Erzählung wirft auch grelles Licht auf die Bezie-

hungen zwischen den Geschlechtern, wie sie in jener weltabgeschiedenen Gegend oft obwalten. Der Inhalt ist kurz folgender: Hoch oben auf dem Kamme haust der fast siebzigjährige Rehorek, wohl ein Böhme, mit einer Witwe in den vierzigern, einsam und allein. Die beiden haben sich an einander gewöhnt, leben ruhig und gleichgültig neben einander hin und alles geht glatt, bis die Witwe ihre kaum erwachsene, ziemlich einfältige Tochter in das Haus bringt, da ihr die Arbeit allein zu viel wird.

Da wird in dem Alten das Blut noch einmal rege. Er geht dem Mädchen draussen auf der Weide, wo sie das Vieh hütet, heimlich nach, und sie denkt in ihrer Einfalt gar nicht daran, seinem Werben irgend welchen Widerstand entgegen zu setzen. Die Mutter schöpft wohl Verdacht, doch ahnt sie nicht, wie weit die Sache schon gediehen ist. Eines schönen Tages bringt Liese von der Hebamme im Dorfe, zu der sie der Alte geschickt hat, die Gewissheit, dass sie schwanger ist. Der Alte nimmt das als etwas ganz Selbstverständliches mit geheimem Stolze hin. Auch das Mädchen wird erst in ihren Gefühlen beirrt, als sie den Zorn der Mutter sieht. Diese verlässt voll Hohn und Galle das Haus zur selben Stunde; obschon Rehorek ihrem Bleiben nichts in den Weg legt. Das Mädchen ist zuerst ganz verstört. Es überrascht uns kaum, "dass Liese ratlos den Abend und die Nacht weinend auf der Ofenbank dasass und nur langsam erst nach Tagen sich wieder aus ihrem kindlichen Schrecken erholen konnte, den alten Mann nicht nahe zu sich liess, gleich weinte, sich unendlich, zum ersten Male, verachtet schien, und der Mutter Hassblick gar nicht vergessen konnte. Nur langsam in den stillen, einsamen Wintertagen wurde sie ruhig — und war dann die Frau des Alten — und trieb gutmütig in Stall und Stube ihr verlegenes Wesen."

Der Dichter schildert anderwärts noch mehrmals, und zwar in Fällen, in denen die Einfalt keineswegs eine Rolle spielt, die Selbstverständlichkeit und gleichgültige Offenheit, mit der sich diese urwüchsigen Gebirgsleute ihren Trieben hingeben.

Auch wilde Leidenschaft ist häufig, wie sie in "Claus Tinnappel" zur Darstellung gelangt. Starres Festhalten an den einmal Beschlossenen, ein feines Gerechtigkeitsgefühl, und das Bestreben, sich Recht und Gerechtigkeit aus eigener Machtvollkommenheit zu verschaffen, sind die charakteristischen Züge, die in dem Drama "Waldleute" zum Ausdruck kommen. Wilddiebe haben Förster Senders Vater gemordet, und halb aus Notwehr, halb um Vergel-

tung zu üben, hat er jedem Wilderer, der ihm vor den Lauf seiner Büchse kommt, den Tod geschworen. Auch an dem Gastwirt Ringel übt er keine Gnade, als er ihn beim Wildern ertappt, obschon ihn Ringel um Schonung angeht, und Sender weiss, dass seine einzige Tochter dem Sohne Ringels in Liebe zugetan ist. Der junge Ringel fühlt sich unter dem Zwange primitiver Rechtsbegriffe verpflichtet, seinen Vater zu rächen. Er findet auch bald Gelegenheit dazu, und verwundet den Förster zu Tode. Als er dann angesichts des Sterbenden seine Tat bereut, braust dieser auf: "Nein — sag ich dir. — Tod und Teufel! Nein, nein! — Das fehlte nur noch! — Du willst mich doch jetzt nicht noch zum Sünder stempeln — in der Sterbestunde! — Was? — (eindringlich) Ich glaube, ich habe geschworen, mich zu rächen — für meinen Vater! — Ich hab' meinen Schwur gehalten! — (gross und kühn) Du hast deine Sache gut gemacht, Heinrich! —" Sender ist augenscheinlich wesensverwandt mit Ludwigs Erbförster.

"Schadenfeuer," eine Erzählung, und "Ephraims Breite," ein Drama, handeln von dem Schicksale zweier Frauen, die eine unglückliche, verblendete Wahl getroffen haben, und trotz aller Einwände an derselben festhalten. Doch beide erheben sich über ihr Unglück und beanspruchen es als ihr gutes Recht, nach eigenem Erkennen und aus eigener Kraft zu handeln. Breite (Brigitte) duldet, bis sie an die Grenze ihrer Kraft gekommen ist. Einen Augenblick denkt sie dann an Selbstmord; doch der Gedanke an ihr Kind hält sie davon ab. Aber sie kann mit dem ungetreuen, zigeunerhaften Manne, der die Nächte bei einer Landsmännin, einem böhmischen Harfenmädel, verbringt, nicht länger leben. Mit eiserner Härte reisst sie sich die verderbliche Neigung aus dem Herzen und scheidet sich von dem Vagabonden. "Zu an' Felssticke bihn ich gewor'n ei dar Nacht!" sagt sie treffend von sich.

Emma Mattered, der Heldin in "Schadenfeuer," gelingt es nicht wie Breite ihren Vater unzutimmen. Es kommt also nicht zur Heirat. Als dann ihr Schatz aus Rachsucht das Haus des Bauern anzündet, verlässt Emma die Eltern. Sie bringt ihr Kind bei fremden Leuten zur Welt und erhält sich und das Kind durch ihrer Hände Arbeit, obschon der Bauer gern für beide sorgen würde. Der Brandstifter muss seine Schuld im Zuchthaus büssen. "Und wie Siegert heimkam, nach Jahren — erkannte sie ihn nicht wieder — nur an der Demut, wie er das Kind sah, einen blonden Jungen — so zart wie die Grossmutter — da erkannte sie, dass das der



Vater sein musste, weil in seinem Aufblicken ein unbegreiflicher Ausdruck geschrieben stand. — Und sie musste weinen — und stille ins Stübchen gehen — und kam wieder. Siebert blieb als Tagelöhner in dem Dorfe, und sie lebte mit ihm von dem Tage an." In beiden obigen Fällen sind Trotz und Eigenwille, aber auch die Charakterstärke vom Vater ererbt.

Die Erzählung "Der letzte Wille" schildert höchst anschaulich, wie ein altes, gebrechliches Weibchen tagelang den Tod abwehrt, ja einfach nicht sterben kann, bis ihr der Mann versprochen, dass er das Haus dem einzigen Sohne überlassen will. Der Hauptwert der Erzählung liegt wohl aber in der Schilderung des Alten und der habgierigen, hartherzigen Schwiegertochter. In "Hass" bietet sich uns ein schauerliches Bild von einem alten Besenbinder, der für seine Frau und für Kind und Kindeskind keine andren Gefühle erübrigen kann als furchtbaren Hass. Seine bessere Natur ist in der Not des Lebens erstickt, und er hat auch alles Edle in den andern ertötet. Als es mit ihm zu Ende geht, empfinden seine Angehörigen nur Freude, die sie auch ganz unverhohlen äussern. Sie reichen dem Sterbenden nicht einmal den Trunk Wasser, den er verlangt. "Er stirbt," sagte der Troddel (sein Sohn), "er stirbt," sagte die Alte erklärend und zufrieden. Niemand regte eine Hand. Die Kinder, die im Winkel standen, begannen sich anzulachen. Die Zwölfjährige sagte zur Jüngeren heimlich: "Der Grossvater schreit wie a Ochse." Alle starrten hin. Es schauerte alle. Nur die Kinder lachten heimlich.

Toller Lebensmut, der sinnlos überschäumt, ist das Thema von "Im Grenzwalde" "Ein schöner Kerl dieser Sagasser — toll wie ein junger Hengst, und frei und lose — und es musste immer was geben, was das Blut umwühlt. Wie ein Wiehern kam es aus ihm. Lustig und launig war er, und er nahm die Kämpfe so hin, wie wenn sie dem Leben erst Sinn gäben."

Der Roman "Mathilde, Zeichnungen aus dem Leben einer armen Frau," den der Dichter seiner Mutter gewidmet hat, spielt grösstenteils in der Stadt, wohl Breslau. Mathilde ist aber eine echte Tochter der heimatlichen Berge. Was sie betrifft, ist, äusserlich betrachtet, nur ein Alltagsschicksal, in das auch manche Irrungen mit verflochten sind. Sie steht aber immer über diesem Schicksal, und die Sehnsucht nach etwas Schönerem und Höherem mit der Hoffnung auf endliche Erfüllung begleitet sie durch das ganze Leben. Zweck des Dichters ist aber hier, wie auch sonst häufig,

uns die Seelen der Menschen zu zeigen, seine Heldin gleichsam von innen heraus zu durchleuchten.

Die angeführten Beispiele berühren bei weitem nicht alle Werke dieses Dichters, die der Heimatkunst zuzuzählen sind; doch genügen sie als Andeutung der charakteristischen Züge und Zustände unter der Bevölkerung jener Gegend, die Carl Hauptmann zur Darstellung gebracht hat. Er hat aus einem kleinen Kreise heraus, in dem fast nur eine Gesellschaftsklasse existiert, eine grosse Anzahl scharf abgesonderter Gestalten geschaffen. Jeder Fall ist typisch und doch auch wieder ganz individuell. Wir finden nirgends Stellungnahme des Dichters, keine Bewertung, wohl aber fast überall das Bestreben, uns das verborgene Gute, die arme, geknechtete Menschenseele zu enthüllen. Und neben den Menschen spielt die Natur eine wichtige Rolle und wird oft trefflich geschildert. Nur ein paar Beispiele aus der Fülle:

“Einsame Spätsommersonntagsstille oben über dem Bergwald — wo dann Heiden und Krummholzgebüsch zum Kämme emporklettern — im Schlage, wo alte knorrige Wetterfichten vor kurzem festgestanden hatten, und nun nur noch die Wurzelstöcke aus dem aufgewühlten Boden ragten. Zwischen Blöcken und Stöcken blühten und glühten Weidenrosen. Die grünen Blaubeerblättchen und tausend kleinen Kräuter glänzten weithin wie Silber, über die die roten Blüten gestreut schienen in stiller Sonnenfreude. Es war klar weithin in die tiefe, ferne Welt — und lautlos einsam.”

Und nun dieselbe Oertlichkeit in einer stürmischen Winternacht:

“Das Jagen der aufgewühlten Lawinen fegte um ihren Weg . . Die Nacht war pechschwarz. Die Sturmreiter sausten und schlugen an Harnisch und Waffen, und nicht Vater und Mutter konnten die Wege finden, selbst wenn ihr eigen Blut längst in Nacht und Kälte erstarrt war . . . Wer kennt die Erde noch, wenn sie, schneeumfegt im grauen Nachtwind erfüllt ist von grausamen, einsamen Lauten, und nirgends Schutz ist, und überall nur ein Grab, hineinzusinken und zu erstarren . . . . Der Sturm hatte seine Stimme mit neuer Gewalt aufgehoben. Es waren Stösse gekommen, die dicke Flocken in wirblicher Jagd umfegten, die ganze Gegend in sinnloses Wesen hüllten und nur noch selten und immer seltener einen freien Blick in den Grund zugelassen, nur unaufhörlich tanzende Luftgestalten eine um die andre die Höhe

hinabgewirbelt und alles wie in Nacht verschlossen hatten.”

Hier die Schilderung einer ruhigen Nacht: “Fern am Himmel zuckten dann und wann fallende Sterne. Es war ein weites, stummes Schauspiel. Im weichen Bogen glitten die schimmernden Lichter lautlos durch die Nacht: Die Nacht, wie ein tiefes Meer durchsichtig bis zum Grunde. Eine Nacht, aus der die Gründe schienen wie eine schwebende Hülle, die das Blenden der Tiefe dem Menschenauge verbirgt, um es nicht mit letztem Glanze zu verderben. Aus jedem Sterne brach es wie ein unermessliches Nieschgenugtunkönnen im Leuchteschein.” Zum Schluss eine poetische Schilderung des Urgesteins im Hochgebirge. Es stand “zwischen Felsenschroffen, die wie Götzenbilder im Morgenlicht sich strahlender und strahlender hoben: Felsenköpfe wie von sicherer Kunst in den Himmel gebaut, mächtige, plumpe Götzenbilder, fast wie wenn die alten Urweltlichen auch einmal Zwerge angebetet. Gross und mächtig durch die Fülle und Wucht im Steingetürrn, wie Ungeheuer, und schwer, und ohne dass je ein Lied könnte aus solchem breiten Felsenmunde frei zum Himmel tönen, eher ein furchtbarer, unerhörter Chor, wenn die Schar einmal die wulstigen, plumpen Steinlippen aufgetan hätte, ein Donnerbrüllen, wie wenn Bergtrümmer zu Tale gehen und Wasserstürze aus allen Himmeln sich mischen mit dem Angstgeschrei der Vögel und Waldtiere und dem Jammergestöhn der Stürme.”

Dem gemeinen Manne ist diese gewaltige Natur noch bevölkert von allerhand unheimlichen, übermenschlichen Wesen, doch auch von guten Geistern, obschon die feindlichen Gewalten überwiegen. Dem Dichter lebt diese ganze Natur, trägt gleich dem Menschen den Fluch aller Kreatur und ringt nach Erlösung.

“Nacht . . . Nacht . . .

In Nacht sanken wir,  
Urgestein sind wir geworden.  
Götter mähen die Seelen wie Gras,  
Leben — Leben ist Morden.  
Wehlaute ziehen und klagen,  
Hauchen durch Einsamkeit.  
Steinern sind wir begraben,  
Starre Felsen wir ragen  
Seit grauer Zeit.



Ach! Aus der Nacht klagen wir,  
 Sehnen uns gierig nach Morgenlicht,  
 Sonne wärmte uns längst,  
 Und die Quellen rinnen—  
 Aber wir Felsen sind starr . . .  
 Erlösung . . . Erlösung . . .  
 Steigen . . . und wallen gestaltenlos . . .  
 Hauchen durch Einsamkeit . . .”

so klagen die Steinriesen in der “Bergschniede.”

Carl Hauptmann erfasst die Wirklichkeit mit sicherem Blick und schildert sie mit sicherem Griffel, doch er ist ein Einsamer, ein Denker und Grübler.

“Die Welt ist Seele. Nicht, wie die Alten gesagt: die Welt ist Vernunft.

“Gar nicht Vernunft ist sie. Nun gar das, was wir mit dem Gran Rechensinn, dem Verstande können und erkennen. Diese Triebe sind die schlimmsten Flüchtigen, die begrenzter noch wie Möven und kleine Seeschwalben flattern, nur hinschiessen auf den Bissen und dann verjagt sind, morgen schon andere.

“Nichts dergleichen, nur Seele! Das weite, tiefe, wogende Meer. Die grosse, grenzenlose Flut. Auch in uns ist Seele allein die Kraft und allein die Erinnerung. Wenn wir uns von unseren Erstarrungen wieder jung waschen wollen, Wohin sollen wir tauchen? In unsere Seele.”

Der Seele nun spürt Carl Hauptmann überall nach und macht sie leuchten und glühen. Er hat sich auf keinen engen oder weiten Kreis beschränkt, er gehört zu keiner Schule und ist kein Anhänger irgend welcher besonderer, literarischer Bestrebungen. Doch er hat nirgends häufiger geschöpft als aus dem Born der Heimat, und ein gut Teil seiner Werke ist echte und wahre Heimatkunst, anschaulich, realistisch, poetisch, und frei von jeder Tendenz oder Nebenabsicht.

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## A FEW NOTES ON GOETHE-BIBLIOGRAPHY

The collection of the following data was merely accidental. While at work in the Library of Congress on my book "Madame de Staël and the Spread of German Literature" (Oxford University Press N. Y., 1915), I had the opportunity of consulting various translations of Goethe's works. Then I noticed several titles not mentioned in the various bibliographies of "Goethe in England and America." (Anon., Bibliography of Faust, Literary World 12:272-274, Boston; Aug. 13, 1881; Baumann, Lina, Die Englischen Übersetzungen von Goethes Faust, Halle, 1907; Goodnight, Scott H., German Literature in American Magazines prior to 1846, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1907; Haertel, Martin H., German Literature in American Magazines from 1846 to 1880, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1908; Hauhart, William F., The Reception of Goethe's Faust in England in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century, Columbia University Press N. Y., 1909; Heinemann, Wilhelm, Goethes Faust in England und America, Berlin, 1886; Kindt, Hermann, Goethes Faust in England, Die Gegenwart, Nos. 24-25 pp. 375-377, 394-5, June 13 and 20, 1874; Lieder, Frederick W. C., Goethe in England and America, JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY, vol. x. No. 4, pp. 535-556, 1911; Oswald, Eugene, Goethe in England and America, Ed. 2 London, 1909.) These titles I noted down, and I offer them now as a slight contribution to the study of comparative literature.

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  6. The Woodrose.
  7. Blind-Man's-Buff.
  8. Christina.
  9. The Prude.
  10. The Convert.
  11. The Son of the Muses.
  12. The Flower of the Forest.
  13. Preservation from Death.
  14. Self-Deception.
  15. Declaration of War.
  16. Sympathetic Companions.
  17. Alternate Songs for the Dance.
  18. The Lover under Many Forms.
  19. The Goldsmith's Companion.
  20. Answers on Conversation Cards.
  21. Mignon.
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## THE FIGHT AT FINNSBURG

Perhaps none of the shorter Old English poems has been more frequently edited, annotated; and discussed than the brief fragment of about fifty lines which is the subject of this essay. The student is not obliged to hunt for it in Grein-Wülker. It can be found not only in Kluge's *Lesebuch* and other Old English Readers but also appended to the epic in most editions of *Beowulf*. This is owing to its connection with the *Finn Episode*, as it is called, the *leoð* or *Ʒyð* which Hrothgar's *scop* delivers before the assembled Geats and Danes at the feast of victory over Grendel. The four most recent editions of *Beowulf*, those of Holthausen, Schücking, Sedgefield, and Chambers, have all included the *Fight at Finnsburg*; Sedgefield gives only the text, the others annotation and glossary also. Again, several scholars have laboured to reconstruct a Finn saga from what may be learned from Episode and Fragment. Among these are Möller in his *Das Altenglische Volksepos*, 1883, and more recently Trautmann (*Finn und Hildebrand*, Bonn, *Beiträge* VII) and Boer (*Finnsage und Nibelungensage*, in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XLVII. 125 ff.) And there is an excellent criticism and discussion of the Fragment in Brandl's scholarly *Geschichte der altenglischen Literatur*.

One must therefore plead some apology for returning to a poem which eminent scholars have already dealt with so fully. The following essay seeks to suggest two things. First, that no modern editor has treated the text of the Fragment with sufficient conservatism. Second, that the commonly accepted conclusions about the original date and the original home rest upon uncertain evidence and find hardly any support from the poem itself.

In proportion to its length the *Fight at Finnsburg* has probably received or suffered more emendation than any other undamaged piece of Old English verse. There is rather more justification than usual. For the manuscript of the Fragment is now lost. It survives to us only in a transcript, published in 1705, in his *Linguarum Septentrionalium Thesaurus*, by George Hickes, a non-juring divine who took a then unusual interest in the old Northern languages. The text of the poem as handed down by him is in several lines obviously corrupt, and scholars are inclined to assume

that these corruptions are partly due to the inaccuracy of Hickes's transcription. But since the manuscript is lost there is no certain proof of this. The corruptions may quite well have all existed in the original. Mr. Chambers therefore is not altogether judicial when in a brief note before the text of *Finnsburg* (*Beowulf*, p. 158) he speaks of "Hickes' very inaccurate transcript." One thing, however, may be allowed. Hickes seems occasionally to have misread the *a* of his manuscript as *u*. He has *weuna* for *weana* in line 27, *eastun* in line 3 and *duru* in line 44 where the original had probably *eastan* and *dura*. But these mistakes do not argue any very unscholarly carelessness, for, as Mr. Chambers himself points out in his footnote to line 3, *a* and *u* in Old English manuscripts are easily and often confused.

Before considering the text of the *Fight at Finnsburg* I should like first of all to express my entire agreement with the principles of "strict conservatism" in text-criticism which Mr. Chambers lays down in the Introduction to his *Beowulf*. "Where there is even a sporting chance of the MS. reading being correct I retain it." Every editor of an Old English poem should inscribe this sentence upon his memory and direct his judgment by it. Of course even then uniformity of opinion would be impossible. There will always be disagreement over what makes the sporting chance; there will always be disagreement over the limits between strict conservatism and pedantic conservatism. It certainly appears to me that in editing both *Beowulf* and *The Fight at Finnsburg* Mr. Chambers sometimes forgets his own sound principle. There is surely even more than a sporting chance that in line 1537 of the epic the *eaxle* of the manuscript should be retained.

3efēn; þā be eaxle —nalas for fæhðe mearn—

3ūð-3eata lēod 3rendles mōdor.

Mr. Chambers himself admits the sporting chance in his footnote, and yet reads *feaxe*. In the *Fight at Finnsburg* he has allowed so many emendations of Hickes's transcript that his text is not at all more conservative than that given by Dr. Sedgefield, who neither professes nor practices the strict conservatism which Mr. Chambers defends.

Most of the disputable emendations in Mr. Chambers's edition are due to considerations of metre. "In revising the text," he writes, "I have made it my chief aim to retain that conservatism which characterised Mr. Wyatt's edition. In fifty places I have,



however, felt compelled, mainly on metrical grounds, to desert the MS., where Mr. Wyatt adhered to it." It is time that some protest was made against this "desertion of the manuscript on metrical grounds," a practice which in recent years has become altogether too common. It is mainly due to the somewhat tardy recognition of the work of the great German scholar Sievers in establishing the general principles of the Old English metrical system. In 1884, in the tenth volume of *Beiträge zur deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, Sievers gave to the world his scheme of the five types of half-lines in Old English verse, a scheme which, by its great merit of comparative simplicity, has, notwithstanding some pertinent criticisms by Kaluza and a most elaborate and forbidding new scheme evolved by Trautmann, held its ground ever since. A very compact yet lucid account of it will be found in his chapter on *Altgermanische Metrik* in Paul's *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie*. Sievers very rightly takes *Beowulf* as the standard for Old English metre. In his articles in *Beiträge X*, he carefully analyses the half-lines of the epic, brings them under five distinct types, formulates rules about the position of the alliterative syllables, and shows that greater freedom is allowed in the first half-line than in the second. He examines the other longer Old English poems and finds that metrically they correspond closely to *Beowulf*. The results which he has attained by this method of comparative analysis are undoubtedly most valuable. But both he himself and his followers have pressed them too far. His rules are no more than generalisations. They are generalisations from the practice of Old English poets. And, as is always the case in the thorny province of metrical study, it is most unsafe to promote these generalisations, except some of the most elementary and obvious, to the status of absolute rules or binding laws. Yet this is exactly what many modern scholars and editors do. They seem to forget that the Old English poet had no philological degree from a German University. It is most unlikely, indeed, that he composed his verse according to any definitely formulated system of metrical rules. He relied only on his ear and his memory. His memory supplied him with typical half-lines from the poems of predecessors, just as it supplied him with a conventional phraseology which tended to become a stiff poetic diction. His ear told him how closely his own lines conformed to the metrical movements of these typical half-lines.

It must certainly be admitted that most Old English poets were very conservative in their art or technique. They employed a stereotyped language and repeated stereotyped motives. They were equally conservative as regards metre; hence it is that Sievers has been able to formulate general laws even about quite small details of their normal verse-system. But it would be absurd to suppose that all individuality was lost in imitation. It would be absurd to suppose that an Old English poet did not occasionally allow himself some metrical license. Yet this is more than most modern critics and editors are disposed to permit him. They will not tolerate a line or half-line which offends against one of their cherished rules. Apparently an exception must not exist. The text must be corrupt; a dull-eared scribe must be at fault; the line must be chopped and changed, twisted and transposed, until it is properly conventional. Such is particularly and notoriously the method of Trautmann and his Bonn seminar, who

"smooth, inlay, and clip, and fit,

Till, like the certain wands of Jacob's wit,  
Their verses tally."

A not too distant analogy to this method of criticism is Bentley's rewriting of *Paradise Lost*, which he supposed to be full of textual corruptions due to the carelessness and ignorance of those who transcribed for the blind poet. The absurdity of the results is well known.

The more elementary of Sievers's generalisations of course approach much nearer to universal truth than do those on more particular points. But even the most obvious are not without exceptions. The first rule about alliteration which he lays down in *Altgermanische Metrik* runs:—"Every two half-lines are united into a full line by alliteration." This seems the root principle of Old English alliterative metre; and yet exceptions to it occur. As Sievers himself shows, there occasionally appear in West Germanic verse lines corresponding to the *Ljōþa hāttir* in Old Norse, single lines without caesura alliterating within themselves. These are found, for instance, in the Exeter Gnostic Verses, e. g. ll. 162-4:-

Wærlēas mon ond wonhȳdiȳ,  
ætrenmōd ond unȳetrew,  
þæs ne ȳȳmeð ȳod.

Even so fundamental a rule is therefore not absolutely universal. So it is not surprising that exceptions occur to nearly all the more

particular rules or generalisations which Sievers and his followers have formulated. To take an example, Sievers finds from the general practice in *Beowulf* that a metrical accent must fall upon a long syllable or be resolved upon two short syllables, while it may fall upon a short syllable only if the preceding syllable bears a main or secondary accent. Most recent editors seem to regard this as a law of the Medes and Persians. Yet in *Beowulf* itself there are at least three exceptions. In 3157a, 1942b, and 1285b we find half-lines belonging to type A in which the second accent falls upon a short syllable without a secondary accent immediately preceding, e. g.,

3157 hlāw on (h)liðe, sē wæs hēah ond brād.

1942 þætte freoðuwebbe fēores onsæce.

1285 þonne heoru bunden, hamere ȝepuren.

Holthausen and Schücking expand the first of these to *hlāw on (h)liðes nosan*; the second is generally altered to *fēores onsēce*; the third almost invariably appears as *hamere ȝeprūen*. In the last case there is some justification for the change in the fact that *ȝepuren* is an obscure word. Still, it is not absolutely unique in Old English. It also occurs in the first line of Riddle 91 (Grein 87), again in the phrase *homere ȝepuren*. But the evidence of two manuscripts counts for nothing against a nineteenth-century metrical rule; *ȝepuren* in all modern editions becomes *ȝeprūen*, an isolated form found only in the comparatively late *Metra* of Alfred's translation of *Boethius*. Surely such lines are quite as likely to be exceptional departures from the usual custom as to be textually corrupt. In other poems there are quite a number of examples in which Sievers's rule is not observed. It is twice broken in the Storm Riddles, e. g. II. 4b, *þrāzum wræce*, and IV. 66a, *meahtum ȝemanad*. It is twice broken in successive lines of Riddle 28, line 13a, *strenȝo biȝtolen*, and line 14a, *mæjene binumen*. It is three times broken in Riddle 84. The latest editors of the Riddles, Dr. Tupper and Mr. Wyatt, have very wisely made no change in such lines, for which they have been taken to task by the pedantic Trautmann in last year's *Anglia*.

In the study of Old English metre the work of each separate poet should be taken by itself. This is the only safe course to follow. The metre of the *Fight at Finnsburg*, for example, should be studied independently, without any reference to preconceived rules which have been deduced from an examination of the metre



of *Beowulf* or of Cynewulf's poems. When it is found to differ in some respects from the metrical system of Cynewulf or the author of *Beowulf*, such points of difference should simply be regarded as characteristic of the unknown author. They should not be ascribed to corruption of the text unless there is other evidence in support of this, unless, that is, the forms of the words are extraordinary, or the syntax is most unusual, or no good sense can be obtained. In the metre of *Beowulf* and of Cynewulf's works, for example, it seems a fixed rule that in the second half-line only the first accented syllable can bear the alliteration. The second must not alliterate and both must not alliterate. Now in the *Fight at Finnsburg* this rule is not always observed. In the text handed down by Hickes, lines 28 and 41 run as follows:—

28. Ðā wæs on healle wælslihta ȝehlyn.

41. Hīȝ fuhton fīf dāȝas, swā hira nān ne fēol.

In both these the alliteration in the second half-line falls not on the first but on the second accented syllable. The conclusion which ought to be drawn—and the natural conclusion—is that the author of the *Fight at Finnsburg* was lax in his versification and did not always follow the regular metrical arrangement. But this is not what the editors conclude. Almost all decide that the text is corrupt, and suggest or adopt emendations to set the lines right. And yet the *Fight at Finnsburg* is certainly not alone in breaking regular practice in this respect. The *Battle of Maldon* is another offender. Lines 45, 75 and 288 read

45. ȝehȳr(s)t þū, sǣlida, hwæt þis folc seȝeð.

75. wīȝan wīȝheardne, sē wæs hāten Wulfstān.

288. raðe wearð æt hilde Offa forhēawen.

There are other lines in this poem in which both the accented syllables in the second half alliterate. Some of the *Riddles* also bear *The Fight at Finnsburg* company. Riddle IV. 36 and LVI. 14 are two examples out of several:—

IV. 36 Hwīlum ic þurhræse þæt mē on bæce rīdeð.

LVI. 14 ȝoldhilted sweord. Nū mē þisses ȝieddes.

In these cases even Dr. Tupper and Mr. Wyatt are enough under the subjection of metrical rules to transpose.

Such irregularities of metre—irregularities when *Beowulf* or the poems of Cynewulf are taken as a metrical standard—can be explained in various ways. They may be due to the ignorance of the poet. He may not have had sufficient knowledge of earlier

poetry to be able to follow the normal metrical system with exactness. He may have written irregular lines without knowing them to be irregular. But this certainly does not justify a modern scholar with perhaps a wider knowledge of Old English verse in attempting to amend or correct the lines at fault. In modern editions of *The Winter's Tale* we do not correct Shakespeare when he gives Bohemia a sea-coast. Or, again, the irregularities may possibly be quite intentional. The poet may have been a metrical reformer who wished to extend the varieties of Old English verse-lines. Or he may have been, in Browning's own words, "a Browning, he neglects the form"; interested above all in his story or his matter, he may have been careless of strict metrical practice. Either of these causes is sufficient to account for metrical irregularity without having recourse to the facile explanation of corruption of the text. An analogy may be permitted. The blank verse of *The Duchess of Malfi* or *The White Devil* is often very different from the usual blank verse of Shakespeare. In general it is looser and closer to prose. But no one has ventured to deduce from this that Webster has suffered from a careless printer working from a much thumbled stage manuscript. The peculiarities of Webster's blank verse are due to Webster himself. Similarly the peculiarities of the metre in the *Fight at Finnsburg* or the *Battle of Maldon* should be attributed to the author and not to a negligent scribe. An excellently vigorous protest against the habit of regarding an Old English text as a farrago of scribal blunders has been made by Dr. Tupper in "Textual Criticism as a Pseudo-Science," in Volume 25 of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*.

When the metre of *Beowulf* or of Cynewulf's poems is taken as standard, it may be stated as a general rule, to which exceptions certainly do occur, that the later a poem is the less regular its metre tends to be. When we come to Middle English we find that the alliterative measure has undergone many changes. The metre of Layamon's *Brut* is very different from the metre of *Beowulf*. It is much looser and less artistic. The process of degeneration, if one may call it so, began in Old English times. It was probably largely assisted by the practice of writing rhythmical alliterative prose. Examples of this are some of the homilies of Aelfric, such as his *Life of St. Oswald*. In the Old English *Chronicle* of the eleventh century there are also alliterative passages, and

it is not easy to say whether some of these are meant to be verse or prose. As we have seen, there are frequent metrical irregularities in the *Battle of Maldon*, a poem which must have been composed soon after the battle itself in 993 A. D. These irregularities are probably partly due to the comparatively late date of composition. Conversely, when a poem is often irregular metrically, it may very likely be of later date than usual. But faulty metre only suggests and by no means proves a late date of composition, for it may be due simply to the individuality of the author.

In the *Fight at Finnsburg* one finds many metrical irregularities for so short a poem. In his third edition of *Beowulf* Holt-Hausen makes in the forty-nine lines of the fragment no fewer than nine changes which are solely for metrical reasons. Every one of them is superfluous. In his text Mr. Chambers admits only two of these (ll. 30, 41), but he approves of others in his notes. Yet there is a particular reason why it is not surprising to find the metre of the *Fight at Finnsburg* somewhat different from the metre of the heroic or religious epics. As Brandl very clearly shows in his *Geschichte der altenglischen Literatur*, *The Fight at Finnsburg* is a type of narrative poem quite different from *Beowulf* or *Waldhere*. It tells its story not in a leisurely but in a brief and rapid fashion; its style is distinctly abrupt. There is nothing of the expansiveness of *Beowulf* in it. Brandl concludes that it represents the heroic lay in contrast to the heroic epic. Its relation to *Beowulf* bears a certain analogy to the relation between the ballad and the romance, between *Cadyow Castle* and the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*. When style and method of narrative are thus different, it is not at all wonderful that the metre should be found different also. There is about as little justification for setting right the metrical irregularities as there would be for setting right the irregularities, if they can be called so, of the style or the way of telling the story.

I have already mentioned two metrical rules, the rule about the alliteration in the second half-line and the rule about the falling of a metrical accent on a short syllable, to which exceptions are often found and which therefore should not be regarded as absolute rules or made the excuse for textual emendation. The same probably holds good of the rule that when a noun and a verb occur in the first half-line the noun must alliterate. There are



two exceptions in *Beowulf*, line 1537, already quoted, and line 758.

ǵemunde þā sē ǵōða mǣ; Hiǵelāces.

Most editors, including Holthausen, Schücking, Sedgefield, and Chambers, determined that the rule should not be broken, change *eaxle* to *feaxe* in 1537 and *ǵōða* to *mōdǵa* in 758. Since the verb quite frequently bears the alliteration in preference to the noun in the second half-line, it is difficult to see why this may not have been permitted by some poets, as a sort of metrical license, in the first half-line also. The poet of *Beowulf* is not alone in the practice.

In *Riddle IX*, 4 we find

healde mīne wīsan, hlēoþre ne mīþe.

In *Riddle XXV*, 2

hwīlum beorce swā hund, hwīlum blǣte swā ǵāt.

In *Maldon* 7,

hē lēt him þā of handon lēofne flēoǵan.

And line 11 of the *Fight at Finnsburg* is probably another example.

Another recently formulated metrical rule which also should not be allowed to be the sole reason for an alteration of the text is the rule that in the first half-line the alliteration should not fall on the last syllable only. Old English poets certainly seem to have avoided placing the most emphatic word immediately before the caesura, but all were not equally scrupulous. The rule is broken four times in the *Battle of Maldon*, e. g., line 22,

þā hē hǣfde þæt folc fǣzere ǵetrymmed,

and similarly lines 184, 189, 224. Line 18 of the *Dream of the Rood* is another example,

Hwǣðre ic þurh þæt ǵold onǵytan meahte.

Other instances occur in the *Riddles*, e. g. XXXII, 13,

hwonne ær hēo crǣft hyre cǵþan mōte.

So there is little need to follow Trautmann and Holthausen in amending *Finnsburg* 22 and 46.

A fifth metrical rule on whose absolute force little reliance should be placed is concerned with half-lines belonging to type E. Second half-lines of the metrical form  $\text{—} \text{ } \text{ } \times \text{ } \text{—}$  are not uncommon; Sievers (*Beiträge* X p. 264) cites five from *Beowulf* (ll. 463, 623, 783, 1009, 2779). But similar first half-lines are rare. There is in all *Beowulf* only one certain instance, the much-disputed *eǵsode eorl* of line 6. Occasional examples may be met with in other poems. In *Riddle* 72. 14a we find *earfoða dǣl*, in *Maldon* 53a *Æþelredes eard*, 203a *Æþelredes eorl*, in *Exodus* 332a *Rūbenes*

*sunu*, in *Daniel* 601a *Sennera feld*. Most of these are half-lines containing proper names, which goes to show that in Old English (as in classical) verse some metrical licence was permissible in introducing these. There are enough examples to show that this form of type E, though apparently considered rather light for the first half-line, was not absolutely tabooed. Therefore when we find still another instance in line 2a of the *Fight at Finnsburg*, there is no need to follow Trautmann and Holthausen and transpose.

Another metrical rule whose potency requires to be even more strongly denied is the rule formulated by Sievers and especially worshipped at Bonn that no prelude (*aufтакт*) is permitted before the main stave (or the first accented syllable) of the second half-line in types A, D, and E. Sievers himself cites (*Beiträge* X. p. 234 and p. 256) at least eight exceptions in half-lines of type A in *Beowulf* and two exceptions in half-lines of type D. For example, *swā sē bebūzeð* in line 1223 b and *þā sec3 wisode* in line 402 b. There is probably no Old English poem of any length in which similar exceptions may not be found. Lines 3 b and 7 b of the *Fight at Finnsburg* are examples. In *Textual Criticism as a Pseudo-Science* Dr. Tupper points out the absurdity of making this rule a fetish.

There remains one last metrical point bearing on *The Fight at Finnsburg*. In *Altgermanische Metrik* Sievers makes a distinction between the *Normalvers* and the *Schwellvers*. In Old English *Schwellverse* or extended lines occur sporadically and generally in groups, e. g. *Beowulf* 1163 to 1168. They contain three accents in each half-line instead of the usual two. The first half-line has generally double alliteration. Now lines seem occasionally to appear which are a combination of extended line and normal line, that is, in which the first half-line belongs to the extended type and contains three accents while the second half-line belongs to the normal type and contains only two accents. Or the first half-line may be normal and the second half-line extended. In his discussion of the *Schwellvers* in *Beiträge* XII. 454 ff. Sievers cites a number of examples of such lines. Many of these examples, however, are rather doubtful, since, as Sievers himself points out, it is hardly possible to distinguish with certainty between the longest possible normal half-line and the shortest extended half-line. Still, some of his examples appear quite certain, e. g.

*Wanderer*, 65

wintra dæl in woruldrīce. Wita sceal ȝeþyldiȝ,

*Judith*, 273

ēades ond ellendæda. Hogedon þā eorlas,

(which is also an example of the alliteration falling on the second accented syllable in the second half-line), *Andreas* 1114

hyht tō hord ȝestrēonum; hunȝre wæron,

and similarly *Genesis* 2856, *Dream of the Rood* 40, *Exeter Gnostic Verses* 148, and others. Sievers's list probably does not exhaust the examples. There are several lines in Old English poems which have been denounced by critics as unmetrical monstrosities and exposed to variety of emendation which are quite correct if regarded as instances of the type mentioned above. Such is line 13 of the *Fight at Finnsburg*, probably line 39, and possibly line 24. Other examples are *Waldere A* 7,

ȝedrēosan tō dæȝe dryhtscipe; ac is sē dæȝ cumen,

*Seafarer* 23,

Stormas þær stān-clifu bēotan, þær him stearn oncwæð,

*Exodus* 161 (if MS. hwæl=hwēol),

on hwæl hrēopon (MS. hwreopon) herefuȝolas hilde ȝrædiȝe.

In these cases critics and editors generally suppose that part of a line has dropped out and that two lines have consequently been telescoped into one. But where the line makes sense emendation is unnecessary.

If these views on Old English metre be accepted the following text of the *Fight at Finnsburg* will not appear too outrageously conservative.

Some explanations must be first of all made. When an emendation is accepted which involves the change of part of a word in Hickes's text, the change is indicated by italics and Hickes's reading is given at the foot of the page. The name of the critic who first suggested the emendation is given in the notes. The reasons why the ȝ of Old English manuscripts should be printed ȝ and not changed to g will be found on p. XXVIII of Mr. Chambers's Introduction to his edition of *Beowulf*. My notes deal solely with the text. They particularly criticise the emendations accepted by Holthausen (*Beowulf nebst den kleineren Denkmälern der Heldensage*, 3rd edition, 1912), Sedgefield (*Beowulf*, 2nd edition, 1913), and Chambers (*Beowulf*, 1st edition, 1914). Schücking's edition of *Beowulf* with the *Fight at Finnsburg* is unfortunately



not obtainable at present. When earlier critics and editors are mentioned in the notes, the following are the works to which reference is made:—

- Grundtvig. *Beowulf's Drape*. (Copenhagen) 1820.  
 Conybeare. *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*. 1826.  
 Kemble. *Beowulf*. 2nd edition, 1835.  
 Ettmüller. *Engla and Seaxna Scopas and Bôceras*. 1850.  
 Thorpe. *Beowulf*. 1855.  
 Grein. *Bibliothek der ags. Poesie*. 1857.  
 Rieger. *Ags. Lesebuch*. 1861.  
 Heyne. *Beowulf*. 1st edition, 1863.  
 Bugge.<sup>1</sup> *Tideskrift for Philologi og Paedagogik*, VIII. 305 ff.  
 Wülker. Revised edition of Grein's *Bibliothek*, 1881.  
 Bugge.<sup>2</sup> *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literature*, XII. 23 ff. 1886.  
 Trautmann. *Finn und Hildebrand. Bonn Beiträge VII*. 1903.  
 Boer. *Finnsage und Nibelungensage*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XLVII. 125 ff. 1904.

### THE FIGHT AT FINNSBURG

. . . . . [hor]nas byrnað næfre."

Hlæoprode ðā heaðo-geon; cynin;:—

1. H. -nas. 2. H. hearo.

1. (*hor*)nas. In Hickeys's transcript the fragment begins with *nas*. Line 4 makes it certain that this is the last part of *hornas*. Rieger was the first to read this. He has been followed by all editors.

Chambers is probably wrong in ending the line with a mark of interrogation. Boer points out that (*HOR*)nas byrnað næfre is the last part of a statement. The speech of the watcher seems to have run, "I see a light, and yet it is not dawn, nor is a dragon flying through the air, nor are the horns of this hall burning." The "battle-young king" (most probably Husef) replies, and recapitulates the denials of the watcher before giving the true explanation (line 5) of the gleam of light which has been seen.

2. *Hlæoprode ðā*. Holthausen reads *Ða hlæoprode*. The metrical reason for this change, to avoid a form of type E unusual in the first half-line, I have above tried to show insufficient. Holthausen also points out that in lines 13, 14, 18, 28, 43, 46 ðā precedes the verb. This is certainly its usual position, but there is no reason why the poet may not here have departed from the customary order, perhaps for the sake of variety.

*heaðo-geon;.* Hickeys, *hear;geon;.* Grundtvig's emendation. Kemble and Ettmüller read *heoro;geon;.* If the word were a compound of *heoro* and *geon;* Hickeys's reading might be allowed to stand (cf. note on *heordra*, line 26), but "fiercely-young" gives no good sense. *Heaðo-geon;* has been read by all recent editors.

- "Ne ðis ne dajað ēastan, ne hēr draca ne flēoþeð,  
 ne hēr ðisse healle hornas ne byrnað,  
 5 ac hēr forþ fērað, fuþelas sinjað,  
 ȝylleð ȝræȝ-hama, ȝūð-wudu hlynnēð,  
 scyld scefte oncwȳð. Nū scȳneð þes mōna  
 wāðol under wolcnum; nū ārišað wēa-dæda,  
 ðe ðisne folces nīð fremman willað.  
 10 Ac onwacniȝeað nū, wīȝend mīne,  
 habbað ēowre līnda, hicȝeaþ on ellen,  
 3. H. eastun. 5. H. berað. 11. H. Landa, hiȝ ȝeaþ.

3. *eastan*, Grundtvig; Hickes, *eastun*. As has already been mentioned, Hickes here probably misread the *a* of the lost manuscript as *u*.

5. *fērað*. Hickes reads, *ac hēr forþ berað fuþelas sinjað*. There is no object to *berað*, and so the two half-lines do not combine. Most editors suppose that between them two half-lines have been lost. Sedgefield and Chambers therefore read:—

ac hēr forþ berað . . . . .  
 . . . . . fuþelas sinjað.

A scribe may have made the mistake from his eye being caught by the alliteration of *fuþelas* to *forþ*. There have been several modern attempts to fill up the lacuna. The other alternative, the change of *berað* to *fērað*, was suggested by Grundtvig, and has been adopted by Holthausen. It seems quite as probable as the supposition that two half-lines have dropped out. The use of *fērað* with unexpressed subject, of the approaching enemies, is quite in keeping with the abrupt style of the fragment.

*fuþelas*. Holthausen, *fuþelas*, i. e. *fuþlas*. Holthausen is fond of omitting letters in this way in order to normalise the spelling.

6. *hlynnēð*. Holthausen, *hlynnēð*, another unnecessary normalisation.

8. *wāðol*. Holthausen, Sedgefield, and Chambers all read *wāðol*, with short *a*. So most annotators. Holthausen translates "full moon," Chambers says that exact meaning is unknown. The Middle High German word *wadel* is generally quoted in illustration and in support of the *ā*. Boer quotes the Middle High German dictionary to show that *wadel* refers to the various phases of the crescent and waning moon with the exception of the full moon. This at least negatives Holthausen's translation of *wāðol*; Boer himself suggests "inconstant." In view of all this doubt and variety of opinion regarding *wāðol* it seems simpler and safer to adopt *wāðol*, suggested by Toller in his *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. *Wāðol*, if the right reading, would be an adjective formed from *wāð*, a wandering, roving. The sentence would then mean that the wandering moon comes out from the clouds and enables Husef to recognise the attacking Frisians.

11. *habbað ēowre līnda*. Hickes has *landa*, which gives no sense. As Chambers points out in his footnote, the obvious correction is *līnda*, suggested by Bugge.—But he rejects this as "unsatisfactory from the point of view of alliteration. I have tried to show above there is no real justification for this opinion. Since *līnda* is "the obvious correction," it should be accepted even

pindað on orde, wesað onmōde."

Ðā ārās mæni; ȝold-hladen ðeȝn, ȝyrde hine his swurde;

ðā tō dura ēodon drihtlice cēpan,

- 15 Siȝeferð and Eaha, hyra sword ȝetuȝon,  
and æt ðþrum durum Ordlāf and Ȝūplāf,  
and Henȝest sylf hwearf him on lāste.

Ðā ȝȳt Ȝārulf Ȝūðere styrode,

if there results a half-line in which the verb alliterates in preference to the noun. Chambers and Holthausen read *habbað ȝowre hlencan*. This was suggested by Bugge<sup>2</sup>, who quoted *Exodus* 215 ff.:—*Moyses bebēad eorlas . . . habban heora hlencan, hycȝan on ellen*. But even the likeness in the phraseology is not enough to excuse the large change of *landa* to *hlencan*, and Bugge rightly preferred *linda*. Sedgefield, following Heyne, reads *hebbað ȝowre handa*. This is much less satisfactory, since two words are changed instead of one and since the sense is not particularly good. The faint analogy of meaning in *Beowulf* 2375 does not add much support.

*hicȝeap*, Grundtvig, an obvious correction of Hicckes's *hie ȝeap*. Holthausen places his full stop of omission below the *e*. There is less excuse than usual for this normalising, as the insertion of an *e* to denote the palatal pronunciation of a preceding consonant or preceding consonants was very common in Old English.

12. *pindað*. Sedgefield alters to *windað*, which until Trautmann was supposed to be the reading by Hicckes. There is no need for any change, as *pindað*, literally "swell," can here have the metaphorical sense of "show your temper," "show your courage." The alliteration rests on *orde* and *onmōde*.

13. Sedgefield and Chambers make no alteration in this line, but the latter in his note considers it "likely enough that two lines have here been telescoped into one." Holthausen expands to two normal lines:—

Ðā ārās [of ræste rūmheort] mæni;

ȝold hladen [ȝum] -ðeȝn, ȝyrde hine his swurde.

I have sought to show above that such expansion is quite unnecessary. The insertion of *ȝum* before *ðeȝn*, to prevent a half-line of the metrical type which we actually have in line 2 a, is doubly so.

15. *Siȝeferð*. Holthausen has *Siȝeferð*. Even though *Siȝeferð* corresponds to the *Sāferð* of *Widsiþ* 31, the reason why the name should be *Siȝeferð* is not obvious.

*Eaha*. Holthausen, following Bugge,<sup>2</sup> has *Eawa*, a name found in the Mercian genealogies. The change is probable but cannot be certain.

17. Holthausen adopts the improbable punctuation, *and Henȝest sylf; hwearf him on lāste*, which presumably makes *hwearf* refer to the *heapȝeozon; cyninȝ* of line 2.

18. *Ȝārulf Ȝūðere styrode*. All three editors unnecessarily alter the text. Sedgefield reads *styrede*. Except as a normalising such a change has nothing to defend it. *Styrian* belongs to Class I of the Weak verbs, and *styrede* is the regular form of its past tense, but in later West Saxon such verbs often had *-ode*



- ðæt hē swā frēolic feorh forman sīpe  
 20 tō ðære healle durum hyrsta ne bære,  
 nū hyt nīþa heard ānyman wolde;  
 ac hē frægn ofer eal undearninþa,  
 dēor-mōd hæleþ, hwā ðā duru hēolde.

"Siþeferþ is mīn nama, cweþ hē, ic eom Secþena lēod,  
 25 wreccea wīde cūð. Fæla ic wēana þebād,  
 20. H. bæran. 25. H. wrecen, weuna.

for -ede on the analogy of the Weak verbs of Class II. Cf. *Sievers, Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, 401 note 2. In the West Saxon prose *Genesis*, chapter 7 verse 21 we find *eall flæsc þe oðer eorðan styrode*. Holthausen, following Ettmüller, reads *stýrde*. *Stýran*, to restrain, certainly gives better sense here than *styrian*, to stir, incite, but as it regularly governs the dative of the person, we should expect not *þārulf* but *þārulfe*. Accordingly Chambers, following Trautmann, reads *þārulfe* as well as *stýrde*. He thinks moreover that by reading *þārulfe* "the metre of the line is improved." There can certainly be two opinions about this; the change deprives the half-line of double alliteration. The double emendation is suspicious, and in any case badly offends against the maxim of the "sporting chance." From the meaning "to stir, incite" *styrian* could easily have developed the meaning "to exhort," which here gives excellent sense.

20. *bære*. Hickes, *bæran*. Kemble's emendation must be accepted, as *hē* (*þārulf*) in line 19 is the subject.

22. *eal*. Holthausen follows Trautmann in reading *ealle*. The change is to prevent the alliteration falling only on the last syllable of the half-line. I have tried to show above that there is nothing very unusual in this.

24. *cweþ hē*. Holthausen and Sedgefield follow Rieger in omitting *cweþ hē*. Chambers retains, but points out in a note that the phrase is "hypermetrical, and doubtless the insertion of some copyist." Even with *cweþ hē* included, however, the line would not be entirely unmetrical. It is similar in form to line 13 and (probably) line 39. I have shown above that such lines occur in other poems. In all three cases in the *Fight at Finnsburg* there is only single alliteration; Sievers in *Altgermanische Metrik* points out that in *Schwellverse* double alliteration is usual, but admits that lines with only single alliteration are not unknown. At the same time it is very probable that *cweþ hē* is an insertion by some scribe. Neither *cweþ* (for *cwæþ*) *hē* nor *cwæþ hē* occurs elsewhere in Old English verse, although, as Holthausen mentions in his note, *quað hē* is to be found in Old Saxon poetry. A speech beginning abruptly without any introductory words about the speaker would be quite in keeping with the rather breathless style of the fragment, and of course there is nothing unlikely in an unappreciative scribe seeking to remedy the slight lack of clearness by an addition of his own.

*Secþena*. Holthausen, for unexplained reasons, places his mark of omission below the second *e*.

25. *wreccea*. Hickes, *wrecen*. Grundtvig was the first to change *t* to *c*; he read *wreccena*. Thorpe read *wrecca*, which fits the sense, Grein *wreccea*,

heordra hilda. Ðē is ȝȳt hēr witod,  
swæþer ðū sylf tō mē sēcean wylle."

- Ðā wæs on healle wæl-slihta ȝehlyn,  
sceolde celled bord cēnum on handa,  
30 bān-helm berstan —buruh-ðelu dynede—,  
29. H. celæs borð ȝenumon.

which is closer to Hickes's reading. Holthausen places his mark of omission below the second *e*, and therefore reads *wrecca*. See note on *hicȝeað*, line 11. *wēana*. Hickes, *weuna*. See note on *ēastan*, line 3.

26. *heordra* Holthausen, Sedgefield, and Chambers alter to *heardra*. Kemble was the first to read *heardra*, not as an emendation, but mistakenly as the original. The change is unnecessary. Confusion of *eo* and *ea* was very frequent in the Northumbrian dialect, and was also not unknown in Mercian and Kentish. Cf. Sievers, *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, 150, 3 notes 1, 2, 3. Instances in West Saxon are almost limited to *fela*, *feola*, *feala*, "much." If *The Fight at Finnsburg* was composed or first written down in the north, *heordra* for *heardra* can easily be justified as a surviving Northumbrian form, if in the midlands or south, the form is still possible. Wülker retains *heordra*.

27. *sēcean*. Holthausen, *sēcean*, i. e. *sēcan*. See note on *hicȝeaþ*, line 11.

28. *on healle*. Since Ettmüller all editors have changed to *on wealle*. Chambers adds a note that "the alliteration demands the change." This is not the case; the alliteration falls on *healle* and *ȝehlyn*, and the line merely offends against the metrical rule that it should fall on the first accented syllable of the second half-line. I have shown above that exceptions to this rule are fairly numerous, and that it should not be the sole support for an alteration of the text. Another exception in the *Fight at Finnsburg* is line 41. Moreover, *on healle* gives better sense than *on wealle*. "Then was in the hall the noise of slaughter" is distinctly superior to "Then was on the wall the sound of slaughter." Yet editors, enamoured of metrical rule, weaken the sense rather than permit an irregularity.

29. *sceolde*. Holthausen marks the first *e* for omission; a more unnecessary normalising could hardly be imagined.

*celled bord cenum on handa*. Hickes has *celæs borð ȝenumon handa* the first three words all obviously corrupt. The simple change of *borð* to *bord* was made by Kemble, and Grein emended *ȝenumon* to *cēnum on*, which suits both alliteration and sense. The improvement of *celæs* has on the other hand called forth much dispute. Most editors, including Sedgefield and Chambers, follow Grein in reading *celled* (Sedgefield, *celod*), since *celled bord* occurs in *Maldon* 283. The meaning of *celled* is uncertain, but the emendation is as likely as any. Mr. Chambers, however, seems to exaggerate badly when in his note he writes that a comparison with *Maldon* 283 "leaves little doubt as to the correctness of the restoration." After all, the change of *celæs* to *celled* is pretty violent; Holthausen's reading *clāne*, in the sense of "shining," is quite as near to the original and almost as probable.

30. *buruh-ðelu dynede*. Holthausen marks for omission the second *u* of *buruh-ðelu*. But in later Old English a vowel tended to develop between *r* and a guttural. Cf. Wright, *Old English Grammar*, 220.

- oð æt ðære ȳðe ȳarulf ȳecranȳ,  
 ealra ærest eorð-būendra,  
 ȳūðlāfes sunu, ymbe hyne ȳōdra fæla,  
 hwearflīcra hræw. Hræfen wandrode,  
 35 sweart and sealo-brūn; swurd-lēoma stōd,  
 swylce eal Finns-buruh fȳrenu wære.  
 Ne ȳefræȳn ic nāfre wurplicor æt werā hilde  
 sixtiȳ siȳ-beorna sēl ȳebæran,  
 34. H. hwearflacra hrær. 38. H. ȳebærann.

I follow Holthausen's punctuation, making *buruhðelu dynede* a parenthetical exclamation. The punctuation by Sedgefield and Chambers, a full stop or semicolon preceding and a comma following, seems decidedly inferior.

33. *ymbe*. Holthausen *ymbe*, for reasons not stated.

34. *hwearflīcra hræw*. Hickes has *hwearflacra hrær*, which is certainly corrupt. Of the many emendations suggested that which gives sense and is at the same time closest to Hickes's reading is Grundtvig's *hwearflīcra hræw*. Grammatically this would be in apposition to *ȳōdra fæla* in the preceding line. *Hwearflīc*, in the form *hwearflīc*, occurs in Alfred's translation of Boethius, XI. 1, *hū hwearflīce ðās woruldsælȳa sint*, "how fleeting are these earthly blessings." *Hwearflīcra hræw* would therefore mean "the corpses of the fleeting," i. e., "of the mortal," "of the dead," and not, as Chambers rather obscurely translates, "of the swift." Sedgefield adopts Grundtvig's reading. Holthausen, beginning a new sentence, has *Hwearf blācra hræas*, "the troop of the pale fell," which gives no better sense and is farther from the original. Chambers adopts a suggestion by Bugge<sup>2</sup>:—

*Hwearf flacra hræw hræfen, wandrode*,  
 "the quickly-moving raven hovered over the corpses." This is close enough to the original, but open to several objections. The order of the words is very contorted; the adjective *flacra* qualifies the subject *hræfen* but is separated from it by the object *hræw*. *Hwear fan*, except for Crist 485, where it has the sense of "to convert," seems to be invariably intransitive. And sense and metre are at variance; one should expect the cæsura to come after and not before *hræfen*. It is curious to find Mr. Chambers, who so often lays great stress on metrical propriety, tolerating such a line. For a thorough upheaval of the text we turn as usual to Trautmann. He reads *hræw-blācra hwearf hræfen wundrode*, "the raven wondered at the troop of the corpse-pale," and thinks his own *wundrode* a piece of fine poetry.

36. *fȳrenu* Holthausen, *fȳrenu*, i. e. *fȳrnu*. Quite an unnecessary omission; see Sievers, *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, 296 note 2.

38. *siȳ-beorna*. Holthausen places his mark of omission below the first *e*. See note on *Siȳferð* line 17.

*ȳebæran*. Hickes, *ȳebærann*. Grundtvig's emendation has been followed by most editors; *ȳebærann* must be merely a miswriting or an idiosyncrasy of spelling by the scribe of the lost manuscript. Chambers retains *ȳebærann* without comment.



- ne nēfre swānas hwītne medo sēl forȝyldan  
 40 ðonne Hnæfe ȝuldan his hæȝ-stealdas.  
 Hiȝ fuhton fif dāȝas, swā hyra nān ne fēol  
 driht-ȝesiða, ac hiȝ ðā duru hēoldon.

Ðā ȝewāt him wund hāleð on wæȝ ȝanȝan,  
 sǣde þæt his byrne ābrocen wære,

H. swa noc.

39. *nēfre*. Following Grundtvig, most editors, including Holthausen and Chambers, change *nēfre* to *nǣfre*. Even though *nǣfre* occurs two lines above, the emendation is not necessary; *æ*, *i*-umlaut of *a*, became *ē* in later Kentish, and here the scribe prefers the Kentish form. Wülker and Sedgefield retain *nēfre*.

*swānas hwītne medo*. Hickes has *swa noc hwītne medo*. Grein emended *swa noc* to *swānas*, which has been accepted by most editors. The main objection to it has been pointed out by Trautmann. In Old English *swān* (modern English "swain") elsewhere always means "swineherd," "herd." There is no other example of its use in the more general sense of "men," or even of "servants." This first appears in Middle English. If *swānas*, "men," is accepted here, one is almost bound to regard it as late Old English, the meaning influenced by Scandinavian *sveinn*, which had already widened its significance. No other satisfactory emendation of *swa noc* has yet been suggested. Holthausen, Sedgefield, and Chambers all read *swānas*. Trautmann puts forward the ingenious but unconvincing theory that *swa noc* and *hwītne* represent two attempts by a scribe to decipher *swetne* in his original.

Ettmüller changed *hwītne* to *swētnē*, which all later editors have accepted. But if *swānas* be read the change is quite unnecessary. Mead, made from honey, was of course a sweet drink, but it must have been pale-yellow in colour and could easily have been called white. In an eighteenth century cookery book, quoted in the *New English Dictionary*, there is a recipe "for making white mead." The alliteration falls on *swanas*; the line is of the same metrical type as line 13 and possibly line 24. The first half contains three accents and single alliteration. See note on line 13 and on *cweþ hē*, line 24.

41. *Hiȝ*. Holthausen *hī.ȝ*, i. e., *hī*. Another unnecessary normalising; *hī* was often written *hiȝ* in later Old English, the *ȝ* being added to show the length of the vowel. Cf. Wright, *Old English Grammar*, 6 note.

*swā hyra nān ne fēol*. The alliteration falls on the last stave (and the last syllable) of the second half-line. Sedgefield and Chambers make no change, though the latter in his note condemns the half-line as unmetrical. Holthausen transposes to *swā ne fēol hyra nān*. See note on *on healle*, line 28.

42. *duru*. From lines 12 to 14 it is clear that at least two doors are being defended, and therefore we should expect the plural *dura*. Very probably the final *u* is a misreading by Hickes of *a* in the manuscript, as in *eastun*, line 3, and *weuna*, line 25. But of course it is possible that the poet here thinks of one particular door. Or *duru* itself may be a plural form; cf. Wright, *Old English Grammar*, 395, or the paradigm of the U-declension in Sievers, *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, 270. Holthausen, Sedgefield, and Chambers all retain *duru*; Chambers suggests *dura* in his note.

- 45 here-sceorpum hrōr, and ēac wæs his helm ðȳrl.  
 Ðā hine sōna fræȳn folces hyrde,  
 hū ðā wiȳend hyra wunda ȳenæson,  
 oððe hwæȳer ðæra hyssa . . . . .

45. *here-sceorpum hrōr*. Hickes's reading is retained by Holthausen and Sedgefield. The phrase must be in apposition to *wund hælēð* in line 43, and mean "active in his battle array." Chambers adopts Thorpe's emendation *here-sceop unhrōr*, which he thinks "exceedingly probable," a phrase in apposition to *byrne* in the preceding line. It would be probable enough if the natural meaning of *unhrōr*, "not stirring," "inactive," at all suited the noun *byrne*. Chambers suggests "trusty" or "useless," both meanings very forced. He adds that Thorpe's emendation has been followed by Bugge and "most editors." This last statement cannot be justified, since not only Holthausen and Sedgefield, but Rieger, Grein, Wülker and Kluge (*Lesebuch*) keep Hickes's reading. Trautmann has of course an emendation of his own.

ðȳrl. The metre (type C) shows that *ðȳrl* is dissyllabic, with syllabic l. It is unnecessary to expand to *ðȳr[e]l*, as do Holthausen and Sedgefield.

46. *Ðā hine sōna fræȳn*. Holthausen, "on metrical grounds," reads *Ðā fræȳn hine sōna*. The transposing is to suit the line to the metrical rule that the alliteration in the first half-line should not fall on the last syllable only. See note on *eal*, line 22.

With the question of the probable date and place of origin of the *Finnsburg* fragment I shall deal as briefly as possible. As preserved to us it is written in markedly late West Saxon. But it seems to be the general opinion that it resembles the greater number of Old English poems in being originally composed in the north at an early date, in the seventh or at latest the eighth century, and coming down to us in a much later West Saxon paraphrase. From analogy, of course, this is quite a probable theory. It remains to be considered whether it is in any way supported, or in any way contradicted, by the language, or the style, or the metre of the poem.

Amid the normal late West Saxon there are no form which point with any certainty to a Northern original. In line 2, *heapȳeonȳ*, emended from *hearoȳeonȳ* in Hickes, shows the u-umlaut of *a* to *ea*, common in Mercian but rare in West Saxon prose. But then *heapȳ* is a word found only in poetry and only as the first part of compounds. It never occurs in the form *hapȳ*. The word *heaðurofe* appears in line 14 of the *Menologium*, which is certainly Southern in origin and probably dates from the close of the tenth century. In *sealo-brūn*, line 35, *ea* is due not to u-umlaut but to

the analogy of oblique cases where *a* broke into *ea* before *hw*. The form *scefte* in line 7, for normal *scafte*, is not Anglian but late West-Saxon. The sole form which in any way suggests a Northern origin is *heordra* instead of *heardra* in line 26. If this is retained, it shows a confusion of *ea* and *eo* which is characteristic of Northumbrian in particular. But, as pointed out in the note, it is not unknown in the southern dialects, and in *The Philological Legend of Cynewulf* (Publications of the Modern Language Association of America XXVII. 208) Dr. Tupper has shown its unreliability as a criterion of dialect.

The vocabulary of the *Fight at Finnsburg* is very similar to that of the other Old English heroic poems. This in no way implies earliness of date. Poetic diction in Old English early became stereotyped; the diction of the *Fight at Finnsburg* resembles that of comparatively late poems such as *Judith* or *The Battle of Maldon* quite as much as that of early poems like *Beowulf*. There are several hapaxlegomena in the poem; these are mostly poetic compounds like *zūd-wudu*, *zold-hladen*, *size-beorn*, to which many analogies could be cited. It is curious that three generally accepted emendations of obvious corruptions in Hickes's text introduce into the poem words which would point to a comparatively late date of composition. In line 29 Hickes has *celas borð*, usually altered to *celloð bord*. The word *celloð* occurs elsewhere only in the *Battle of Maldon*, a poem of the last years of the tenth century. In line 34 Hickes reads *hwearflacra hrær*. The most economical emendation that gives good sense is *hwearflīcra hræw*. The word *hwearflīc* appears elsewhere (as *hwerflīc*) only in the translation of Boethius by King Alfred. In line 39 the *swa noc* in Hickes is almost without exception changed to *swānas*. It has been pointed out in the notes that *swānas* in the sense of "servants," "men" would point to the influence of Scandinavian *sveinn*. This would seem to suggest a date of composition subsequent to the Danish invasions. But of course no conclusion of a late date can be based on the evidence of words which after all are only nineteenth century suggestions.

Sievers has shown that a criterion of local origin is to be found in the presence of contracted forms of the second and third singular present of verbs. These, if the metre shows that they were there from the beginning, point to the south as the original home of the poem. *The Fight at Finnsburg* contains only one such form,



*oncwýð* in line 7. Nothing can be argued from it; the metre would bear *oncweðeð*, and *oncwýð* may therefore be only a later contraction by a Southern scribe. On the other hand the poem contains the uncontracted forms *flēozeð*, line 3, and *scýneð*, line 7. It is, however, quite a mistake to say, as some critics have done, that uncontracted forms of this kind are evidence in favour of origin in the north. Poems undoubtedly Southern use either contracted or uncontracted forms according to metrical requirements. The forms *zylleð*, *hlynnēð* in line 6 must not be taken into account, as they are miswritings for *zyleð*, *hlyneð*, and in Weak Verbs of the first class with originally short stems contraction did not regularly take place even in West-Saxon and Kentish. Cf. Sievers, *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, 358, 5c.

No argument in favour of early date can be found in the form *ðýrl* in line 45. The metre shows it to be dissyllabic. If it were to be pronounced, as it is written, a monosyllable, it would suggest, though certainly not prove, a date contemporary with *Beowulf* and *Genesis A*, and anterior to the poems of *Cynewulf*.

I have shown above that if the metre of *Beowulf* is taken as the standard that of the *Fight at Finnsburg* is markedly loose and irregular. The chief peculiarities have already been treated; additional but minor irregularities are the falling of an accent on a light word in 31a, and the awkward divorce which in line 47a the caesura makes between *hyra* and the noun it qualifies. Brandl in his *Geschichte* admits that such "metrische Fehler" are characteristic of the period after Alfred, but is disposed to attribute them to corruption of the text. This is an easy way out of the difficulty; the number and variety of the metrical irregularities, as I have tried to show above, point much rather to the conclusion that the author was a careless metrist. This in itself decides nothing about the date of composition, but while deciding nothing at least suggests that this is comparatively late. I have already mentioned that metrical license rapidly became more frequent in the period after Alfred. *Solomon and Saturn* is crowded with metrical irregularities. Those in the *Fight at Finnsburg* can easily be paralleled from the *Battle of Maldon*.

The use of the article in the fragment next requires some consideration. There are, curiously enough, no weak adjectives in it at all, so the tests of date suggested by Lichtenheld and worked out carefully by Barnouw, depending on the existence or non-

existence of the article before the weak adjective or the weak adjective and noun, cannot be applied. In any case Sarrazin has successfully exposed the untrustworthiness of these tests in his article *Zur Chronologie und Verfasserfrage ags. Dichtungen* in Volume 38 of *Englische Studien*. He has shown that their value is particularly small if they are rigidly applied to the heroic poems, because in these an archaic style early became conventional. They would place, for example, the *Battle of Maldon* earlier in date than the poems of Cynewulf, which in reality precede it by two centuries. Lichtenheld's main contention, however, that the use of the article in Old English poetry becomes commoner as time goes on, is beyond dispute, though only as a general rule. Now Brandl infers the antiquity of the *Finnsburg* fragment from the grounds that "article forms are rare and occur exclusively in the demonstrative sense of *ille*." The last part of this statement is very much open to question. Brandl cites in support lines 23, 31, 42, 47. But if these lines be examined it will be found that the translation "that" is essential in none of them. The reader may in each case translate "that" or "the" just as he pleases, and similarly in line 20, which Brandl omits to mention. In line 31 the translation "the" seems even slightly preferable, and in line 47 "those" would be distinctly awkward. Altogether the article occurs five times in the forty-eight lines. This is, roughly, once in ten lines; in *Beowulf*, according to Lichtenheld, it occurs once in eleven lines, in *Andreas* once in seven lines, in the *Battle of Maldon* once in four lines. According to this criterion, therefore, the *Fight at Finnsburg* is contemporary with *Beowulf* and much earlier than the *Battle of Maldon*. But the untrustworthiness of such a conclusion should be obvious. The *Fight at Finnsburg*, preserved to us a mere fragment of about fifty lines, is far too brief to make the test of any real value. The presence of two article forms in the two lines now lost which originally preceded or followed what remains to us would bring the percentage down with a run. All that we can safely say is that the scarcity of articles in the poem suggests a comparatively early date, but with no more certainty than the irregular metre suggests, as we have seen, a comparatively late date. For it may easily be accounted for by the imitation of the conventional epic style. In the *Battle of Brunanburh*, which must have been composed shortly after the battle itself in 937 A. D., the article occurs seven times in seventy-

two lines, or proportionally rather less frequently than in *Finnsburg*. This alone is enough to show the absurdity of asserting the *Fight at Finnsburg* to be a poem of early date on the sole evidence of the rarity of the article. Five out of the seven instances of the article in *Brunnanburh*, moreover, occur before weak adjectives, according to idiom, and as there are no weak adjectives in the *Finnsburg* fragment its five examples of the article in forty-eight lines should more strictly be compared with the remaining two examples in seventy-two lines in the tenth century poem.

As has already been mentioned in the first part of this article, a very striking characteristic of the *Finnsburg* fragment is the rapidity of its narrative. Brandl calculates for the whole poem a length of little over two hundred lines, and declares that this is the extent not of an epic but of a lay (*Lied*). The speeches, compared with those in *Beowulf* or the *Waldhere* fragments or the warlike *Exodus* are extremely brief, and the story of the five days battle, though picturesque enough, is curt in the extreme. *Beowulf* has on the whole a very leisurely progress; the *Fight at Finnsburg* is distinctly in a hurry. In its style, epithets and variations are much less frequent than usual. Brandl seems to conclude from this that the *Fight at Finnsburg* represents a type of narrative poem which is older than the epic, the *Spielmannslied* or Minstrel's Lay, from which the epic developed by a process of expansion. This is quite possible; but it is equally possible that the reverse may be the case. *The Fight at Finnsburg* may quite well be a shortened form of an earlier epic. Some of the old ballads seem to be condensed forms of earlier romances, and something similar may have taken place in Old English times. At any rate an early date for the poem would have to be proved or made very probable by some piece of internal or external evidence before Brandl's theory could be unreservedly accepted. And such evidence there is none.

To conclude, it is impossible to decide either the original home or the approximate date of composition of the *Fight at Finnsburg*. There is no certain sign in the poem itself that it was originally Northern or Anglian. There is equally no certain sign that it was originally Southern. We have evidence that the story of Finn was known in both parts of England. The occurrence of the Finn episode in *Beowulf* shows that it was known in the north, while the occurrence in a Kentish charter of two place-names



*Hokes clif* and *Henȝstes earas* proves acquaintance with it in the south. Its original date of composition may have been any time from the seventh to the eleventh century inclusive. The many metrical irregularities are a slight ground for the presumption that it is late rather than early.

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## THE TWO VERSIONS OF "GRONGAR HILL"

John Dyer, the Welsh poet, is remembered today, in so far as he is remembered at all, for an interest in external nature unwonted in his time, and for the sonnet written in his honor by Wordsworth which closes with the assurance:

"Pure and powerful minds, hearts meek and still,  
A grateful few, shall love thy modest lay,  
.....  
Long as the thrush shall pipe on Grongar Hill!"

The poem alluded to by Wordsworth is that upon which Dyer first built his fame. He is said to have planned it at sixteen. If so, his plan was tentative; for in addition to the version which has come down to us in Chalmers' *English Poets*, he left an earlier version now almost wholly forgotten. This earlier version appeared, along with three or four other pieces by Dyer, in Richard Savage's *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations* in 1726. Its successor, usually assigned to 1727, also appeared in 1726.<sup>1</sup>

The earlier version, even when known, has been decried. Thus John Scott of Amwell in his *Critical Essays* called it "an irregular ode, . . . very incorrect"; and Edward Thomas in his edition of Dyer in the *Welsh Library* has recently dismissed it with the statement that it "displayed some unattractive Pindarism and the antics of that day" and "was not significant."

The mere fact that the poem both concerns itself with a subject from external nature and was published in the same year with Thomson's *Winter* gives it an importance that justifies a comparison of the two versions. Of these the second, if not familiar,

<sup>1</sup> So far as I know, this fact has not hitherto been pointed out. For a knowledge of it, and for other assistance in this article, I must express my thanks to Dr. Raymond D. Havens, of the University of Rochester. Dr. Havens in the course of some researches in the Harvard Library discovered that the second version of the poem is included in *Miscellaneous Poems by Several Hands, Publish'd by D. Lewis, London, 1726*.

The discovery, while of genuine interest, does not affect the likelihood that the Savage version is the earlier. Before 1785 Scott of Amwell had said definitely that it is; Dodsley, in his collection of Dyer's *Poems* in 1761, printed the more familiar version instead of the Savage; and this external evidence is strongly supported by the internal evidence.

is at least accessible. The first, however, is so rarely seen that an essential part of my task will be to quote it entire:<sup>2</sup>

I

- Fancy!* Nymph, that loves to lye  
 On the lonely Eminence;  
 Darting Notice thro' the Eye,  
 Forming Thought, and feasting Sense:  
 [5] Thou! that must lend Imagination Wings,  
 And stamp Distinction, on all wordly Things!  
 Come, and with thy various *Hues*,  
 Paint and adorn thy *Sister Muse*.  
 Now, while the Sun's hot Coursers, bounding high;  
 [10] Shake Lustre on the Earth, and burn, along the Sky.

II

- More than *Olympus* animates my Lays,  
 Aid me, o'erlabour'd, in its wide surveys;  
 And crown its Summit with immortal Praise: }  
 Thou, awful *Grongar!* in whose mossy Cells,  
 [15] Sweetly-musing *Quiet* dwells:  
 Thou! deep, beneath whose shado'wy Side,  
 Oft, my sick Mind serene Refreshment took,  
 Near the cool winding of some bubbling Brook:  
 There have I, pensive, press'd the grassy Bed,  
 [20] And, while my bending Arm sustain'd my Head,  
 Stray'd my charm'd Eyes o'er *Towy's* wand'ring Tide,  
 Swift as a Start of Thought, from Wood to Mead,  
 Glancing, from dark to bright, from Vale to Hill,  
 Till tir'd Reflection had no *Void* to fill.

III

- [25] Widening, beneath the Mountain's bushy Brow,  
 Th' unbounded Landskip softens off below;  
 No skreeny Vapours intervene;  
 But the gay, the splendid Scene,  
 Does Nature's smiling Face all *open* show,  
 [30] In the mix'd Glowings of the tinctur'd *Bow*.  
 And, gently changing, into soft and light,  
 Expands immensely wide, and leads the *journeying* Sight.

IV

- White, on the rugged Cliffs, old *Castles* rise,  
 And shelter'd Villages lie warm and low,  
 [35] Close by the Streams that at their *Bases* flow.

<sup>2</sup> I quote from the copy in the British Museum. For a painstaking comparison of my hasty transcript with the original I am indebted to Dr. James Hinton, of Emory University, and Dr. Paul Hamelius, of the University of Liège.



- Each watry Face bears pictur'd Woods, and Skies,  
 Where, as the Surface curls, when Breezes rise,  
 Faint fairy Earthquakes tremble to the Eyes.  
 Up thro' the Forest's Gloom, distinguish'd, bright,  
 [40]     Tops of high Buildings catch the Light:  
       The quick'ning Sun a show'ry Radiance sheds,  
       And lights up all the Mountain's russet Heads.  
       Gilds the fair Fleeces of the distant Flocks;  
       And, glittering, plays betwixt the broken Rocks.  
 [45]     Light, as the Lustre of the rising Dawn,  
       Spreads the gay Carpet of yon level Lawn:  
       Till a steep Hill starts horrid, wild, and high,  
       Whose Form uncommon holds the wond'ring Eye;  
       Deep is its Base, in Towy's bord'ring Flood,  
 [50]     Its bristly Sides are shagg'd with sullen Wood:  
       Towers, ancient as the Mountain, crown its Brow,  
       Aweful in Ruin, to the Plains below.  
       Thick round the ragged Walls pale Ivy creeps,  
       Whose circling Arms the nodding Fabrick keeps;  
 [55]     While both combine to check th' insulting Wind,  
       As Friends, in Danger, mutual Comfort find.

## V

- Once a proud Palace, This,—a Seat of Kings!  
 Alas! th' o'erturning Sweep of Time's broad Wings!  
       Now, 'tis the Raven's bleak Abode,  
 [60]     And shells, in marbly Damps, the inbred Toad.  
       There the safe Fox, unfearing Huntsmen, feeds;  
       And climbs o'er Heaps of Stone to pendant Weeds.  
       The Prince's Tenure in his Roofs of Gold,  
       Ends like the Peasant's homelier Hold;  
 [65]     Life's but a Road, and he who travels right,  
       Treats Fortune as an Inn, and rests his Night.

## VI

- Ever changing, ever new,  
 Thy Scenes, O *Grongar!* cannot tire the View:  
       Lowly Vallies, waving Woods,  
 [70]     Windy Summits, wildly high,  
       Rough, and rustling in the Sky!  
       The pleasht<sup>a</sup> Seat, the ruin'd Tower;  
       The naked Rock, the rosy Bower;  
       The Village and the Town, the Palace and the Farm,  
 [75]     Each does, on each, reflect a doubled Charm;  
       As Pearls look brighter on an Æthiop's Arm. }

## VII

Southward, along the Mountain's waving Side,  
 The Vale grows liberal, and the Prospect wide.

<sup>a</sup> *Sic* in original.

- Glowing, beneath a kind and purply Sky,  
 [80] Broad flower-dress'd Meadows and rich Pastures lie.  
 Green Hedges, in long Parallels, are seen;  
 And silv'ry Lawns draw Streaks of Light between:  
 Distant, those *Thorns* diminish'd scarce appear;  
 As Dangers scape, unseen, that are not *near*.  
 [85] Smiling, like this fair Prospect, soft and gay,  
 The flatt'ring Glass of Hope our *Future* shows;  
 And Ills, *at hand*, their Face, unmask'd display,  
 And Fortune *rougher* still when *nearer*, grows:  
 Still we tread, tir'd, along the same deep Way;  
 [90] And still the *present* proves a *cloudy* Day.  
 O, may I ever with my self agree,  
 Nor hope the unpossess'd Delights I see!  
 Nobly content, within some silent Shade,  
 My Passions calm, and my proud Wishes laid:  
 [95] Ne'er may Desire's rough *Sea* beneath me roll,  
 Drown my wish'd Peace, and *tempest* all my Soul!  
 While, idly busy, I but beat the Air,  
 And, lab'ring after Bliss, embosom Care!

## VIII

- Here, while on humble Earth, unmark'd I lie,  
 [100] I subject *Heav'n* and *Nature* to my Eye;  
 Solid, my Joys, and my free Thoughts run high.  
 For me, this soft'ning Wind in *Zephyrs* sings,  
 And in yon flow'ry Vale perfumes his Wings.  
 To'sooth my Ear, those Waters murmur deep;  
 [105] To shade my Eye, these bow'ry Woodbines creep.  
 Wanton, to yield me Sport, these Birds fly low;  
 And a sweet *Chase* of Harmony bestow.  
 Like me too yon sweet Stream serenely glides;  
 Just *views* and *quits* the Charms which tempt its Sides:  
 [110] Calmly regardless, hast'ning to the Sea,  
 As I, thro' *Life*, shall reach *Eternity*.

If we take the first version as a whole, we find that it is, though mainly in the manner of the eighteenth century, yet reasonably fresh and varied. As for the verse form, we find that the opening stanza, while showing traces of Dryden and Pope, is something of a cross between the introductory lines of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* on the one hand and the more lilting measures of those two poems on the other. The rest of the poem, apart from the lightly lyrical sixth stanza, consists of iambic pentameters rhymed variously, though with a tendency toward the couplet, and though interrupted now and then by shorter lines or by a stress on the opening syllables, as in lines 17-24. In substance the poem, while fre-

quently conventional in diction and heavy with eighteenth century moralization, is set off from most of the verse of that day by description of scenery which Dyer has looked upon for himself and liked for its own sake. The opening lines of the seventh and eighth stanzas, for example, show close observation and genuine delight in the presence of natural objects. The fourth stanza, which is even better, is all but free from the inevitable lesson and in itself refutes the statement that this version of the poem "was not significant."

For the purposes of comparison only a portion of the second version need be quoted. The opening 64 lines, corresponding to the opening 44 of the first, read thus in Chalmers, with whom Thomas's reprint is in substantial agreement:<sup>4</sup>

- Silent nymph, with curious eye!  
 Who, the purple evening, lie  
 On the mountain's lonely van,  
 Beyond the noise of busy man;  
 [5] Painting fair the form of things,  
 While the yellow linnet sings;  
 Or the tuneful nightingale  
 Charms the forest with her tale;—  
 Come, with all thy various dues,  
 [10] Come and aid thy sister Muse;  
 Now, while Phoebus riding high,  
 Gives lustre to the land and sky!  
 Grongar Hill invites my song,  
 Draw the landscape bright and strong;  
 [15] Grongar, in whose mossy cells  
 Sweetly musing Quiet dwells;  
 Grongar, in whose silent shade,  
 For the modest Muses made,  
 So oft I have, the evening still,  
 [20] At the fountain of a rill,  
 Sate upon a flowery bed,  
 With my hand beneath my head;  
 While stray'd my eyes o'er Towy's flood,  
 Over mead and over wood,  
 [25] From house to house, from hill to hill,  
 Till Contemplation had her fill.

<sup>4</sup> The following sixty-four lines were already in type before I secured a transcript of them from the Lewis text. The Lewis text varies but slightly from the Chalmers, however, and the variations are mainly in punctuation and spelling. The only verbal difference worth noting is the use of *hues* for *dues* in line 9.



- About his chequer'd sides I wind,  
And leave his brooks and meads behind,  
And groves, and grottoes where I lay,  
[30] And vistas shooting beams of day:  
Wide and wider spreads the vale,  
As circles on a smooth canal:  
The mountains round, unhappy fate!  
Sooner or later, of all height,  
[35] Withdraw their summits from the skies,  
And lessen as the others rise:  
Still the prospect wider spreads,  
Adds a thousand woods and meads;  
Still it widens, widens still,  
[40] And sinks the newly-risen hill.  
Now, I gain the mountain's brow,  
What a landscape lies below!  
No clouds, no vapours intervene;  
But the gay, the open scene  
[45] Does the face of Nature show,  
In all the hues of Heaven's bow!  
And, swelling to embrace the light,  
Spreads around beneath the sight.  
Old castles on the cliffs arise,  
[50] Proudly towering in the skies!  
Rushing from the woods, the spires  
Seem from hence ascending fires!  
Half his beams Apollo sheds  
On the yellow mountain-heads!  
[55] Gilds the fleeces of the flocks,  
And glitters on the broken rocks!  
Below me trees unnumber'd rise,  
Beautiful in various dyes:  
The gloomy pine, the poplar blue,  
[60] The yellow beech, the sable yew,  
The slender fir that taper grows,  
The sturdy oak with broad-spread boughs.  
And beyond the purple grove,  
Haunt of Phyllis, queen of love!

The entire second version is typified, so far as changes are concerned, by the above excerpt. All we need note in addition is that the version closes, not with a comparison of the poet's life to a stream, but with a recurrence to the spirit of the piece. Quiet may not be found in courts, we are told; it treads grass and flowers on the meads and mountain-heads,

"And often, by the murmuring rill,  
Hears the thrush, while all is still,  
Within the groves of Grongar Hill."

When we examine the passage quoted from the second version, we find that, despite transpositions, combinations, additions, and innumerable small changes, it is in substance but slightly altered from the first. Moralization, to be sure, may seem diminished, but this would not be the case were our extract taken from another section of the poem. Sometimes the thought, as in the two paragraphs that replace the short third stanza, is expanded, clarified, and more pleasingly stated; sometimes, on the other hand, obscurity results from the changes, as in the substitution of "Silent nymph" for "Fancy" in the very first line. The one respect in which the substance is markedly altered for the better is in the improvement of the descriptions. The early mention of the yellow linnet and the nightingale prepares us for a closer observation of external nature. The promise is by way of being fulfilled when we are shown how the surrounding mountains, as the poet reaches higher levels, withdraw their summits from the skies and give place to peaks more removed. Lines 51-56 are far more vivid and concise than the corresponding passage (lines 39-44) in the first version, and are followed by a concrete portrayal of various kinds of trees. But the changes are not invariably felicitous, and we must regret in particular that the genuine intimacy and quaint, feeling fancy of lines 33-38 in the original did not prevent the passage from being deleted when the poem was revised.

In form far more than in substance the second version departs from the first. It alternates trochaic with iambic pentameters with a freedom like that of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. Occasionally it reminds us of Shakespeare. Dyer may well have modeled line 24, for example:

"Over mead and over wood"

upon

"Thorough bush, thorough brier."

The superiority of the second version to the first is to be explained chiefly through its metrical medium. Instead of the heavy, pedestrian measure of its predecessor, it has a measure that is light and agile. The effect is extraordinary. Grace and clearness of expression are amazingly enhanced. From a cumbersome heaviness we are carried into a quiet, lilting charm, and this is accomplished with almost a minimum of change.

On the whole, therefore, the difference in merit between the two versions is not so great as has been surmised. The second is better in two ways. It shows a considerable advance in the precise delineation of natural objects, though here the improvement was based upon a tendency already manifested, and may be confined, for all practical purposes, to some score of scattered lines. It employs, in the second place, a far happier verse form which rids it, automatically almost, of the worst of its stilted phraseology and gives it wings. Its superiority cannot be denied, yet may almost be said to be outward rather than inward.

The increased intimacy and accuracy of description and the substitution of one form of verse for another wrought a sufficient change in the poem, however, for us to inquire how they came about. Partly, we need not question, from Dyer's maturing powers. Partly, it is to be surmised, from a closer knowledge of the metrical technique and the many individual scenes, distinctly drawn in a few lines, of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. And partly, I should say, from accident also. Another and spirited piece which Dyer contributed to Savage's volume was *The Country Walk*. It contained a few realistic descriptions, such as that of the barnyard. It employed the Miltonic measure, or at least a measure which borrowed something from Milton and is superior, on the whole, to that employed in the first version of *Grongar Hill*. What more likely, therefore, than that Dyer had the discernment to perceive this dual advantage of *The Country Walk*, and the resolution to remodel the other and favorite poem in accordance therewith? The citation of a few lines from *The Country Walk* may be permitted. The following are peculiarly apropos:

"Up *Grongar Hill* I labour now,  
And catch at last his bushy brow.  
Oh how fresh, how pure the Air!  
Let me breathe a little here.  
Where am I, Nature? I descry  
Thy Magazine before me lie!  
Temples!—and Towns!—and Tow'rs!—and Woods!  
And Hills!—and Vales!—and Fields!—and Floods!  
Crowding before me, edg'd around  
With naked Wilds, and barren Ground."

GARLAND GREEVER.



THE TRAGEDY OF HENGEST IN *BEOWULF*

At the great feast in Heorot celebrating Beowulf's victory over Grendel, once the present-giving was concluded, there came the *scop's* opportunity. Songs had been sung in Beowulf's praise earlier in the day: he had been compared to Sigemund and contrasted with Heremod; doubtless in the evening, too, there was a varied program (*gid oft wrecen*, 1065), but there was one song which the *Beowulf*-poet apparently regards as the *scop's* not inadequate response to the demands of a great opportunity. This song he summarizes at length in the *Beowulf* (1063-1160); it is now known, not altogether appropriately, as the *Finn Episode*. In addition to this there is a fragment of a spirited poem, surviving in a somewhat imperfect transcript by Hickes, which touches upon certain points of the same matter that is summarized in the *Beowulf*; this is known as the *Fight at Finnsburg* or the *Finnsburg Fragment*. Around these twin Memnones there has sprung up an exegesis so luxuriant that there is some danger, it may be, of choking altogether the song that made vocal the dawn of English poetry. Without this exegesis, some of it at any rate, there would be no getting on at all, but fortunately it is not necessary to carry it all with us on this present enterprise. Such excellent summaries of the whole matter have of late been published that the way-faring student may be trusted to find his own road.<sup>1</sup>

In the present paper the privilege of newly interpreting any single line is expressly renounced; for every single reading adopted respectable scholarly authority could, I hope, be produced. Our immediate concern is to get at the story, if we can, which the *scop* told, helping ourselves to whatever in the literature of the subject will best advance us. So far as it is possible, I should like to enter

<sup>1</sup> W. W. Lawrence, *Beowulf and the Tragedy of Finnsburg*, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n.*, XXX, 2, 372-431 (1915); Fr. Klaeber, *Observations on the Finn Episode*, *Journal Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XIV, 4, 544-549 (1915). There is much excellent matter in R. W. Chambers' notes to his revision of Wyatt's *Beowulf* (1914) and in his forthcoming *Introduction to Beowulf*, some of the material of which I have been able to examine through the good offices of Professor Lawrence. I have refrained from quoting directly any of this unpublished matter, and though I should have had frequently to disagree with Mr. Chambers' erudite and ingenious arguments, I may say that I have found them everywhere most suggestive and stimulating.

I quote the text of *Beowulf* from the Heyne-Schücking tenth edition, with a few changes in punctuation.

into the position of one hearing the poet of the Beowulf himself recite his summary of these events. Under such circumstances, using what knowledge we had, we should presumably try to understand what he was driving at. This seems a fair aim to pursue even now. It is evident that the poet counted heavily on the coöperation of his reader or hearer. He leads him on, plays a pretty game of hare and hounds with him, doubling back on his tracks, through half a dozen appositives. By sudden reticences, sly indirections, and swift changes of subject he contrives a sort of suspense and climax. He delights to begin vaguely, dropping a dark hint or two, thrusting whatever important he has to say into an aside, from which he hurries to something else, as if he had already told too much; then, perhaps, summarizing the whole thing from the beginning. Some knowledge is required of the reader, but above everything a willingness to engage with the poet in imaginative collaboration.

The modern reader, though not perfectly equipped for it, is yet not destitute of materials for playing the poet's game with him, if he chooses to do so; and, indeed, it is hard to see how he can hold himself entirely absolved from doing so. The process has its obvious perils, for the imagination is in danger of introducing order and precision where the poet was in his own mind confused and vague, and of bringing into the picture elements that are modern and could originally have formed no part of it. There is always the possibility, too, that the poet is not playing quite fair, that he is not dropping enough hints to enable us to follow him with any certainty. But it is still worth a try, since it is possible by means of study to gain in one's appreciation of how the poet puts forth his story, and of what kind of story he likes to tell. With regard to the narrative method of the poet, I hope it is going to be possible to make some observations which will enable us to determine with more security the relation one to another of the statements which go to make up the summary of events in the *Finn Episode*, and to bring out, as has not been done before, the unity of the whole passage. As a result, I hope it is going to be possible to liberate a story, of a sort dear to the poet's heart, which has indeed been more than hinted at by others, but never, I think, quite brought out in its full effectiveness.

We are ready now to listen to the poet. What he offers us is unquestionably a summary;<sup>2</sup> we do not get the *ipsissima verba* of Hrothgar's *scop*, any more than we do in the case of the earlier song reciting the wonders of creation (90-98). It is of the highest importance to observe that the summary begins with a brief statement of the most significant moment of the whole action—the surprise attack of the Danes upon the Frisians, the crowning act of vengeance in the long, bloody tale (*Finnes eafteran, pā hīe hīe sē fār begeat*, 1068).<sup>3</sup> The poet, that is, begins by stating the

<sup>2</sup>“The exact story to which this episode refers in summary . . . ,” Gummere, *Oldest English Epic*, p. 69. “A definite specimen of the *scop*'s repertory is exhibited in summary and paraphrase,” Klaeber, pp. 547-8. The point is argued at length and convincingly by Lawrence, pp. 397-401.

In an elaborate discussion of *The Opening of the Episode of Finn in Beowulf* (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n.*, Dec., 1916, 759-797), which reached me long after the present paper had left my hands, Dr. Alexander Green labors to show that what we have is really the *scop*'s lay itself, precisely as he sang it, or, at any rate, as the poet chooses to present him in the act of singing it; that is, the *Beowulf* poet's feeling for the passage would be the same as that for the account of Ingeld (2020 ff.) or the lament for the vanished race (2247 ff.), and not like that for the lament of the woman for the dead Beowulf (3150 ff.) and the other instances discussed in the text where people are *described* as singing or speaking. Upon reflection, I do not find my views altered by his discussion. The *Beowulf*-poet is perfectly competent to handle direct discourse; he introduces it more than two score times, and each time makes his intention abundantly clear. His epic technique provides him with a *convenient* arsenal of “he says” and “she says,” and he would hardly in this one instance stay his hand. This would be introducing the big set-piece of the evening with only the casual statement that it was the *scop*'s cue to sing (*mænan scolde*, 1067); “and he did sing, to wit and as follows,” the poet would surely have gone on to say, if that had been his conception of the situation. On the other hand, the narrative method of this passage, as I have tried to make plain in the main body of this paper, bears so many resemblances to that of the unquestioned summaries and paraphrases in the poem that I must confess myself unable to see that the Finn episode stands in a class of its own. If it is something more than twice as long as the Sigemund-Heremod paraphrase, if the summary is now rapid, now more at length, it should be remembered that the song about Finn occupies a very high and conspicuous position in the architecture of the poem. The whole point, as Dr. Green discusses it, is subordinate to his plea for the retention of the MS reading *eafterum* (1068). But this reading, as he points out (p. 794) may be retained without throwing all that follows into direct discourse: it was the *scop*'s cue to keep the fun going *by means* of the men of Finn and the dire vengeance which the Danes took upon them.

<sup>3</sup>Dr. Green (*op. cit.*) urges the retention of the MS *eafterum* (1068) for which as a dative-instrumental of personal agency (earlier scholars had called



outcome of the episode he is summarizing.<sup>4</sup> The subject announced, we gradually learn what led up to the final destruction of the Frisians. Hnæf, we gather, leader of a party of Danes, has met his death somewhere in the dominions of Finn, king of the Frisians. It is an act of treachery on the part of Finn's people—the old story, no doubt, of a feud, partly healed, breaking out afresh. The tragedy of the situation is poignantly felt by Hildeburg, the queen, who finds herself, like Octavia, "praying for both parts. . . . Husband win, win brother;" for, it appears, she is both wife to Finn and sister to Hnæf. In the exhausting and indecisive battle between the Danes and the thegns of Finn, described presumably in the *Finnsburg Fragment*, the latter lose heavily; at least one son of Hildeburg, beside her brother Hnæf, is among the slain. Unable to dislodge the Danes from their position, Finn finally proposes to take them into his service on terms of absolute equality with his own followers. The Danes, in the person of their new leader Hengest, Hnæf's thegn, consent,

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it an instrumental) he finds support in cognate languages, and a few examples in Anglo-Saxon (pp. 769 ff.). Reverting to the view of Bugge and others that *hie* (1068) is anticipatory of *hæleð* (pl.) in the next line, he would translate the opening lines:

By Finn's battle-fighters—when onset befell them,  
The heroes of Half-Danes,—Hnæf of the Scyldings  
In Frisian slaughter      was fated to fall.

The chief difficulty in the way of this interpretation has long been the extreme unlikelihood of any English speaking person then or now so understanding the sentence, until it has been patiently unravelled for him. *Eaferum* as a dative-instrumental one might entertain, though the Anglo-Saxon seems not to have been fond of the construction. But *eaferum* is a long way in advance of its verb and it is walled off from it, as Dr. Green observes, by a "proleptic pleonastic personal pronoun" and such a Mr. Facing-both-ways of a pronoun, which, without making any clear declaration of its intention, seems to incline to *eaferum*, rather than to *hæleð*, as the only clear plural in the neighborhood. The situation is confessedly unpleasant; in this respect it is not by any means unique in the *Beowulf*. Here, as elsewhere, an easy emendation, and in this instance one that has rather striking stylistic appropriateness to recommend it, seems the best way out. Among the proposals *eaferan* (Trautmann, developed by Klaeber, adopted by Holthausen) and [*be*] *Finnes eaferum* (Thorpe advocated afresh by Klaeber, p. 548) do not greatly differ in sense.

<sup>4</sup> Failure to grasp this crucial point has greatly added to the difficulties of reconstructing the story. Lawrence (pp. 398-9) is, I believe, the first to make it clear.

and with great formality the agreement is ratified and the corpses of the slain committed to the flames.

This much, the setting of the story, is tolerably clear; there is not much room nowadays for difference of opinion.<sup>5</sup> It is

<sup>5</sup> Some confusion has resulted from the fact that the poet refers to the opponents of Hnæf and Hengest four times as Frisians and four times as Eotens, (gen. *Eotena*, dat., *Eotenum*), which is possibly, but not certainly, a modification of the name of the Jutes. The unfortunate suggestion that the Eotens are Hnæf's followers need not be considered; it is definitely disposed of by Lawrence, 394, n. 5; 415, n. 2. Most people have thought it necessary to suppose that, whatever ethnological distinctions may once have existed, to the mind of the *Beowulf*-poet Frisians and Eotens were interchangeable terms, exigencies of alliteration and the poet's love of synonymous variety alone determining his choice; *Argeioi*, *Danaoi*, or *Acheioi*, as you choose. Such a conclusion seems to spring naturally from a consideration of ll. 1087 ff.: the Danes, under Hengest, were to have possession of half the hall as against the children of the Eotens (*wið Eotena bearn*, 1088), and Finn was to treat them every day just as generously as he did the kin of the Frisians (*Frēsena cyn*, 1093); if any one of the Frisians (*Frýsna hwylc*, 1104) should twit the Danes with their humiliating position, then—well he would be attended to. How, in such a statement as that, can the *Beowulf*-poet be supposed to intend, or his reader possibly be expected to detect, an ethnological or dramatic distinction between Eotens and Frisians? That the people with whom the Danes were to live, with whom they were to receive equal honor, and from whom they were to expect no uncharitable reminder are to all intents and purposes the same people, seems the only fair and reasonable understanding of the passage. It may be that the poet was consciously using language in a loose fashion, as in a modern newspaper article referring indiscriminately to Germans, Teutons, and Prussians, but it is much more likely that Chambers' remarks on l. 2503 apply here: "But the writer of *Beowulf* may well have been using traditional names which he himself did not clearly understand" (*Beowulf*, p. 125). With regard to the identification, by the *Beowulf*-poet, of Frisians and Eotens, Chambers objects (*Beowulf*, pp. 168-9) that the Eotens being Jutes, they cannot have been Frisians and must therefore have formed a separate, doubtless subordinate, tribe for whose actions Finn, as overlord, was only indirectly responsible. It is the Eotens, he thinks, who start the trouble with the Danes, into which Finn is subsequently drawn in order to avenge the death of his son. Since Finn did not in the first instance betray them, the willingness of the Danes to take service with him is, according to Chambers, more easily accounted for, a point which will be considered in a moment. Nothing quite so elaborate as Chambers' erudite and ingenious hypothesis will, I hope, prove to be necessary. Meanwhile, so far as that hypothesis rests on a supposed distinction between Eotens and Frisians I cannot feel that it has much support. In illustration of the *Beowulf*-poet's method of handling tribal names it may be noted that the opponents of Hygelac on his fatal raid are within a space of ten lines (2912-2921) referred to as Franks, Frisians, *Hugas*, *Hetware* and *Merewioingas*. Now the Franks are not Frisians and the Hetware may have been neither, but it is clear that the poet intends no distinction; each time he is referring to the opponents of Hygelac as a whole and is merely availing himself of his prescriptive license, *wordum wrixlan*.

a situation fraught with tragic possibilities. The arrangement made by Hengest on behalf of his Danes was peculiarly disgraceful. To survive his lord was, for a member of the *comitatus*, bad enough; to take service with his lord's *bana*, his murderer either in person or through the agency of one of his henchmen, was a great deal worse. What induced the Danes to accept this humiliating position, the poet does not expressly state, but he implies a great deal which makes it seem natural enough. Winter was at hand, and, as the *Fragment* suggests, there was a good deal of exhaustion on both sides. Finn and his Frisians could not dislodge the Danes from their position nor could he afford to draw off his troops (*wēa-lāf* the *scop* calls them, with pardonable pride in the effectiveness of the Danish resistance) and leave Hengest in possession of the field.<sup>6</sup> The Danes, on the other hand, could not get to ship and away, for in leaving the hall they lost the advantage of position and faced an inhospitable winter sea. Fought to a standstill, there was nothing for either side to do but to come to terms. Hengest, the shrewd and able retainer, agreed to them, bad as they were in some respects, because he had to (*þā him swā geþearfod wæs*, 1103). The poet is clearly alive to the extreme uncomfortableness of the Danes' situation; this is clearly shown by the detail with which he dwells on the terms of the agreement, according to which the feud is not to be mentioned by the Frisians, or the lordless Danes taunted with following their lord's murderer (1096-1106).<sup>7</sup> It was not pleasant for the Danes, but since they were not Samurai (with whom they have many points of resem-

<sup>6</sup> Ll. 1080-85. It is not to be supposed that Hengest, in the midst of Finn's territory, had the Frisian king in his power. In l. 1098 the Danes, also, are referred to as a *wēa-lāf*.

<sup>7</sup> I take this to mean that the Frisians were not to twit the Danes, just as Leofsunu (*Maldon*, 249 ff.) announced that he had no intention of allowing the warriors to twit him with words because he left the battle lordless (*hlāfordlēas*), and just as Beowulf reproaches Unferth with having survived his brothers in battle (587 ff.). Klaeber's interpretation (*Anglia*, 28, 414; 25, 291) of *þæt* (1099) as "provided that," and *þonne* (1104) as adversative, "on the other hand," is very tempting, implying as it does that not only was there risk that the Frisians might jeer at the Danes but also that the Danes might get to talking their troubles over among themselves and so rouse one another to vengeance. This, according to the view put forward in this paper, is precisely what did happen; note *gemānden* (1101) and *māndon* (1149). But it is not certain that we are justified in thus taking *þæt* . . . *þonne*, and while these grammatical doubts exist I keep to the more obvious rendering.



blance) to take vengeance by committing suicide, there was no other course open to them. Surely, the injunction not to survive one's lord was counsel of perfection; with the best will in the world it couldn't always be managed. The alderman's godson, not to mention the British hostage, survived the feud between Cynewulf and Cyneheard. This, the classical example of loyalty to the ideal, is not altogether on all fours with the feud between Danes and Frisians. For the followers of the dead Cynewulf to take service with Cyneheard was to bestow on him the kingdom of which they were the constituted authorities, if you please, and they may have had all sorts of motives, besides the disinclination to follow their lord's murderer which they chance to avow, for putting down civil war. But the followers of Hnæf had been living as the guests of Finn; there was a drawn battle in which neither side succeeded in exterminating the other; when it had reached this unsatisfactory conclusion the surviving Danes might, of course, have continued on as the guests of Finn, but terms so attractive were not offered to them. They were to go on living with him, for that there was no escape; but they must also, if they expect Finn to support them, become members of his *comitatus*; as they were, they were lordless men. This was hard, but after all, the feud had made commendable progress: the Danish leader was killed and the son of the Frisian leader; both sides were fought out; best cry quits for a while. It is not necessary to suppose that the arrangement between Finn and the Danes was intended to be permanent. Very probably it would terminate with the spring and the surviving Danes would return to their people and take their twitting with what grace they could. It is a gratuitous assumption that Hengest entered the service of Finn with a well-formed plan of revenge; he needs no such defense. If the rest of the story means anything, it indicates clearly that Hengest, though he may have done a deal of thinking, was very slow to make up his mind what he had better do in a difficult situation. And this is precisely what makes him an interesting and tragic figure.<sup>8</sup> You can blame him if you choose for not getting himself comfortably killed; perhaps he should not have entered upon a disgraceful compact;

<sup>8</sup> Chambers (*Beowulf*, p. 168) is persuaded that, since it was wrong for the Danes to enter the service of their lord's slayer, they therefore did not do it. Hnæf, he assumes, was not slain by the Frisians, the more immediate subjects of Finn, but by the Eotens, a vassal tribe. But it is hard to see how this helps

but what the poet carefully tells as is that they did patch up matters with Finn and that it *was* a disgraceful thing to do, though something was to be said on their side, but that it all had a most interesting and satisfactory outcome. The story is not over yet; indeed it is just beginning. Let us by all means have the story.

Most unfortunately for our high anticipations, the course of the action from this point is obscure. A carefully considered and intentionally cautious statement of it has recently been made as follows:

At the coming of spring, when travel by sea becomes possible, Hengest, who has been nursing his desire for revenge, sails away. The subsequent events are exceedingly obscure. Apparently Hengest reaches Denmark and brings back reinforcements, and perhaps he is presented by "the son of Hunlaf," probably a Dane, with a supremely good sword. It is clear, however, that Finn is slain in his own home, after bitter reproaches have been uttered by Guthlaf and Oslaf. The Danes then plunder Finn's treasures, and sail back to Denmark with this booty and with Queen Hildeburg.<sup>9</sup>

It this is all, is it not a little disappointing? Far from being the story we have waited for, it is hardly a story at all. It may represent the facts as they occurred, but, if this is what really happened, it makes at best a dry chronicle, a thing of patches and loose ends, a rapid-fire of events that hit all around a central tragic situation and do not once touch it. Such is not the usual practise of the *Beowulf*-poet. The tragic situations both of Hildeburg and of Freawaru are keenly present to his mind.<sup>10</sup> A more gracious and pathetic figure than that of Wealtheow is not easily found among the queens of literature, and the tragic irony of her words to Hrothulf (1180-88) is perfectly grasped by the poet. To him the dilemma of Hrethel, father alike of murdered man and of murderer, was a sweet morsel; it yields to him its last drop (2435 ff.). "Mental conflict and tragic contradiction" are of the essence of Northern heroic poetry.<sup>11</sup> It is hard to believe that the *scop* and his hearers would not at once light upon Hengest as a tragic

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matters. Though the Danes might feel less personal resentment against him as individually guiltless of an act of treachery, nevertheless Finn is technically just as much Hnæf's *bana* in the one case as in the other. And Hnæf's *bana*, in any case, the poet expressly tells us he was (1102).

<sup>9</sup> Lawrence, pp. 428-9.

<sup>10</sup> Lawrence, pp. 376 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Ker, *Epic and Romance*, pp. 65 ff., develops this subject at length; note especially the story of Alboin; also Chamber's *Beowulf*, p. 169.

figure; it is hard to believe that, after so much careful preparation on the part of the poet, he is going to let Hengest receive a sword and then drop tamely out of the story, leaving Guthlaf and Oslaf to do all the talking.<sup>12</sup> Hengest is in an acutely tragic situation; he is personally responsible for putting his followers and himself in the position of living on with the man who had murdered their lord. The conflict of duty is a nice one; torn between his oath to Finn and his duty to the dead Hnæf, with trouble likely to break out among the men at any moment, what are Hengest's emotions, what is he going to do? Here is a complication which demands unravelling. It is a perfect balance, of a sort dear to the temperament and traditions that gave birth to Hamlet. Is there not also, in some sense, a tragedy of Hengest?

It is necessary to return once again to the question of the poet's narrative method. In the *Episode* things are sketched rather than worked out in detail; it is a summary, and not a repetition of the very words that were heard in Heorot. There are several other such summaries in the *Beowulf*, none so long, and they all show the same trick of beginning with a statement of the main point, the outcome, following it with some description of events leading up to it:

884 ff. Sigemund was famous ever after he killed the worm; he did it all alone; he killed the worm; he carried off the treasure.

901 ff. Heremod grew slack and cruel and was banished among the Eotens—that is the point; the reasons follow: he had a hard time when he was young and people wished him back on the throne of his father's: once there he behaved badly.

1931 ff. As for Queen Thryth, no one dared look her in the eye except her husband; he cured her of her tricks—then the ale-drinkers go on to tell the story.

In similar fashion the *Episode* opens with a statement of the outcome, of the surprise attack of the Danes upon Finn and his Frisians, in revenge for the earlier treachery of Finn's people against the Danes resulting in the death of Huæf. We may expect, then, in the *Episode*, to judge from the manner of these summaries generally, frequent use of what Heinzel called the BAB method,<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum und deutsche Literatur*, X, 220 ff.

<sup>13</sup> One is reminded of Cervantes satire on this Damoclean kind of suspense at the end of the first book of *Don Quixote*.



hysteron-proteron, that is, on a large scale. We shall not expect to be held in suspense, as we are through some hundred lines of narrative before we learn exactly what happened to Grendel (833 ff.), or when Beowulf lifts his sword in l. 1573 b with what effect we do not become certain until we reach l. 1590. We shall not expect mere general hints as to the outcome; we shall look rather to be told explicitly of an event and then hear what came before it; then, perhaps, some more about the event, and, possibly, more of what lead up to it.

With this in mind let us return to Hengest, whom we left the victim of a pretty conflict of emotion. How did he feel during that long, blood-stained winter? He naturally thought about home (*eard gemunde*, 1129), but there was no question of sailing then, no need yet of decision while the storm roared outside.<sup>14</sup> By and by spring came round, as it has a way of doing. How did he feel then? Then, like any other Northerner, he wanted to put to sea.<sup>15</sup>

1137

fundode wrecca,

gist of gearдум [:].

That is what he would naturally do. He would speak to Finn and be off; in the spring his business was on the sea.<sup>16</sup> That is all right as to Finn, but as to the dead Hnæf it is very like running away; it is postponing vengeance sadly. Will he prove so unpregnant of his cause as that? No; though he would like to go to sea, he thought *rather* of vengeance and staid in the hope of managing a successful surprise against Finn and his people:

<sup>14</sup> Reading, þēah-þe hē [ne] meakte, 1130.

<sup>15</sup> *Fundian* is of course ambiguous as to whether he went or merely desired to go. The only other occurrence of the word in *Beowulf* has the latter sense.

<sup>16</sup> The *Seafarer* affords a good commentary on this. A quotation from the saga of *Burnt Njal* (Everyman's Library, p. 10) is in point: "Hrut stayed with the king that winter in good cheer, but when spring came he grew very silent. . . . Hrut went before the king and bade him 'Good-day'; and the king said, 'What dost thou want now, Hrut?'"

'I am come to ask, lord, that you give me leave to go to Iceland.'

'Will thine honour be greater there than here?' asks the king.

'No, it will not,' said Hrut, 'but every man must win the work that is set before him.'

1138

	hē tō gyrn-wræce
swiðor þóhtē	þonne tō sæ-lāde,
gif hē torn-gemōt	þurhtēon mihte,
þæt hē Eotena beārn	inne gemunde.

All this says clearly that Hengest was thinking things over, whether he should or should not take vengeance upon Finn; it tells us also very clearly, with characteristic anticipation of the outcome of the story, that in the end desire for vengeance carried the day:

1142

Swā hē ne-forwyrnde	worold-rædenne,
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he did not *thus* prove recreant to his duty. But we have not been told the steps by which Hengest arrived at his decision. That seems to be what we should naturally want to know at this point, and that is precisely what we are about to be told. Occasions gross as earth informed against him. While he was debating with himself, like a second Alexander, *an Oceanum naviget*, his followers began an egging. The situation is a common one and can be paralleled not only in the sagas but in the *Beowulf* itself.<sup>17</sup> What happens first is that the son of Hunlaf, nephew, presumably, of the Danish warriors Guðlaf and Oslaf (Ordlaf, as the *Fragment* calls him), offers him a sword.<sup>18</sup> Everyone nowadays is agreed that this act of Hunlafing had one very clear object, to summon Hengest to vengeance. The sword was a famous one; the people of Finn had reason to know it well; Hnæf's sword, or possibly Hunlaf's, it had done famous execution among Finn's people on the night

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Laxdale Saga (Temple Classics ed., chap. liii) where Thorgerd eggs on her sons to slay Bolli for the murder of their brother; they made up their minds to set upon him, "for they could no longer withstand the taunts of their mother." Gudrun, too, taunts her sons until they can stand it no longer.

<sup>18</sup> The genealogy in Arngrim Jonsson's Latin abstract of the *Skjoldunga Saga*, which includes the names of Hunleifus, Oddleifus, and Gunnleifus among the seven sons of an otherwise unknown Danish king Leifus, affords support to the already plausible supposition that Hunlafing was a Dane (Chadwick, *Origin of the English Nation*, p. 52). But this welcome piece of information by no means proves that to the *Beowulf*-poet Hunlafing and his uncles Guðlaf and Oslaf [Ordlaf] are necessarily princes and not retainers of Hnæf, at whose death they follow the leadership of Hengest. Guðlaf and Oslaf [Ordlaf] fight side by side with *Hengest sylf* in the first fight (*Fragment*, 18 f.), and there is nothing to suggest that they, as well as the son of the brother Hunlaf, were not members of the Danish party throughout the whole affair. It is probable that Hunlaf himself fell in the first fight, hence his son's desire to spur Hengest on to vengeance.

of the treacherous attack in the hall; the implication is that it was destined to do so again:

1143      þonne him Hünlāfing                      hilde-lēoman,  
            billa selest,                      on bearm dyde;  
            þæs wæron mid Eotenum                      ecge cuðe.

Suppose, now, the son of Hunlaf offered the sword to Hengest with egging words similar to those of the *eald æsc-wiga* in Beowulf's account of the Ingeld-Freawaru episode:

2047      Meaht þū, mīn wine,                      mēce gecnāwan..[?]<sup>19</sup>

Such a hint would do much to teach Hengest his course and the poet hastens to assure us that he did in the end sweep on to his revenge. Just as the people of Finn had earlier fallen before this famous sword, and by implication were destined to do so again, so likewise (*swylce*) Finn was slain in his own house:

1146      Swylce ferhð-frecan                      Fin eft begeat  
            sweord-bealo slīðen                      æt his selfes hām [,].

But to go back for a moment, as I believe our study of the narrative method leads us to be ready to do to some of the occasions of this fortunate event. Hengest's almost blunted purpose was not whetted by Hunlafing alone. The latter's uncles, Guðlaf and Oslaf [Ordlaf] took occasion to mention to Hengest the fierce attack (the one, presumably, in which Hnæf had fallen); cast up to him all the troubles that had befallen them ever since their disastrous sea-journey to Finnsburg;<sup>20</sup> they had plenty of woes to twit him with:

1148      siððan grimne gripe                      Guðlāf and Oslāf  
            æfter sǣ-siðe                      sorge mǣndon,  
            ætwiton wēana dæl [,].

The effect of all this on Hengest is cumulative. Where he was before in perfect balance, he is now wrought to action by the

<sup>19</sup> Compare this whole passage and the corresponding account in Saxo, Bk. VI, especially pp. 250 ff., in Elton's translation.

<sup>20</sup> There seems to be no necessity for assuming that the *æs-sið* refers to anything but his original journey, which was evidently by sea since Hengest wished to return that way and eventually did so. It is possible that the poet was thinking also of a sea-journey, if there was one, from Finnsburg to the high-city of Finn (see note 22). There may also be some causative implication in *æfter*. The warriors are twitting Hengest with all the troubles that have befallen them since they left home, with everything that has happened to them on account of their ill-starred expedition.



words of his followers; he can control himself no longer; the balance is destroyed. The restless spirit (Hengest's in the first instance, but it may be thought of as referring to the entire attacking party, now of one mind) could no longer restrain itself within the breast:

1150                                ne meahte wæfre mōd  
forhabban in hreðre.

Vengeance wins the day. The surprise attack (*fær*, 1068) is successfully carried through upon the immediate followers of Finn; Finn himself, we are reminded once more, was slain (1152); and the Danes make their escape with enormous booty and the queen's person.<sup>21</sup>

1151	þā wæs heal roden
fēonda fēorum,	swilce Fin slāgen,
cýning on corðre,	ond sēo cwēn numen.
Scēotend Scyldinga	tō scypon feredon
eal in-gesteald	eorð-cýninges,
swylce hīe æt Finnes hām	findan meahton
sigla searo-gimma,	Hīe on sē-lāde
drihtlice wif	tō Denum feredon,
læddon tō lēodum.	

"Hushed is the harp—the minstrel gone." And his song was, I feel constrained to think, worthy of the occasion that called it forth. So far as we have been able to follow him, he seems to have sung a striking and well-knit song of *Hengest sylf*. It was a song of a kind to appeal to the *Beowulf*-poet, who has reported it in highly characteristic fashion. It is not to be supposed that it has been left for me at this time of day to do more than to sharpen some of the features of what may be called the vulgate reading of the story. But in some respects the current version was very unsatisfactory; there seemed to be little relation between the

<sup>21</sup> There is no reason to think that Finn's *corðer* greatly outnumbered the Danes; the element of surprise would outweigh what advantage there might be. Besides, it is quite possible to interpret ll. 1125-27, as Binz and Klaeber do, to mean that a considerable number of Finn's warriors returned to their homes after the first fight; Lawrence, p. 401. The completeness of the Danes' vengeance is of course not diminished in the telling. But whether the first fight took place at Finn's capital, where the surviving Danes continued to reside with him, or at some provincial stronghold of his, from which they journeyed to the capital (1125 ff.), I feel very uncertain. There is a good deal to be said for the second alternative, which is the usual view.

presentation of the sword to Hengest and the spectacle of Guðlaf and Oslaf howling their complaints in the face of Finn. In place of this scattering chronicle we have now the tragedy of Hengest; beginning with a detailed description of his *suasoria*, with his tragic dilemma, the story keeps Hengest before us to the end, his indecision played upon *both* by Hunlafing *and* by Guðlaf and Oslaf, until he rises up and smites Finn in his own house. This at any rate comes nearer to the sort of story we had every reason to expect from the *scop* than anything his commentators have hitherto credited him with.

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## REVIEWS AND NOTES

*TANNHÄUSER AND THE MOUNTAIN OF VENUS.* A study in the legend of the Germanic Paradise. By Philip Stephan Barto, Ph. D. New York, Oxford University Press. 1916.

Die Reihe von Monographien, die unter dem Titel: "Germanic Literature and Culture" von Professor Julius Goebel von der Staatsuniversität von Illinois herausgegeben werden, bringt als letzte Arbeit eine Studie von Philip S. Barto, einem Schüler Goebels, über Tannhäuser und den Venusberg, eine Untersuchung über die Sage von dem germanischen Paradiese. In derselben Serie sind früher erschienen "Milton und Jakob Boehme," eine Studie über den deutschen Mysticismus im 17. Jahrhundert, von Margaret Lewis Bailey (1914) und "Madame de Staël und die Ausbreitung der deutschen Literatur" von Emma Gertrude Jaeck (1915).

Bartos Arbeit reiht sich denen seiner Vorgänger in würdiger Weise an. Das Buch füllt 250 Seiten, wozu noch eine Einleitung von 7 Seiten kommt. Vier Abhandlungen: Der Gral, der Venusberg, der Schwanritter und der Tannhäuser nehmen 108 Seiten in Anspruch. Daran schliessen sich 40 Seiten Anmerkungen, die Zeugnis ablegen von dem Fleisse und der Belesenheit des Verfassers. Auf weiteren 100 Seiten folgt als Anhang das Volkslied vom Tannhäuser in 32 verschiedenen Fassungen, das den Wert des Buches ganz bedeutend erhöht. Hieran schliessen sich 10 Seiten Bibliographie.

In der Einleitung gibt Barto einen Überblick über die Arbeiten seiner Vorgänger. Das Tannhäuser-Venusberg-Problem hat mehrfach Bearbeitung gefunden seit den Tagen Goethes, der in seiner Anzeige von Arnim und Brentanos "Des Knaben Wunderhorn" als einer der ersten auf das Lied vom Tannhäuser hinwies und es als ein grosses christlich-katholisches Motiv bezeichnete.

Jacob Grimm beschäftigte sich dann ein paar Jahre später mit dem Tannhäuser-Mythus in seiner Mythologie, und mit ihm beginnt die Reihe der wissenschaftlichen Theorien über den Ursprung und die Heimat der Tannhäuserlegende. Er selber betrachtet zwar die Legende als deutsch, gibt jedoch die Möglichkeit eines unabhängigen italienischen Mythus von einem Venusberge zu. Venus hält er für identisch mit Frau Holde. Die erste grössere Abhandlung über diesen Gegenstand verdanken wir aber J. G. Th. Grässe "Der Tannhäuser und der Ewige Jude" aus dem Jahre 1844. Nach Grässe hatte die Legende eine ältere Fassung märchenhafter Art, worin ein menschliches Wesen geschildert wurde, das sich in eine Elfin verliebte. Tannhäuser wurde erst viel später die Rolle des Helden zugewiesen.



Mehrere Jahrzehnte hindurch ruht dann die Beschäftigung mit dem Tannhäuserproblem, bis die Aufmerksamkeit der Forscher aufs neue auf diese Frage gelenkt wurde durch den französischen Gelehrten Gaston Paris. Von G. Paris angeregt, veröffentlichte sein Schüler Werner Söderhjelm im Jahre 1897 die Arbeit: *Antoine de la Sale et la légende de Tannhäuser*, nicht im Jahre 1907, wie versehentlich bei Barto gedruckt ist. In dem später von Söderhjelm besorgten Neudruck von *La Sale's "Salade"* (etwa 1440) spricht Söderhjelm die Ansicht aus, dass La Sales Geschichte die Verknüpfung einer italienischen Legende von einem Liebesberg und eines deutschen Mythos vom Tannhäuser im Venusberge sei. Er meint ferner, dass La Sale möglichenfalls die Arbeit des Italieners *Andrea dei Magnalotti aus Barbarino*, seinen *Guerino il Meschino* aus dem Jahre 1391 gekannt habe. Dass diese beiden Werke, das des Barbarino und das des La Sale, aber die Quelle für die deutsche Legende gewesen seien, wird von Söderhjelm nicht darzutun versucht, er vermutet jedoch, dass die deutsche wie die italienische Legende völlig unabhängig von einander entstandene Fassungen verschiedener Völker seien, die La Sale zum ersten Male mit einander verknüpft habe.

Gaston Paris hat sich dann in dem Jahre 1897 in seiner Arbeit: "Le paradis de la reine Sibylle" und 1898 in seiner Arbeit: "La légende du Tannhäuser" mit demselben Thema befasst und kommt auf Grund seiner Untersuchungen zu dem Resultat, dass die italienischen Berichte die Quelle des ganzen deutschen Mythos gewesen sein müssten. Nach ihm haben Barbarino und La Sale unabhängig von einander gearbeitet, sie gehen jedoch beide auf eine gemeinsame ältgere Quelle zurück, die jedenfalls italienischen Ursprunges gewesen sei. Man glaubt die Methode wieder zu erkennen, die von Gaston Paris und anderen Forschern zu jener Zeit auf dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie Mode geworden war, wie seiner Zeit die Wolfsche Theorie mit Rücksicht auf den Homer von Lachmann auf das Nibelungenlied übertragen wurde, bis wir den letzten Ausläufer dieser Theorie bei den Untersuchungen über den grossen Briten Shakespeare wieder finden. Den Beweis für seine Behauptung, Andrea und La Sale hätten eine ältere italienische Vorlage benutzt, blieb G. Paris jedoch schuldig. Sein Argument stützte sich darauf, dass zwei italienische Berichte, die weiter zurückreichen als irgendein deutscher Bericht, die Sage im wesentlichen so wiedergeben, wie sie uns in der deutschen Fassung vorliegt.

Friedrich Kluge kam im Jahre 1898 in seinem Aufsatz: "Der Venusberg" zu dem Schlusse, dass die Sage vom Tannhäuser allerdings deutschen Ursprunges, die Heimat der Sage vom Venusberg hingegen in Italien zu suchen sei. Gegen Kluge und G. Paris wandte sich Karl Reuschel in seiner Antrittsvorlesung "Die Tannhäusersage." Er ist der Ansicht, dass die Tannhäuser-

sage von Fahrenden von Deutschland nach Italien verpflanzt worden sei.

Der Schweizer Heinrich Dübi kam dann in der *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, Band 17, Jahrgang 1907, Gaston Paris wider zu Hilfe in seinem Aufsatz, betitelt "Drei spätmittelalterliche Legenden in ihrer Wanderung aus Italien durch die Schweiz nach Deutschland." In dem ersten Artikel behandelt er die Sage von dem Landpfleger Pilatus, im zweiten die Legende von dem Ewigen Juden und im dritten Frau Vrene und der Tannhäuser. Anders Wolfgang Golther in seiner Arbeit über Wagners Tannhäuser, die in den Bayreuther Blättern im Jahre 1889 erschien und besonders in seinem Aufsatz Tannhäuser, der in der *Walhalla*, Band 3 vom Jahre 1907 abgedruckt wurde. Golther glaubt, dass die Sage vom Tannhäuser direkt von dem Minnesänger ausgegangen, aber dass sie gelehrten Ursprunges sei, veranlasst vielleicht durch eine genauere Beschäftigung mit den Werken des Minnesängers gleichen Namens. Der Venusberg wie auch das Stabwunder sind nach ihm spätere Zusätze. Und mit Jacob Grimm und Grässe ist Wolfgang Golther der Ansicht, dass hinter diesen Legenden die Sage liege von einer Elfin, die einen Sterblichen in ihr Reich verlockte. Auf der Versammlung der Philologen und Schulmänner im Jahre 1907 sprach dann Friedrich Pfaff die Vermutung aus, dass der Venusberg eine Mischung sei von der Legende von dem Sybillenberg in Italien und dem hohlen Berge, in dem nach dem Volksmythus in Deutschland Berchta—Holde—Venus ihr Reich hat. Nach Pfaff entstand die Tannhäusersage in Deutschland im 14. Jahrhundert, und von Deutschland aus wurde sie dann später von denen, die nach dem Sybillenberge suchten, von den Nekromanten und Schwarzkünstlern, nach Italien verpflanzt.

Ernst Elster tritt in seinem Vortrage aus dem Jahre 1908 über Tannhäuser in Geschichte, Sage und Dichtung dann wieder mit aller Entschiedenheit für den deutschen Ursprung sowohl der Sage von Tannhäuser als auch von dem Venusberge ein. Mit Jakob Grimm nimmt er einen älteren germanischen Mythos an, welcher der Legende vom Tannhäuser in dem Venusberge zu Grunde liegt. Der Bericht, wie er uns in der Fassung des 15. Jahrhunderts vorliegt, wurde nach seiner Ansicht im Interesse der Kirche geschrieben, gleichsam als eine Warnung an die Getreuen, sich vor der Ketzerei zu hüten oder sich gar mit dem teuflischen, heidnischen Paradiese einzulassen. Von einer solchen schrecklichen Sünde könne selbst der höchste Würdenträger der Christenheit, der Papst, nicht absolvieren.

Von den Gegnern der Kirche, meint Elster, wären später erst antipäpstliche Züge der Legende hinzugefügt worden und so gegen die Kirche selber ausgebeutet, indem man den Papst als hart und gefühllos hinstellte, der mitleidslos den armen reuigen Sünder dem Verderben überlässt. Die so vollendete Tannhäu-

sersage wurde dann nach Ernst Elsters Ansicht bald hier, bald dorthin verlegt, nach Norcia und anderen Plätzen. Auch in Deutschland wurden der Venus wie der Frau Holde verschiedene Heimstätten angewiesen. An bestimmte Plätze wurde die Legende vom Tannhäuser und dem Venusberge erst später gebunden, an den Hörselberg erst im 19. Jahrhundert. "Der wahre Venusberg aber lag im Zauberlande der Poesie, den kein menschlicher Fuss jemals betreten hat."

Ausser V. Junk, *Tannhäuser in Sage und Dichtung*, München 1911, welche Arbeit Barto nicht erwähnt, auch nicht in der Bibliographie am Ende seines Buches, hat sich von den deutschen Gelehrten meines Wissens mit dem Problem der Tannhäusersage zuletzt beschäftigt der ausserordentlich belesene und vielseitige Richard M. Meyer, der ja nun auch nicht mehr unter den Lebenden weilt. Seine Arbeit, die im 21. Bande der *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* im Jahre 1911 erschien, ist einfach musterhaft, was Akribie und Methode der Forschung anbelangt. Sie wendet sich in erster Linie gegen die alles Bisherige nach Art von Bugges Arbeiten auf den Kopf stellende Arbeit des Dänen K. Nyrop: "Tannhäuser i Venusbjerget," Kopenhagen 1909. Gerade weil Nyrops Abhandlung so ungeheuer geistreich geschrieben ist, sieht Meyer darin eine besondere Gefahr für die wissenschaftliche Forschung, in dem der dänische Gelehrte mit einer Entschiedenheit ohne Gleichen darin Sätze aufstellt, die nach Meyers Ansicht—und hierin werden ihm viele beipflichten—teils unbeweisbar sind, teils nachweislich unrichtig. Meyer schliesst seine Abhandlung mit den Worten, die auf Nyrop gemünzt und an ihn gerichtet sind: Gerade weil Nyrop temperamentvoll und geistreich schreibt, mag er viele Schüler in den Sibyllenberg locken; im Venusberg aber ist er nie gewesen." Meyer verfährt in seiner gelehrten Abhandlung die Theorie von dem deutschen Ursprung sowohl der Sage vom Venusberg wie der Legende vom Tannhäuser gegen Nyrop, der von der Sage nur den Namen für deutsch hält, sonst nichts. Gegen Dübi, der die Tannhäusersage und die Sage von Venusberge von Italien über die Schweiz nach Deutschland verpflanzt haben wollte, liefert Meyer auf reichliches Belegmaterial gestützt, den Nachweis, dass die Sage über die Schweiz, vermittelt durch eine Gruppe von Schriftstellern, wie Sachsenheim, Silvius, Hemmerlin und den bereits früher bekannten Faber und Breitenbach, nach Italien gedungen sei. Nyrop glaubte wie Dübi an dieselbe Wanderung, hielt ausserdem den Namen Tannhäuser für einen rein äusserlichen Zufall. Ferner suchte Nyrop über Italien noch weiter nach Frankreich und zu der keltischen Sage zurückzugehen. Weil das Keltische für die meisten Gelehrten ja immer noch ein Buch mit sieben Siegeln ist, liegt die Gefahr ja nahe, die Heimat der Sagen, Märchen und Legenden diesem mystischen Lande zuzuschreiben. Und wo dieses Gebiet bereits okkupiert ist, sucht man seine Zuflucht im Orient,



wovon wir ja, was besonders die Gralsage anbelangt, die besten Beweise haben in den Arbeiten von L. v. Schröder "Die Wurzeln der Sage vom heiligen Gral." Wien 1911. Derselbe, "Der arische Naturkult als Grundlage der Sage vom heiligen Gral." 1911. Derselbe, "Die Vollendung des arischen Mysteriums in Bayreuth." München, 1911. Hierher gehören auch die Arbeiten, welche Barto aus diesem oder jenem Grunde in seiner sonst so reichhaltigen Bibliographie nicht mit aufführt, nämlich: L. E. Iselin, "Der morgenländische Ursprung der Grallegende." Halle, 1909.

V. Junk, "Gralsage und Graldichtung des Mittelalters." Wien, 1911.

J. Weston, "The Grail and the rites of Adonis." *Folk Lore* 18(1907).

Sterzenbach, "Ursprung und Entwicklung der Sage vom heiligen Gral." 1908.

Willy Staerck, "Über den Ursprung der Grallegende." 1903.

Pokony, "Der Gral in Irland und die mythischen Grundlagen der Gralsage." Wien. 1912.

Hier möchte ich auch noch die vorzügliche Arbeit von G. Ehrismann gleich mitervähnen "Märchen im höfischen Epos," P. B. B. 30, 44 ff. sowie Rank "Die Lohengrinsage." Wien, 1910.

Auf die Frage: Geht unsere Tannhäusersage auf die Person des Dichters zurück? gibt Meyer die Antwort: Allerdings geht die Sage auf die Person des Minnesingers zurück. Die Entwicklung der Sage denkt Meyer sich so, dass der Dichter noch bei Lebzeiten, wie Neidhardt von Reuenthal, oder bald nach seinem Tode, wie im Norden Bragi der Alte, der Held sagenhafter Vorstellungen wurde, die an seine eigenen Erzählungen anknüpften. Meyer ist aber sehr vorsichtig ausdrücklich zu bemerken, dass *diese Urform der Tannhäusersage allerdings noch ihre Vorgeschichte habe*. Da, meint er, könne man über Nyrop und die von ihm zitierten keltischen Quellen noch weit zurückgehen, denn "das Motiv des in seliger Gefangenschaft sich verliegenden Helden ist uralte." Wir finden es in Odysseus bei Kalypso, Herakles bei Omphale und in anderer Gestalt in der Verzauberung des Ritters, der im Elfenland gereist, und in manchen Volksliedern, die dem Tannhäuserlied verwandt sind. Dies sind eben, wie Meyer sich ausdrückt, "uralte Sagenschemata, die in die Tannhäusersage als Elemente eingegangen sind, genau wie das Motiv der blühenden Gerte."

Aus der Tatsache aber, dass der Minnesinger Tanhuser der Träger der Fabel ist, wie Meyer und die meisten Forscher mit ihm mit Recht annehmen, zieht Meyer den Schluss, dass damit der deutsche Ursprung der Sage gesichert sein müsse. Und denen, welche die Sage mit Gewalt aus Italien importiert haben wollen, hält er vor, dass es doch höchst merkwürdig sei, dass den Kern einer Sage nur die Entlehnenden fühlen und erhalten sollten,

die Nation dagegen, in diesem Falle, die italienische, der sie entsprungen sein soll, nur Spuk und Zauber damit zu verbinden wisse, wie es eben die Berichte von Andrea da Barbarino u. a. tun.

Was die Beantwortung der zweiten Frage, die Meyer in seiner erschöpfenden Arbeit aufwirft, betrifft: Ist der Venusberg deutschen oder italienischen Ursprungs? so gibt Meyer darauf die Antwort: Die Tannhäusersage bezieht sich auf den Minnesinger und ist in Deutschland entstanden. Der Venusberg gehört ihr von Anfang an und ist erst spät durch gelehrte Forschung mit dem Sibyllenberg gleichgesetzt worden.

Meyer erwähnt in seiner epochemachenden Arbeit auch einen früheren Aufsatz von P. S. Barto, der im *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* Band IX erschien. Wie es jedoch öfter schon von unseren Kollegen auf der anderen Seite des Ozeans geschehen ist, so wird Meyer hier Barto nicht gerecht, weil er ihn einfach missverstanden hat. Die letzte Arbeit von Bedeutung, die sich vor Bartos grossem Werke über Tannhäuser und den Venusberg mit demselben Problem beschäftigt, stammt aus der Feder des Amerikaners A. F. J. Remy und erschien in dieser Zeitschrift Bd. 12 im Jahre 1913. Remy kommt zu einem Schlusse, der irre führen möchte, da er weder gehauen noch gestochen ist. Nach ihm sind weder die heidnischen noch die christlichen Züge der Legende deutschen Ursprungs. Man sieht, wie notwendig es war, dass Meyer die Geschichte der Tannhäusersage scharf von der Vorgeschichte trennte. Die erstere ist nach Remy im Grunde keltisch, die letztere, wie die mittelalterliche Kirche, international. Dann aber fährt er fort zu behaupten, dass die Ausbildung und Entwicklung der Legende jedoch nicht international, sondern ohne Zweifel deutsch sei. Alle charakteristischen Züge der Sage, wie der Name des Paradieses, der Name des Helden, das Stabwunder, sie sind nach Remy deutschen Ursprungs, so dass wir nach ihm völlig berechtigt sind, die Legende vom Tannhäuser als eine deutsche Legende zu bezeichnen. Es leuchtet ein, wie wichtig es war, dass Meyer den Unterschied zwischen der Legende vom Tannhäuser und der Vorgeschichte der Sage betonte, denn gerade diese beiden Dinge hat Remy und andere mit ihm nicht genau auseinander gehalten.

Wir sind nunmehr bei Bartos letztem Werke angelangt: "Tannhäuser and the Mountain of Venus. A study in the legend of the Germanic paradise." Ich würde den Titel umgedreht haben. A study in the legend of the Germanic paradise: Tannhäuser and the Mountain of Venus. Denn der Hauptwert der Arbeit liegt eben in dem Suchen nach dem germanischen Paradiese, was die erste Abhandlung Bartos über den Gral auf das deutlichste beweist. Er macht auf den Unterschied aufmerksam zwischen der Auffassung vom Gral bei Chretien von Troyes und bei Wolfram. Chretien schildert den Gral als ein wunderbares, goldenes, mit vielen kostbaren Edelsteinen verziertes Gefäss, in dem sich die Hostie

befindet, durch deren Anblick der todwunde König der Gralsburg am Leben erhalten wird und das jeden Tag in feierlichem Umzuge durch den grossen Speisesaal der Gralritter getragen wird. Wolfram auf der anderen Seite verbindet mit dem Gral die alte germanische Idee von einem märchenhaften Wunderding, einem "Tischlein deck dich." Wenn bei Chretien dem Gral die Rolle einer heiligen Reliquie zugeteilt wird, rückt Wolfram ihn zurück in das Gebiet des Märchens, von dem er ohne Frage ausgegangen war. Man vergleiche über Märchen im höfischen Epos besonders die schöne Arbeit von Ehrismann, die ich schon oben erwähnt. An der Hand zahlreicher literarischer Belege, die mit peinlicher Sorgfalt und Genauigkeit zusammengetragen wurden, zeigt Barto dann, wie das Bild vom Gral sich in der deutschen Literatur allmählich im Laufe der Jahrhunderte verändert und schliesslich so verwischt und verschoben wird, dass es zusammenfällt mit der altheidnischen Vorstellung von einem Berge, in dem eine Göttin oder eine Unholdin wohnt, die Sterbliche zu sich heranzuziehen weiss. Denselben Gedanken hatte Barto schon im Jahre 1910 in seiner Abhandlung: *Studies in the Tannhäuser Legend I*, erschienen in dieser Zeitschrift Band IX ausgesprochen. Meyers Kritik richtete sich gegen diesen Artikel mit den unverdienten Worten: "Barto leitet die gesamte Tannhäusersage in der willkürlichsten Weise von der Grallegende ab, eigentlich nur, weil in dieser die Bergentrückung vorkommt." Mir selber will die Beweisführung Bartos durchaus nicht als willkürlich erscheinen, wenn ich mir klar mache, dass Barto eben in erster Linie an der Vorgeschichte der Tannhäusersage liegt, und dann erst an der Tannhäusersage selber. Ich erwarte auch gar nicht, dass Bartos Theorien von allen Forschern auf seinem Spezialgebiete ohne weiteres sollten angenommen werden, in diesen Tagen schon gar nicht, denn auch die Sprachwissenschaft klebt an der Scholle, es gibt ebensowenig eine internationale Wissenschaft wie eine internationale Sozialdemokratie, beide gehören in das Gebiet der Träume. Dass aber Wolfram das Wunschding aus dem deutschen Märchen unbewusst mit dem Gral seiner Vorlage, Chretiens, in Verbindung bringt, beweist zur Genüge, wie zäh man in Deutschland an den alten heidnischen Märchen und Sagenstoffen festhielt und sie immer wieder in neue Formen goss.

Im zweiten Abschnitt handelt Barto vom Venusberg. Als Motto hat er sich die Verse aus Gottfrieds *Tristan* gewählt: da her von Zitherone, da diue gotinne Minne gebiuatet uf und inne.

In den Anmerkungen, die Bartos Buch so wertvoll machen, findet sich hierzu eine Anmerkung aus der Werkstatt des grossen Sprachmeisters Rudolf Hildebrand, die in die Hände seines dankbaren Schülers, Julius Goebel, gelangt ist mit anderen Reliquien und Schätzen aus Hildebrands Nachlass. Hildebrand bemerkt zu dieser Stelle: "An den Venusberg gedacht, woran sich Erklärungen zu dem Worte Zitherone knüpfen, wie sie nur der Mit-



arbeiter par excellence am Grimmschen Wörterbuche bieten konnte aus seinem unerschöpflichen Wissensschatze."

Gottfried von Strassburg stützt hier besser als irgend ein anderer die Behauptung Bartos, dass die Vorstellung von einem hohlen Berge, in dem die Göttin der Liebe wohnt, eine alte germanische Vorstellung gewesen sein muss.

Einer späteren Zeit war es vorbehalten, germanische und klassische Vorstellungen mit einander zu vereinigen und schliesslich die Vorstellung von dem Berge, in dem die Frau Holde oder Berchta wohnt, mit dem Berge, auf dem, oder in dem, oder um den die Göttin Cythere oder Venus thront, und endlich gar mit dem Berge, in dem die weissagende Sibylle ihren Aufenthalt hatte, zu vermischen. Alle gehen ursprünglich aber nach Barto zurück auf die germanische Vorstellung von einem Paradiese.

Der Venusberg ist, um Bartos Worte zu gebrauchen, deutschen Ursprunges und nichts weiter als eine spätere Benennung für das alte germanische Paradies, das ursprünglich mit dem Namen des Gral bezeichnet wurde.

Das dritte Kapitel von Bartos Buch behandelt die Schwanrittersage. Er ist der Ansicht, dass die Legende von dem Schwanritter in ihrer *frühesten* Gestalt, denn darauf kommt es ihm bei allen seinen Untersuchungen an, was immer wieder betont werden muss, um Misverständnisse zu vermeiden, ein Mythos ist von einem Gott oder Halbgott, der seinen göttlichen Wohnort verlässt, zu irgendeinem guten Zwecke zu den Menschen kommt und später wieder an den Ort zurückkehrt, von dem er gekommen war. In dieser Fassung ist die Sage also durchaus heidnisch, aber nicht minder schön. Unter dem Einfluss der christlichen Kirche wurde der Ort, dem später der Name Gral gegeben worden war, als ein sündiger Ort bezeichnet, in dem sich die bösen Geister, die Feen und Nymphen etc. der alten heidnischen Germanen, aufhielten. Wenn also früher, so argumentiert Barto sehr geschickt und überzeugend, der Schwanritter, der an einer anderen Stelle mit Wodan identifiziert wird, (auf Hofferys Entdeckung fussend, dass der grosse Gott der Teutonen von einem Schwane begleitet dargestellt wurde) einen Ort des Lichtes und der Freude hinter sich zurückgelassen hatte, wenn er sich zu irgend einer wohlthätigen Mission zu den Sterblichen gesellte, so kam er nunmehr nach der durch das Christentum veränderten Vorstellung aus einem Orte der Finsternis und der Sünde, zu dem er natürlich nur ungerne und mit Widerstreben zurückkehrte. Aus dem Gral musste auf diese Weise der Venusberg werden, und der Hauptheld der früheren Sage wurde auch der Hauptcharakter der späteren. Aus dem Schwanritter aus dem irdischen Paradiese, genannt Gral, machte die Kirche die Figur des sündhaften Sterblichen, der im paradiesischen Berge sich aufgehalten hat, und da ihm für diese grosse Sünde Absolution nicht erteilt werden kann, gezwungen ist, dorthin zurückzukehren. Lohengrin, sagt Barto, wurde so zum Tannhäuser oder wie Wilhelm Hertz es früher einmal schon ausgedrückt hatte: "Lohengrin wandelt auf des Tannhäusers Pfaden."

In dem letzten Kapitel wendet Barto sich dem Thema zu, von dem seine Arbeiten, die sich nun schon auf eine Reihe von Jahren erstrecken, ausgegangen waren, der Legende vom Tannhäuser.

Barto macht hier eine gründliche Untersuchung aller der verschiedenen Tannhäuserlieder, die auf uns gekommen sind und bringt sie in einem 100 Seiten umfassenden Anhang zum Abdruck. An den Anfang stellt er das flämische Lied von Heer Daniel aus dem Antwerpener Liederbuch von Jan Roulans aus dem Jahre 1544, das nach ihm die älteste Form des Tannhäuserliedes sein soll. Hier kann ich Barto nicht folgen, denn ich habe absolut keine Schwierigkeit aus dem Volksliede vom Tannhäuser den ursprünglichen Kern herauszuschälen. Ich neige überhaupt mit Elster und Meyer zu der Ansicht, dass die Tannhäuser Sage direkt auf die Person des Fahrenden zurückgeht und dass die Sagenbildung schon zu Lebzeiten des Minnesingers oder bald nach seinem Tode vor sich ging. Durch Felix Faber erfahren wir, dass schon im 15. Jahrhundert allgemein das Lied von dem Tannhäuser in Deutschland von dem Volk gesungen wurde. Faber erzählt uns, dass dieser edle Ritter Danhuser aus Danhusen eine Zeitlang bei der Venus im Berge gewesen sei, dann aber, von Reue geplagt, sich von ihr losgerissen und dem Papste ein Bekenntnis abgelegt habe über seine grosse Sünde. Die Absolution wurde ihm jedoch verweigert, und so kehrte er in den Berg zurück und wurde nie wieder gesehen. Dort, so heisst es, wird er in Freuden leben bis zum Tage des jüngsten Gerichtes.

Diese ursprüngliche Form des Gedichtes aus den uns aus dem 16. Jahrhunderte durch den Druck überlieferten Tannhäuserliedern herauszuschälen, macht keine Schwierigkeiten, und ich kann nicht einsehen, wie uns da ein flämisches Lied vom Herrn Daniel helfen kann, denn nun fällt uns die Aufgabe zu, Daniel und Tannhäuser mit einander in Verbindung zu bringen. Die Formel Daniel, Dan-huser, König Dan, Wodan halte ich nämlich für durchaus verfehlt. Das soll mich jedoch nicht abhalten, dem gelehrten Verfasser der Monographie meine volle Anerkennung zuteil werden zu lassen. Wir dürfen, daran zweifle ich keinen Augenblick, in der Zukunft noch manche gediegene Arbeit aus seiner Feder erwarten, das Talent dazu hat er, und an Fleiss und Ausdauer fehlt es ihm wahrlich nicht. Ich möchte meine Besprechung von Bartos gediegener Arbeit über Tannhäuser und den Venusberg, eine Studie über die Sage von dem germanischen Paradiese, mit den Worten schliessen, mit denen Calvin Thomas seiner Zeit das von Gustav E. Karsten mit soviel Selbstlosigkeit und pekuniären Opfern ins Leben gerufene und am Leben erhaltene *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* anzeigte: It is an honor to our country. Bartos Arbeit ehrt ihn selber, sie ehrt aber auch die Serie von Monographien über germanische Literatur und Kultur.

E. Voss.

KUNO FRANCKE, *PERSONALITY IN GERMAN LITERATURE BEFORE LUTHER*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1916. IX+221.

Der Titel zu Kuno Franckes jüngstem Buch findet sich bereits in seinen *Kulturwerten der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, wo er Seite VIII schreibt, er möchte "einen Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Persönlichkeit" geben. Uns liegt in der Tat nichts anderes vor als eine Bearbeitung jenes Buchs für englischsprechende Kreise. Dabei ist die Grundabsicht des Werks, den Leser zu den "Idealen der Besten des deutschen Volks in ein persönliches Verhältnis" zu bringen, nicht anders geworden. Gerade um ihr zu dienen schien es aber geboten, verschiedene Abschnitte, die für den Nichtdeutschen von geringem Interesse sein dürften, zu streichen oder zu kürzen. So setzt das neue Buch gleich bei der Blüte der ritterlichen Kultur ein, indem es die beiden alten Kapitel *Das Zeitalter der Völkerwanderung* und *Die Entwicklung der feudal-theokratischen Gesellschaft* ebenso wie die Einleitung (*Die Epochen der deutschen Kultur*) ganz fallen lässt. Andererseits hat es einen umfänglichen Zuwachs erfahren: die beiden Aufsätze über Erasmus und Ulrich von Hutten, die Francke zuerst deutsch in der *Internationalen Monatsschrift* (Max Cornicelius) vom Dezember 1911 und November 1912 veröffentlicht, sind am Ende angefügt. Das ursprüngliche vierte Kapitel, das nun das zweite geworden wäre (*Die Kultur des Bürgertums*), hat sich in drei selbständige zerlegt: *German Mysticism of the Fourteenth Century*, *Popular Song and Popular Satire from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries* und *The Religious Drama of the Fifteenth Century and Dürer's Biblical Illustrations*. Auf diese Weise ergeben sich im ganzen sechs Kapitel, deren sich ziemlich gleich bleibende Länge wie verschiedenes andre (z. B. Fortlassung aller weiterführenden Anmerkungen) auf den Ursprung dieser Bearbeitung aus einer Reihe von Vorträgen hindeutet.

Von wesentlichen Beschneidungen des Texts im Innern ist vor allem das erste Kapitel betroffen worden, das sich nach einer kurzen Einführung über den seelischen Charakter des Mittelalters überhaupt strikte auf Walther, Hartmann (*Armer Heinrich*), Wolfram (*Parzival*) und Gottfried beschränkt. Abgesehen vom Fehlen jeder Einleitung über den Minnesang selbst befremdet hier wohl am meisten die völlige Übergehung des Volksepos; doch verweist eine Fußnote dafür auf Franckes *Kulturwerte*. Das Bestreben loszukommen von der kulturhistorischen Schilderung und heran an die Vorführung einzelner Persönlichkeiten an ihren Werken zeigt sich dann erneut beim Übergang zur Schilderung der bürgerlichen Kultur, wo sich die um sieben Seiten gekürzte Einleitung ganz auf die Behandlung der 'geistigen



Strömungen' vom XIII. bis zum XVI. Jh. und der 'Demokratisierung des individualistischen Prinzips' zurückzieht. Auch sonst hat sich gerade der Abschnitt über die Mystik beträchtliche Kürzungen gefallen lassen müssen, zumal in den Zitaten. So gut wie nichts hat Francke gestrichen an seinen Ausführungen über das Volkslied, für das er bei seinen Lesern wohl noch am ehesten ein direktes Interesse sucht. Die satirische Dichtung, in demselben Kapitel behandelt, bricht nach einer breit ausgeführten Wiedergabe des Meier Helmbrecht ab. Also noch engere Beschränkung auf das 'Allgemein-Menschliche.' Im nächsten Abschnitt sind, wie der Titel schon erkennen läßt, vor allem die Ausführungen über Holbein (deutsch zehn Seiten) ganz übersprungen, vermutlich einfach wegen Raummangels. Dürer dagegen ist durch illustrierende Beigabe von dreien seiner Holzschnitte (die apokalyptischen Reiter, die Heimsuchung, die Austreibung aus dem Tempel) noch grözere Bedeutung gegeben worden. Zur Anknüpfung der Kapitel über Erasmus und Hutten war selbstverständlich etwas mehr als im Deutschen zu sagen. Eine allgemeine Charakteristik des deutschen Humanismus ist also vorangestellt. Auf die Herkunft und Entwicklung dieses Humanismus geht Francke nach vorher befolgtem Grundsatz nicht ein. Zwei längere Zitate (über die 'stupide Heiligenverehrung der grossen Masse' und den 'Vergleich zwischen der Lehre Christi und dem Leben seines Statthalters in Rom') helfen Erasmus' Bild verdeutlichen. Auch die Schilderung Huttens folgt ihrer deutschen Vorlage sehr getreu. Von Zusätzen unterstützt eine drei Seiten lange biographische Schilderung von Huttens letzten fünf Lebensjahren (überaus dramatisch, *praesens historicum*, lauter Hauptsätze) den Eindruck, den Francke vermitteln will, ungemein. Ein Blick über deutsche Grösze und deutsche Not in den folgenden Jahrhunderten mit einem Ausblick auf den jetzigen Krieg, von dem Francke die Heraufführung eines neuen, vertieften, von aller Schwäche, Kleinlichkeit und falschem Dünkel gereinigten deutschen Nationalbewusstseins erwartet, bringt das Buch zu seinem Schlusz.

Franckes Englisch ist gut. Wäre nicht seine ganze Art zu sehen und zu hören und zu verknüpfen noch immer deutsch (was man freilich durch Herausgreifen einzelner Sätze schlecht belegen könnte), so würde man kaum den ursprünglich Sprachfremden hinter diesem Vortrag vermuten. Die Übersetzung strebt Wiedergabe des Abschnitts an, nicht des einzelnen Satzes, was sich z. B. an der Umordnung von ganzen Vorstellungsreihen (Haupt- und Nebensätzen) erkennen läßt. Nur in den beiden letzten Kapiteln scheint reine Satzübersetzung vorzuliegen, was den Gesamteindruck wenig ändert. Der Satzrhythmus ist, wie bei Franckes deutschem Stil, stets einigermassen beschleunigt, so dasz es der stark ausgeprägten Melodieführung ein leichtes ist, das für Francke Wesentliche hervorspringen zu lassen. Durch

beides werden und bleiben die zusammengehörigen Vorstellungsgruppen im Bewusstsein des Lesers — man kann schon sagen: Hörers — zu festen Einheiten verbunden und können darum leicht zueinander in Beziehung gebracht werden. Dies im Zusammenhang mit der Bildhaftigkeit von Franckes Stil und einer Paragraphierung, die in dem englischen Buch im allgemeinen noch sorgfältiger ist als in der deutschen Vorlage, macht das Ganze zu einer anziehenden und, was das Verstehen von Franckes Gedankengang anlangt, leichten Lektüre. Es ist überflüssig zu sagen, dass aus gerade diesen Gründen bei einer inhaltlichen Würdigung besondere Vorsicht am Platze scheint, denn da haben wir nicht Klang- und Vorstellungsgruppen auf einander zu beziehen, sondern auf eine überpersönliche Begriffswelt.

Nach der eingehenden Besprechung, die die *Kulturwerte* 1910 ff. erfahren, ist es kaum nötig den kulturhistorischen Wert von Franckes Ausführungen von neuem zu prüfen, das Buch ist in dieser Hinsicht weder schlechter noch besser geworden. Die Grundanschauung, von der er ausgeht, das Aufkommen des Individualismus in Deutschland aus gewissen Entwicklungstendenzen des Mittelalters herzuleiten, hat durch die Arbeit der letzten Jahre trotz aller Abweichungen der Auffassung im einzelnen nur Bestätigung erfahren. Im Grunde ist es dieselbe, die (von Thode abgesehen) Wilhelm Dilthey schon 1891 ausgesprochen<sup>1</sup> und der Lamprecht wie Gegner Lamprechts gefolgt sind. Aber es handelt sich nicht mehr darum diese Anschauung beredt vorzutragen, sondern sie überzeugend zu belegen. Ob Kuno Francke das hier annähernd gelingt, ist die Frage, denn bei einem notwendig so skizzenhaften Werke, wo doch alles schliesslich auf die Auffassung ankommt, ist es wesentlich, dass wir wenigstens *Vertrauen* zur Methode des Verfassers gewinnen, d.h. — wie Gundolf mit Recht betont<sup>2</sup> — zu seinem Erlebnis der Geschichte überhaupt.

Goethe drückt es einmal so aus:<sup>3</sup> "Wie irgend jemand über einen gewissen Fall denke, wird man nur erst recht einsehen, wenn man weisz, wie er überhaupt gesinnt ist." Dass Francke vollkommen hingegeben ist an das Persönlichkeitsideal, auf das er uns selber so nachdrücklich aufmerksam macht, unterliegt keinem Zweifel. Damit verbindet sich bei ihm in unentwirrbarer Einheit ein starkes künstlerisches Erleben. Daher denn auch die fortgesetzte Unterbrechung (jetzt bis zur Verdrängung gediehen) der kulturhistorischen Schilderung durch ausgedehnte ästhetische Betrachtung am Einzelgegenstand, die wirklich nicht blosze 'Inhaltsangabe' ist, durch deren Mitteilung vielmehr Francke seinem eigentlichen Wesen allein Genüge schaffen kann. Schliesslich ist aber auch unverkennbar, dass Francke in der Form, die sein 'ästhetisch-moralisches'

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. *Arch. f. Philos.*, IV, 626 f., V, 337 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. *Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist*, Berlin 1911, S. VIII.

<sup>3</sup> In der Farbenlehre, vgl. Werke, Weim. Ausg., II. Abt. 3, 108.

Erlebnis nun annimmt, eine wohlverständliche Einstellung auf die amerikanische Gesamtpsyche zeigt. Selbst in dem für Deutschland berechneten Buch, einer ausdrücklichen Umarbeitung der *Social Forces*, liegt das zu Tage. Wonach Borinski 1912 so ungestüm fragte,<sup>4</sup> was für Francke denn ein 'Kulturwert' eigentlich sei, das ist nichts anderes als was das geistige Amerika bewundert, ersehnt oder, nach Franckes Meinung, ersehnen sollte. Es fängt an mit dem häufigen Gebrauch des Wortes Demokratie in allen seinen Ableitungen bis zum praktischen Idealismus. Es zeigt sich auch in der scharfen Herausrückung alles dessen, was wenigstens dem gebildeten amerikanischen Laien nachfühlbar ist oder werden könnte: ganz besonders des Volkslieds und Dürers. Es zeigt sich schliesslich in der ganzen Ausdrucksweise, die überall eine Beziehung auf amerikanischen Themata möglich macht, vor allem greifbar in dem immer wiederkehrenden Hereinziehen moderner Namen — Ibsen, Hauptmann, Poe, jetzt auch Bernard Shaw (man findet sie alle im Index) — und moderner Geistesströmungen — Symbolismus, Naturalismus, Romantik, Pantheismus, ja selbst Abstinenzbewegung — um uns dem Verständnis mittelalterlichen Menschentums näher zu bringen. Das Resultat ist vom wissenschaftlichen Standpunkt beklagenswert, denn nicht besser könnte das wirkliche Erkennungsobjekt verdunkelt werden. Andererseits ist klar, dass vor einer pragmatischen Lebensanschauung die Beschäftigung mit mittelalterlichen Mystikern nicht leichter als so ihre Berechtigung erweisen könnte, haben doch einige Kritiker, auch in Deutschland, gerade hierin das "wahrhaft Moderne" an Francke erkennen wollen.

Francke will Geschichte schreiben, schon der Titel seines Buches sagt es. So bleibt uns die Hauptfrage, ob sein historisches Schauen davon, 'wie er überhaupt gesinnt ist,' beeinflusst sei. Nach dem wie Wilhelm Dilthey das Problem faszt,<sup>5</sup> sollten wir vom historischen Nacherlebnis zur Begriffsbildung und so zur grossen Synthese aufzusteigen suchen. Dass Francke vom Erlebnis ausgeht, bekräftigt er selbst (*Kulturwerte* S. VIII). Ist es aber ein 'objektives' oder ein subjektives Nacherleben, ein historisches oder ein ästhetisches, bzw. 'ästhetisch-moralisches?' Der Unterschied kann nicht scharf genug gemacht werden. Das erste sucht das sich vollziehende Schaffen und den Schöpfer zu verstehen, das zweite macht sich selbst zum Schöpfer des einmal gegebenen Kunstwerks an des Schöpfers Statt. Der Eindruck besteht, als sei Francke viel zu sehr ethisch eingestellt und zugleich viel zu sehr Künstler, um im Diltheyschen Sinn *historisch* nachzuerleben, d.h. aus der ganzen Fülle der historischen Tatsachen

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. ZfdPh 46, 371 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Dem sich auch Walzel in einem längern Aufsatz anschlieszt, vgl. GRM II, 272 ff.



heraus. Wer selbst den Gestaltungstrieb hat, läuft stets Gefahr dem Gestalteten Zwang anzutun, vor allem Gestaltetes zu sehen, wo nichts gestaltet ist. Franckes Ideal ist die Persönlichkeit, d.h. der gestaltete Mensch, und er sucht es, wo er es findet. So schreibt er vom Volkslied (S. 99 f.): "The poet of the popular song sees the objects that surround him so sharply, because he himself is a sharply individualized personality. He grasps life in its totality, because in himself life pulsates fully. He has an eye and an ear for the highest and the lowest, for the most delicate and the grossest of the outer world, because the contrasts of existence clash in his own innermost soul." Man sieht, wie hier ganz unvermerkt die Unendlichkeit des deutschen Volksliedes in die Wesenheit eines einzelnen Dichters zusammengezogen wird, der dann in der Tat als ein Ausbund des Subjektivismus<sup>6</sup> erscheinen musz. Francke hat also vermutlich eine 'vorgegebene methodische Einstellung,' aus der seine oft überraschenden Urteile stammen. Nur so ist es zu verstehen, wenn Walther auf Seite 15 Dante, auf Seite 19 Schiller und Goethe an die Seite gestellt wird; wenn Hartmanns *Armer Heinrich* immer noch gleichwertig neben Goethes *Iphigenie* tritt (Seite 22 und 27); wenn Ulrich von Hutten wegen seiner Freude am ritterlichen Sport, seines Hangs zum Landleben, seines 'junckerlichen' Städtehasses und seiner leidenschaftlichen Glut für Deutschlands Einheit und Grösze keinem andern als Bismarck beigesellt wird (S. 210). Es liegen da z.T. ganz einfach Verkennungen zugrunde, die hier nicht zu untersuchen sind.<sup>6</sup> Davon abgesehn scheinen es maszlose Überschätzungen, wenn man sich nicht ständig Franckes *tertium comparationis* genau gegenwärtig hält, das, wie uns bedünken will, stets nur in einem Bruchteil, bestenfalls der ursprünglichen Anlage der verglichenen 'Persönlichkeiten' besteht. Darauf allein aber ist Franckes Aufmerksamkeit konzentriert, während er die ganze eigentümliche Auswirkung dieser Anlage — und gerade in der durch ihre Beziehungen ringsum erblicken wir die Unterschiede in der geistigen Struktur verschiedener Zeitalter — vernachlässigt. Mit solchen Waffen gegen Jacob Burckhardt in die Schranken zu treten (S. 5), scheint doch ein gewagtes Ding, wenn wir in den letzten zehn Jahren auch immer mehr über den groszen Basler hinausgewachsen sind.

Es war nach alledem nicht zu verwundern, wenn die *Kulturwerte* bei der wissenschaftlichen deutschen Kritik nicht recht durchdringen konnten. Mit der ausgesprochenen zwiespältigen Absicht Kulturgeschichte zu schreiben und Kulturwerte darzu-

<sup>6</sup> Übrigens: wenn nun der Leser bei alle dem den Eindruck gewönne, als sei die deutsche Kunst und Literatur in 700 Jahren kaum von der Stelle gekommen? Vgl. S. 9: "There arise works of universally human significance, works which, like the highest productions of German sculpture of the thirteenth century, need not fear comparison with the best of all ages and nations."

stellen geriet Francke von Anfang an auf schwankenden Boden. Im ganzen spendeten ihm denn auch nur Schulmänner mit wesentlich praktischen Gesichtspunkten vollen Beifall. Die englische Bearbeitung wird viel eher an ihrem Platz sein, insofern Francke hier zu einer reineren Ausstrahlung seines Besten gelangen kann, ohne peinliche Nebenwirkungen hervorzurufen. Für sein Bestes und Tiefstes halten wir die Darstellung seines eignen Erlebnisses an deutscher Kunst und Dichtung, denn mancher von uns wird schon sehr viel gewonnen haben, wenn er ästhetisch mit Augen wie Franckes schauen lernt. Der Wert des Buches wird also am ehesten zur Geltung kommen, wenn es als eines aufgefasst wird, das sich in Wahrheit viel weniger mit Deutschland und deutschem Geistesleben als mit Amerika und amerikanischem beschäftigt.

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*THE SUPERNATURAL IN TRAGEDY*, by Charles Edward Whitmore. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1915. 12mo. pp. viii+370.

In his thesis "The Supernatural in Tragedy," presented in 1911 at Harvard University for the doctorate in Comparative Literature, Dr. Whitmore considers that group of forces, which may intervene with incalculable effect in the affairs of man. The representatives of this extra-human realm, are first, Fate, or, if we use a more concrete term, God or gods; second, angels and devils; third, witches; and fourth, ghosts. As they are conceived to be inherently far from friendly to man, authors do treat them primarily with serious intent; in drama we find them principally in tragedy. Similarly, any serious use of the supernatural in drama is, Dr. Whitmore thinks, a sufficient token of tragic intent. Thus the author of "The Supernatural in Tragedy" comes to a new definition of tragic action. Reviewing, from this point of view, the tragedy in its chief periods, Dr. Whitmore believes he sees in it a continuous development of the use of the supernatural. By virtue of its origin in a universal instinct, which prompts man to take an interest in the things beyond mortal life and experience, the supernatural, the author holds, possesses a fundamental unity. He, moreover, sees in the supernatural the chief inspiration of tragedy and maintains that a real causal connection underlies the two. As a proof for this contention he adduces the parallel results of the two chief periods in the development of tragedy with their independent evolution, the fifth century B. C. in Greece and the Elizabethan age in England. In his opinion it is due exactly to their use of the supernatural that these two periods stand out as land-marks in the history of tragedy. But here the writer of this review joins issue with Dr. Whitmore.

Seemingly the author of "The Supernatural in Tragedy" does not consider Goethe's *Egmont* a tragedy because of its lack of the supernatural. Nor are Lessing's *Emilia Galotti*, Schiller's *Maria Stuart*, Kleist's *Prinz von Homburg*, Grillparzer's *Hero and Leander*, Hebbel's *Maria Magdalena*, Sudermann's *Magda*, Schnitzler's *Free Game*, Hauptmann's *Rose Bernd*, or, to go outside of Germany, Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People*, Strindberg's *The Father*, Becque's *The Vultures*, and Galsworthy's *Justice* tragic according to this new definition of tragedy. It is here that we touch upon the weakest point in this, on the whole, very commendable book. In glancing at the table of contents the present writer was struck by the fact that, in this study on tragedy, the drama of Germany has been entirely ignored. Now one well realizes that the field of tragedy is a vast one, and that the author was forced to limit himself to certain periods in its development. But because this book fails to consider the fact that many German plays, in spite of their lack of the supernatural element, have been some of the noblest contributions to the history of tragedy, its evaluation of the supernatural in tragedy must necessarily be of lesser value. As a classification and verification of the supernatural element in the tragedy of the periods under discussion, however, it is quite valuable. It is also to its detriment that it leaves out of consideration those German plays, which do contain the supernatural element, as for instance the German mystery and miracle-plays, in which the supernatural in the person of the devil has attained its highest development in the middle ages.

"*Wunder dulden wir nur in der physikalischen Welt, in der moralischen muss alles seinen Lauf behalten,*" is the pronouncement of Lessing in regard to the use of the supernatural in the drama. On this point he endorses the Aristotelian theory, which does not tolerate the supernatural in the action of the drama. This applies to drama only. It is quite a different thing with the opera. In the opera the music furnishes the element which permeates the action, carries it along and lifts it up from the ground of reality. In the opera we may encounter gods, angels and devils, elves, sprites, sylphs, nymphs, Rhine maidens, and all other charming and interesting personages, by whatever name they may go, whose acquaintance we make in the nursery; the drama, however, knows mortal man only. No god, no ghost may enter the drama.<sup>1</sup> Admitting that the modern drama resembles the Greek tragedy somewhat in its conception of Fate as an overruling power beyond our control, we must bear in mind that this power is not supernatural, but natural. Its habitation is not in heaven or hell, but on earth. It is of man's own make. The fate which nowadays crushes the will of man is embodied in custom and convention, in instinct and environment. "*In deiner Brust sind deines Schick-*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. J. Rudwin, *Modern Passion Plays*, The Open Court, XXX(1916), 281.



*sals Sterne*," says Schiller. The symbolism with its supernatural element, which, on the whole, is rather suggestive than expressive, is in modern times merely languishing on the stage. The only vital drama of today is the naturalistic drama, and this shows no interest whatever in the supernatural. As in modern life, so in modern drama, which aims to be a photographic reproduction of life, every trace of trust in moral intelligences which are not members of human society has been eliminated.

The supernatural is not essential to tragedy. The fact that two periods of chief importance in the history of tragedy employ the supernatural does not necessarily prove that it is essential. The drama of both of these periods as well as the medieval religious drama owe their connection with the supernatural to their origin, and their power and depth is due, not so much to the presence of the supernatural, as to the fact that in their use of the supernatural they were in harmony with popular belief. The sympathy of the Attic masters with their theme, which was religious, is the essential element of their success. The chief merit of the English dramatists of the Elizabethan age consists in their artistic use of the popular superstition of the time, by which they succeeded in infusing life into the Senecan ghost. It is quite irrelevant to our point whether or no they themselves shared these superstitions of the Protestantism of their time, the Reformation which banished all poetry, all beauty, all joy from life, and in their stead retained the devils, the witches, and the ghosts. The harmony of drama and life is the secret of the success of the drama of the Elizabethan age as of all ages. Its evolution was furthered by the conditions in England, which were at that time very favorable for a development in the drama. The divorce of tragedy from the life of the people in the other countries, where less favorable conditions prevailed, made similar results impossible there.

The popularity<sup>vern</sup> of the ghost, so characteristic of the Elizabethan age in England, Dr. Whitmore traces to a native interest, on the part of both playwrights and public, in the supernatural, an interest which is already evident in the medieval sacred drama. This interest in superhuman personages, Dr. Whitmore holds, has led in England to the formation of a definite method of dealing with them, which made for a close and vital connection between the supernatural and action. It seems strange, though, that the interest in the supernatural has continued, but that the particular object of this interest has changed. The English miracle-plays show not a single example of the type of supernatural being so popular in the Elizabethan drama: the ghost (page 205). But admitting that the shifting of interest from the one type of supernatural to the other is due to the influence of Seneca, the present writer fails to see wherein the medieval religious drama in England

shows a deeper interest in any one member of the Christian hierarchy of supernatural personages than is the case on the Continent. The devil constitutes the chief supernatural personage in the medieval sacred plays. He made his appearance on the boards shortly after his colleague from heaven, and almost from the beginning of his career he began to influence the action to such an extent, and to attract the attention of the spectators to such a degree, that he could well boast that without him there would be no play. Thanks to the medieval Christian notion that the devil with his incalculable power and malevolent purpose was the source of all evil acts, he became the mover of the entire dramatic action and thus more than satisfies all the requirements which the author of the book under discussion lays down for the tragic supernatural. But it is in Germany, and not in England, where this representative of the supernatural world has received his fullest development. While the devil-scenes in the German religious drama show a most striking popularity and elaboration, the devil's rôle in the English miracle-plays has not made any special development.

In his estimate of the relative merits of the English and French mystery and miracle-plays Dr. Whitmore is somewhat biased in favor of the English. The French undoubtedly attained in their sacred plays a higher level of artistic perfection than any other people of Europe. In verbosity, scholastic subtlety and love of quibbling, faults which the author charges to the French drama, the English religious plays are not far behind. The *processus Sathanae* is by no means restricted to France. It found its way across the Channel. The reviewer admits the truth of Dr. Whitmore's statement that the devil in the French mystery and miracle-plays is essentially mechanical, puppet-like. The French people lack, it would seem, a sense of appreciation of the devil. In their portrayal of the devil, the Frenchmen have never done him justice. Of the more important literatures of Europe the literature of France is the only one which has failed to produce a grand devil. We will look in vain in the literature of France for a devil worthy to take his place with Dante's Lucifer, Calderon's Lucifer, Milton's Satan, and Goethe's Mephistopheles. We would bring eternal shame on the heads of these noble representatives of the idea of evil if we were to place at their side that charlatan and arch-bohemian, LeSage's Asmodeus.

For the best representative of the supernatural in medieval religious drama we must turn not to England, but to Germany. The superiority of the German devil to the English devil cannot be called into question at all. The English devil is, first of all, not indigenous. "The devils of Great Britain," says Moncure Daniel Conway,<sup>2</sup> "are nearly all German." The difference in

<sup>2</sup> M. D. Conway, *The Devil in Leipzig*, *Fraser's Magazine* LXXIX (1869), 375.

his importance as a dramatic figure in the middle ages in the different countries is, however, chiefly due to a difference in the *mise-en-scène* of the mystery and miracle-plays in England and on the Continent. While in France and Germany we have a vast fixed stage with a tripartite division and a great number of mansions, the national type of stage in England was the pageant. A cycle was divided into a number of scenes or episodes, each of which was presented on a separate car or pageant, and the whole cycle thus moved in sequence about the city, stopping for presentation at certain appointed places. This mode of presentation was, of course, more adequate dramatically. It cut down the number of mansions and characters to a minimum, and may in the end have brought about a somewhat more closely knit action. A natural consequence of this mode of staging, however, was a reduction of the supernatural element. The devil's rôle was greatly curtailed. While in France and Germany, but particularly in the latter country, the devil could at any moment rush forth from his habitation of clashed kettles and caldrons and participate in the action at will, in England he had to limit his action to but a few episodes. Hence the devil's gradual decline in influence on the English stage. As a dramatic figure he falls more and more into the background. In the moralities he is forced to play the part of a contemptible buffoon and share "honors" with his younger step-brother, the Vice. His rôle as comedian is finally given back to the supernatural fun-makers of purely Germanic origin, who are known to us from the Kalends and the Feast of Fools, and the devil-plays pass over definitely into comedy and satire. Puck in Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* is a pure Germanic sprite and has nothing in common with his predecessor of Hebrew or Babylonian genealogy.

This, however, was not the fate of the German stage devil. He continued to play his rôle in the religious drama in certain Catholic communities. He was, until the beginning of the nineteenth century, a very important participant in the action of the Passion on the stage at Oberammergau. Where the Reformation abolished the sacred drama, the devil went over into the repertoire of the Shrove-tide farces. He even found his way into the learned drama. When the opera started on its independent career in the seventeenth century, it employed the devil in a singing rôle. Thanks to the two strains of blood coursing in his veins, the Oriental and the Germanic, he could be at will a tragedian and a comedian. In heaven and hell, he is everywhere at home. God and man, he meets them both on equal terms. It is perhaps partly to the credit of his arch-enemy Luther that the devil continued to live and thrive in Germany. From him and none other has the devil received strong re-inforcements. Luther and his followers filled Germany with devils by diabolizing all vices. The devil, however, could not save the German drama. While in England



conditions were wholly favorable for the development of whatever inherent dramatic skill there existed in her people, the drama of Germany was buried under the ruins of the country. It was from England that help finally came to Germany. The English comedians helped to resuscitate the German drama.

It is a pity that Dr. Whitmore has found no references for the devil in the miracle-plays in England, a fact which he admits in his bibliography. This is very strange, though, as both Cushman<sup>3</sup> and Eckhardt<sup>4</sup> are listed by Chambers in his bibliography, to whose "ample store of erudition and the wealth of bibliographical matter" Dr. Whitmore refers in the bibliographical note, with which he prefaces his chapter "The Medieval Sacred Drama." A study on the devil in the medieval religious plays of Germany did not appear till 1914.<sup>5</sup> Haslinguis' dissertation,<sup>6</sup> which deals with the devil in the medieval drama in France, England, Germany and the Netherlands, also made its appearance after Dr. Whitmore's submission of his thesis for his degree. A number of other important references for the supernatural in drama have escaped the attention of Dr. Whitmore. Hild's valuable study on the devil in Greek religion and literature<sup>7</sup> is unknown to him. The place of the supernatural in drama has already been studied as a whole in an essay, published more than twenty years ago by Ringseis, in the well-known Catholic journal *Historisch-politische Blätter*.<sup>8</sup> But the author of "The Supernatural in Tragedy" is

<sup>3</sup> L. W. Cushman, *The Devil and the Vice in the English Dramatic Literature before Shakespeare*. *Studien zur englischen Philologie*, Heft VI. Halle, 1900.

<sup>4</sup> E. Eckhardt, *Die lustige Person im älteren englischen Drama (bis 1642)*. *Palaestra* XVII, Berlin, 1902.

<sup>5</sup> M. J. Rudwin, *Die Teufelsszenen im geistlichen Drama des deutschen Mittelalters*. Göttingen und Baltimore, 1914. This dissertation also forms the first part of the writer's monograph: *Der Teufel in den deutschen geistlichen Spielen des Mittelalters und der Reformationszeit. Ein Beitrag zur Literatur-, Kultur- und Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*. *Hesperia: Schriften zur germanischen Philologie*, Nr. 6. Göttingen und Baltimore (The Johns Hopkins Press), 1915.

<sup>6</sup> E. J. Haslinghuis, *De duivel in het drama der middeleeuwen*. Leiden, 1913. G. Roskoff in his *Geschichte des Teufels*, Leipzig, 1869, also devotes a chapter to the devil on the medieval stage (vol. I, pp. 359-404).

<sup>7</sup> J. A. Hild, *Etude sur les Démones dans la religion et la littérature des Grecs*. Paris, 1881. In regard to Shakespeareana the author may further be referred to Tieck's essay on the supernatural in Shakespeare, which served as introduction to his translation of the *Tempest* (1793).

<sup>8</sup> E. Ringseis, *Ueber die Einmischung des Uebernatürlichen im Drama*, *Historisch-politische Blätter*, CXIV(1894), 260-8. This short article by Miss Ringseis has, however, more religious zeal than sound logic to its credit.

unaware of this article also. It does not seem that Dr. Whitmore consulted Creizenach's *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, and one wonders whether one could now afford to ignore Creizenach in any serious work on the drama. By consulting this authority on the history of the drama, Dr. Whitmore might have spared himself a few inaccuracies in regard to the medieval drama.

The reviewer does not know whether the book does not lose rather than gain by the frequent summarizing and recapitulating in which Dr. Whitmore indulges in order to emphasize the salient points of his discussion. He is certainly to be commended for the thorough proof-reading. The reviewer has been unable to discover more than one typographical error (correspondance on page 343) in the text. It is, therefore, inconceivable how the author could have overlooked the serious grammatical error in the title of the two dissertations on the supernatural personages on the French mystery-stage. In the foot-notes and the bibliography we read: *Die Teufel* (and *Die Engel*) *auf die mittelalterlichen Mysterien-Bühne Frankreichs*.

In spite of the few criticisms the present writer has had to raise he does not wish to give the impression that he considers the book of small value. "The Supernatural in Tragedy" is a very valuable contribution to the critical literature on the drama. It is informative, lucid, and, on the whole, accurate. The book does not make any claim to finality. The author hopes that it may serve as a stimulus for further investigation in this field. For it as a *Versuch* the reviewer has unstinted praise.

MAXIMILIAN J. RUDWIN.

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*ENGLISH LITERATURE FROM WIDSITH TO THE DEATH OF CHAUCER: A SOURCE BOOK*, by Allen Rogers Benham. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1916.

The aims and methods of this substantial volume are set forth clearly in its preface. "The title of this venture is to be taken seriously; the work is a *source-book*, not an *anthology* nor a *text-book*; it exemplifies and urges in literary history the same methods that have long been successfully used in constitutional or political history. . . . The object of a source-book is to present to a reader, who has perhaps little leisure and meager library resources at his disposal, such documents from an age as fundamentally explain the life, ideals, and spirit thereof." It differs from an anthology, since "an anthology aims to form taste; a source-book, to train judgment. The former is a means to appreciation; the latter, to scholarship." The source-book differs again from an text-book because it forsakes a method which, says Professor

Benham, "is characteristic of nearly all the text-books that I have seen: to arrange in chronological order the author's more or less personal opinions of English writers. The chronological order is almost always the sole historical brand on the book." Only one chronological division is admitted into the present volume; the separation of Anglo-Saxon from Middle English. The selections claim chief space; a considerable amount of explanatory text serves to give them their proper setting. There are also footnotes for the elucidation of points too specialized for the main commentary. The material is classified under the following grand divisions: The Political Background, Social and Industrial Background, The Cultural Background, The Linguistic Background, Literary Characteristics, Representative Authors.

There are thus brought together in convenient form many documents not readily accessible, and the attention of the student is called to much that might otherwise be overlooked. The book has the vigor which comes from direct presentation of texts rather than from comments about them. It cannot fail to assist in some ways in gaining a comprehension of conditions in medieval England. But its method, as here applied, seems likely to lead to false impressions of the literature itself. And it is literature which the book aims chiefly to serve. This issue, at all events, demands first consideration from the reviewer. The more detailed work seems carefully done. Various places in the translations, paraphrases, and comments might be criticised, which could hardly fail to be the case in any work of this scope, but such criticism appears to be of minor consequence. The important question is whether the book is really a trustworthy guide for the student of medieval letters in England.

The first doubt which arises in the reader's mind is of the wisdom of so ambitious a program. Has not Professor Benham given students more subjects to think about than they can control, and at the same time, despite the length of some of his illustrative passages, too little to convey an exact idea of the matters which he discusses? The amount of material under many of his topics must of necessity be somewhat restricted, since one cannot deal with literary history in England to the death of Chaucer, with attention to political, social, and cultural conditions, changes in the language, etc., even in a volume of some six hundred pages, and devote much space to any one subject. These subjects, it must be remembered, are far more numerous than at first appears, for under each of the grand divisions already noted, there are many subdivisions. Thus under Political Background in the Middle English Period, there are selections to illustrate "the Conquest, the Reign of Henry II, the Winning of the Great Charter, the Beginnings of a Parliament, Campaigns against the Scots, the Hundred Years' War against France, and the End of the Plantagenet Dynasty." And this division is one of the shorter sections



in the Middle English part of the book! Under some of the subdivisions there is very little real information. "The Cultural Background" in the Anglo-Saxon Period has a sub-heading "Early English Ideals and Temper," not an unimportant subject for the student of literature. (p. 34) The reader is expected to get a conception of this from the dying words of Beowulf (fifteen lines in translation), from Beowulf's words to Hrothgar on the death of Æschere (four and a half lines), and the familiar passage from Bede describing the conversion of Eadwine, with the pretty lines about the sparrow and the hall in winter, and the canny words of the priest Coifi. It is obviously impossible to get much knowledge of early English ideals and temper from material so meager as this. The selection from Bede—the only one of any length under this rubric—is not very informing as literature, since nothing in the text or notes explains whence it is taken, or who wrote it. For this information the student must turn to the Table of Contents.

Perhaps, reflects the reader, Professor Benham has concluded that such a topic as this is best taught by acquaintance with the literature itself, and has only given a taste at this point by way of whetting the appetite. But it is disturbing to find that literature has been rudely crowded to the wall. Nine more lines of *Beowulf* are given (p. 72) to illustrate the position of the minstrel, and there are brief hints of the plot on pp. 34-35. This—apart from casual references in footnotes—is all. The most important single poem, the most important piece of pure literature in the whole Anglo-Saxon period is passed over in such a way as to leave the student with no idea of it whatever, and with the impression that it is a thing of minor consequence, to be shoved into footnotes. Or let us consider Cynewulf. There are no passages from his works save the "autobiographical" lines from the *Elene*, with the runes, which is introduced to illustrate the development of the English alphabet. (p. 80). Cynewulf's name is nowhere mentioned in the main text of the book, so far as search can discover; he is referred to in connection with the *Elene* passage merely as "one of the Old English men of letters." So the most important Anglo-Saxon poet whom we know by name, perhaps the most important of all on any count, is almost completely neglected. This, in a manual which aims to give a view of the salient points in Anglo-Saxon literature, really calls for decided dissent. It is not wholly a question of space. Tacitus is given eleven pages, and there is a highly detailed commentary, in nearly five pages of close type, on Alcuin's list of books in the library at York. (pp. 63-68) Why explain Clement of Alexandria, Sedulius, Phocas of Edessa, Victorinus or Fulgentius, and neglect a clear statement of the most important sources in the vernacular? Professor Benham's picture of Anglo-Saxon literary conditions is all background and

no foreground. There is so much about politics, history, culture, industrial and social conditions, and the like, that literature is sadly neglected.

We are not forgetting that the compiler's plan in this book is not to write a literary history, nor to print selections as pure literature, but to present "such documents from an age as fundamentally explain the life, ideals and spirit thereof." But where is there any document so well designed to show the spirit of pagan institutions as *Beowulf*, where any collection of poems better fitted to illuminate the culture of Christianized Northumbria than the poems of Cynewulf? *Beowulf*, surely, is a far better guide to an understanding of Anglo-Saxon conditions than Tacitus's *Germania*, a book written long before the Germanic conquest of Britain, presenting Germanic life as seen by a Roman who was probably inclined to distort the picture for the sake of pointing a moral to his own people. How is Professor Benham's work to differ from *kulturgeschichte* pure and simple if the connection between social conditions and the masterpieces of early literature is ignored? According to its title its chief concern is with literature, yet the only representative writers of the Anglo-Saxon period, according to Section VI, are prose writers, Bede, Alfred the Great, and Ælfric. The only selection from the Cædmonian poems in the volume is the *Hymn*. The only pieces of Anglo-Saxon verse included in the literary sections (V and VI) are the *Battle of Brunanburh* and the *Wanderer*. Nothing else. The most original and characteristic productions of Anglo-Saxon literature are in poetry, and these are here almost wholly neglected. What impression will this give the student? If literature is not treated at all in a book dealing with Old English life, in the expectation that a knowledge of this will be gained from other sources, criticism is disarmed, but if there are to be sections dealing with literary characteristics and representative authors, these sections should be more carefully arranged.

The Middle English period seems, on the whole, rather better done, which is surprising, since the greater complexity of the life of that time and the greater variety and richness of the literature serve to complicate the task. The review of the literature must be regarded as suggestive rather than systematic, however. In a period which includes so much as this, it is obviously difficult to present "literary characteristics" (Section V) adequately. "The Spirit of Literature" is treated under four headings: the Didactic Spirit, represented by the proem to the *Ancren Riwle*; the Cheerful Romantic Spirit, illustrated by the words with which Chaucer's knight rebukes the Monk for his gloomy narratives; The Coarse Satirical Spirit, indicated by Chaucer's apology for his own free speech; and the Persistence of the Feeling for Poetry, conveyed by a translation of a student song. These brief selections—brief with the exception of the proem to the *Ancren Riwle*—

hardly scratch the surface of so large a subject. The same brevity appears in the sections on Literary Technique and Popular Literary Types. The latter, for example, are set forth as three: the Romance, the Drama, and History. Might not this give the student a wrong impression of the current literature,—for by “popular” Professor Benham clearly does not mean non-aristocratic. Are not the Saints’ Lives, the Lyrics, the Tales and Fabliaux also representative of Popular Literary Types? In the discussion of the genres selected, the author is once more constrained to brevity. The Metrical Romances, to which Professor Schofield gives 160 pages in his manual, are here disposed of in two, though there are selections from *Sir Hugh of Tabarie* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* earlier in the book, as illustrations of the chivalric ideal. On the other hand, twenty pages are devoted to a single extract from Froissart illustrating the Peasants’ Revolt (pp. 330-350) and ten pages to a catalogue of the monastery at Rievaulx, with notes on Paulinus of Nola, Hrabanus Maurus, Gennadius of Massilia, and other obscure authors.

In the section entitled “Representative Authors,” side-lights are afforded by suggestive extracts; there is no systematic account of the activities of these authors themselves. Thus Chaucer is illustrated by selections from his works describing his appearance and his delight in books and nature, by the prologue to the *Astro-labe*, by the references in the *Canterbury Tales* to Dante and Petrarch, by Gower’s remarks and the *ballade* by Deschamps, by the *Complaynt to his Purse*, by the letter of Henry IV granting him assistance, and by the *Retractions* at the end of the *Canterbury Tales*. The connecting material does not serve as an adequate outline of the poet’s career and work; it would have to be used in connection with a literary manual.

This, in a word, is the conclusion in regard to the book as a whole. It will be useful for supplementary work in connection with a good history of early English literature, and with reading of the texts for their imaginative and intellectual content, but it cannot be trusted for information in regard to literary history. The view which it presents of this is inadequate and distorted, and the connection between the life of the times and literary production is not satisfactorily made. From the title and the preface it appears a fair conclusion that the literature itself will be the ultimate issue in the book. From a careful examination of the application of the method chosen and pursued this does not appear to be the case.

The volume may nevertheless be made to render service to the student of the Middle Ages in a variety of ways. For those who wish brief and suggestive information, through original sources, on a wide variety of topics, it will make an immediate appeal. It will be of quite as much value, perhaps, to the student of history, economics, culture, and the like, as to the student of



medieval letters. The sphere of usefulness which it will fill may thus be wider than that of a manual aiming only to give acquaintance with literature, but its true functions and limitations should not be mistaken.

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*A MANUAL OF THE WRITINGS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH 1050-1400.* By John Edwin Wells, PhD., Professor of English Literature in Beloit College. Published under the auspices of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences by the Yale Univ. Press, New Haven. 1916. XV and 941 pp.

Students of Middle English who have attempted to get together the data relating to the various text editions, grammatical studies, and critical appreciations of the literary monuments of the period will welcome this book which Professor Wells has put into such usable form and, as one at all familiar with the material will appreciate, at the cost of so much painstaking search. For the first time, as Professor Wells truly says, all the available literature of the period has been classified and the facts pertaining to date, MS. or MSS., extent, dialect, etc., collected and placed where they are easily accessible. Doubtless the classification will, in some instances, seem rather questionable but as one uses the book he can easily reclassify to suit himself. The important thing is that one will no longer have to search through the long files of periodicals and the ever-growing series of texts and studies before he can enter upon some study of a historical or classificational nature, or before he can feel reasonably confident that he has at hand all the important publications concerning any special piece of Middle English literature.

One would like to know, in the case of certain of the more prominent works cited in the bibliography, why some reviews were noted and others omitted. On the whole only those reviews are listed which contribute to the discussion of the matter in hand. Considering, also, that the data found in the first part of the collection are supposed to "record the generally accepted views of scholars" some of the dates assigned to certain pieces of literature seem a trifle arbitrary. Perhaps it is, however, merely a desire to be conservative that is shown in the dating of *Cursor Mundi* after 1300 rather than before, and in the assigning of later dates to the *Jesus College MS.* (p. 375), to the *Bestiary* (p. 182), the *Vespasian Homilies* (p. 284), etc. As a whole the summaries are conservatively made and throw light on many a question of the relationship of versions and MSS. which the beginner in the

field of Middle English has hitherto spent hours in working out for himself.

Certain pieces which lie just on the border line between Old and Middle English I would suggest as deserving of a place in the volume if the *Medicina* and some pieces of MS. Cott. Vespasian D XIV are included. Such are the Laws of William I ed. Liebermann, 1:483-486, the englishing of Chapters 1-16 of Alcuin's *De Virtutibus et Vitiis* ed. Assmann in *Anglia* 11:371-391, New Year's Prophecies ed. Assmann, *Anglia* 11:369, Sermo in Festis S. Mariae ed. H. A. Vance, Jena diss. 1894, (rev. *Engl. Stud.* 21:116). Perhaps there should be included also: in Chap. II the *Speculum Laicorum* ed. in part by Ingram, 1882; in Chap. III the Middle English portions of the Hyde Abbey Chronicle and Chartulary ed. by Edwards for the Rolls Series, 1866; in Chap. X Walter of Henley's Husbandry ed. Eliz. Lamond, London, 1890.

While one hesitates to urge his own choice of matter for a volume from which it is so plainly necessary to exclude the less valuable, yet, in his preparation of his next edition, which the helpfulness of the book and the rapid accumulation of bibliographical material will make almost imperative in the not remote future, Professor Wells may find in the following notes something which should be included:

- I, 29<sup>1</sup> Weymouth, Phil. Soc. 1860-1: 279-81; Sommer, *Acad.* 38; 450-1, 479.
- II, 15 Edited by C. Hopper in the *Camden Miscellany*, Vol. 73 of *Camden Soc. Publ. 1st Series*.
- 16 Edited from MS. Rawl. 118 by W. Heuser in *Anglia* 30:200.
- 24 Rev. of Morris's ed. by Holthausen, *Archiv* 88:365-9.
- III, 1 Emerson, On a passage in the Peterborough Chronicle, *Mod. Lang. Notes* 3:507-9; *Academy* 40:14, 37, 77; O. P. Behm, *The Language of the Later Part of the P. C.*, Upsala diss., 1884 (rev. *Anglia Anz.* 8:18); H. Meyer, *Zur Sprache der jüngeren Teile der Chronik von Peterborough*. Freiburg diss., 1890 (?).
- 4 *Athenæum* 1888, I, 600, 630, 828.
- IV, 10 Th. Vatke, *Lied auf den Bruch der Magna Charta durch Edward II*, *Archiv* 72:467.
- 47 MSS. Cott. and Caius ed. by Hazlitt, *Remains* 1:159-167.
- 51 Murray in *Athen.* 1884, II, 466-7; Coulton, *Mod. Lang. Rev.* 7:372-3.
- 53 *Notes and Queries* (Ser. 3) 11:352, 12:211-12.

<sup>1</sup> The following items are numbered according to chapter and topic numbers.

- V, 1 Wülcker, PBBeitr. 1:209; Murray and Furnivall, Acad. 1889, 901:89, 908:206.
- 12 Holthausen, Engl. Stud. 14:396-401, 15:306-9; Skeat, Mod. Lang. Quart. 2:299.
- 14 Kaphengst, An Essay on the Ormulum. Rostock diss. 1879; Blackburn in Amer. Jour. of Phil. 2:46-58; Hale, Mod. Lang. Notes 8:37-46.
- 16 Heuser, Anglia 17:82-90.
- 19 Under *Editions*: *Laud 108* should be included: Dunstan and Christopher publ. in Ebert's Jahrb. 14:32-41 and Michael, Jahrb. 13:150-180.
- VI, 2 To Ll. 9863-66, Anglia 38:251-4.
- 40 Goyau, Visions Mystiques etc., Revue des deux Mondes (de Période) 16:830-56; Brock, The Grammatical Forms etc., Phil. Soc. 1865:150-167; Kenyon, Mod. Lang. Notes 29:127-8.
- 41 A collation of Schröer's ed. by Kölbing, Engl. Stud. 16:152-4.
- 45 Weymouth, Phil. Soc. 1862-3:48-66; Haase, Die altengl. Bearbeitungen von Grosseteste's "Chateau D'Amour" verglichen mit der Quelle. Leipzig diss. 1889 and Anglia 12:311-74.
- VII, 5 Holthausen, Archiv 88:370-2.
- 6 Kittredge, Amer. Jour. of Phil. 6:480.
- 9 Edition of MS. Harl. 5396 in Ritson-Goldschmid, Anc. Pop. Poetry 2:13-22. 1884.
- 30 Laud text ed. by Horstmann in Archiv 52:33-38.
- VIII, 41 Bosworth and Waring, The Gothic and A.S. Gospels . . . the Versions of Wycliffe and Tyndale. London. 1865; Maass, Archiv 29:221-230.
- IX, 1 Holthausen's note to Buchholtz's ed., Anglia 14:321. Bodley—E. Müller, Archiv 29:205-11; Dudley, Mod. Phil. 11:429-442.
- X, 31 Wright, Early Travels in Palestine pp. 127-282. London, 1848; Gesenius, Archiv 27:391-428; Montégut, Rev. des deux Mondes 96:277, 547; Notes and Queries (Ser. 11) 10:505-6.
- XI, 4 P. Andreae, Die Handschriften des P. of C. von R. Rolle etc. Berlin diss. 1888.
- XIV, 2 Brown, Mod. Lang. Notes 29:60-1.
- 6 Holthausen, Anglia 21:443-452, Engl. Stud. 41:380-4; Luick, Anglia 22:384.
- 7 Capes, The Poetry of the Early Mysteries. Nineteenth Cent. 14:654-673.



- 8 Craig, N. Y. Nation 97:308-9; Craig and Greg, Athen. 1913, II, 166, 262; Svenson, An Inquiry into the Composition and Structure of Ludus Coventriae. Univ. of Minnesota Studies in Lang. and Lit. No. I, Oct. 1914.
- XV, 2 Schofield, Symbolism, allegory and autobiography in "The Pearl." PMLA 24:585-675.
- Sec. 2 Gower—Koellreuter, Das Privatleben in England nach den Dichtungen von Chaucer, Gower und Langland. Zürich diss. 1908.
- XVI, 1 Scott, Athen. 1914, I, 794.

One misses, also, from the list of Series of Editions or Monographs on p. 759 the Rolls Series, Gollancz's Select Early English Poems and The North Carolina Studies in Philology, all of which contain material and the promise of more bearing upon the period under consideration.

Some of the works in the above list doubtless are included in other bibliographies of the book but at any rate are not placed where one would naturally look for them. Perhaps in some other instances a closer analysis of a work might result in placing it more conveniently for the student not familiar with the field, as, for example, in the case of Gasner's dissertation on Wyclif's Bible which belongs under VIII, 41 rather than XII, 2; or as in the slightly different case of the various editions of selections from the Southern Legend Collection in MS. Laud 108 which are given in part under V, 19 and in part under the various heads following V, 31 instead of being brought together under V, 19. On the whole Professor Wells has been generous in giving cross-references and in listing a variety of editions, which is important; for if the manual is to attain its greatest usefulness it must serve not only those scholars who are so fortunate as to be able to choose their working material in well stocked libraries but also those who must make the best of poorer libraries.

It would have been well had a brief statement been given of the author's reason for using the form *Lovelich* adopted by the later editors rather than Furnivall's *Lonelich* as the occurrence of the two forms is somewhat puzzling to the student who has not chanced upon the discussion of Bradley and Skeat in the Athenæum. It would have been according to the more general practice, since it is possible to choose between the two forms, had the form *Octavian* been used rather than the less familiar *Octovian*.

For the purpose of historical grammatical studies where one desires to utilize the contents of entire manuscripts it would be a great convenience if the manual possessed another index referring to the various places in which each MS. is mentioned. It is true one can get the information as to MS. contents in the dif-

ferent library catalogs but they, again, are not always easily attainable.

The book has a few little inaccuracies which are probably largely typographical errors. In the bibliography the following occur:

- I, 5 Among revs. of Holthausen's ed. *Archiv* 108.197 is repeated.  
9 *Amorant* for *Amarant*.
- II, 14 Ed. of *Addit.* is in *Engl. Stud.* 14
- III, 3 Luhmann's *Die Ueberlieferung* etc. is a Göttingen diss.
- IV, 12 Rev. of Scholle's ed. is in *LitBl* 6.108 instead of 187.
- V, 12 Apparently the final note should read: see other refs., pp. 817-8.  
14 For *Effert* read *Effer*. 19 After *On Guthlac* read *Bonner*. Mohr's Bonn. diss. was publ. 1888.  
51 For *Knörck* read *Knörk*.  
52 For *Vögt*, *PBBeitr* 1.281 read *Vogt*.
- VI, 1 For *Hornung* *Die Schreibg. der Hds. F.*, read *Hörning*, and *E*.
- VIII, 21 For *Aaler* read *Adler*. A *Breslau* diss.  
41 Grimm's *Marburg* diss. was publ. in 1891.
- IX, 8 Among revs. of Gadow's ed. for *Archiv* 123.235 read 126.235.
- XII, 1 For *Gassner* read *Gasner*.
- XIV, 7 For *Valke* (*Der Tod des Abel*) read *Vatke*. This was publ. also in *Archiv* 54:39-54.

In the index the alphabetical arrangement of the "Williams" is not quite correct and *William Paris*, p. 309, should be included. The entry *Love-Songs*, see *Secular Lyrics* is perplexing as it leads to nothing in the index. Also the reference under *Reliquiæ Antiquæ* to p. 484 is misleading.

On the whole the manual is accurate and comprehensive. Among so very many references a few errors are almost inevitable and of course there will be some difference of opinion as to the inclusion of certain titles in such a bibliography. The above suggestions and corrections are made, not for the purpose of finding flaws in the book, but because it is even more than most books the common property of students of Middle English and its author should have not only the gratitude but the coöperation as well of all who expect to use it extensively. I have compared it quite carefully with a rather extensive private collection of my own and can appreciate not only the amount of the material provided but the accuracy of it as well. Surely no one who is interested in the older writings of England can afford to be without it.

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*AN ENGLISH GRAMMAR FOR USE IN HIGH AND NORMAL SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES*, by Alma Blount, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of English in the Michigan State Normal College, and Clark Sunderland Northup, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of English in Cornell University. New York, Henry Holt & Company, 1914. xii+375 pp. 12mo.

This is the fourth number of the series of "Progressive Studies in English" by the same authors and publishers. It is intended for students who have previously mastered the elements of English grammar and also made some study of foreign tongues. It must, in my judgment, take high rank among English school grammars. It gives, in clear, direct statements and with an abundance of well-chosen illustrations, a concise yet comprehensive treatment of the facts and phenomena of spoken and written English. Without the slightest attempt at mere display of learning, it shows thruout an easy, yet scholarly grasp of the subject, not only from the narrower grammatical standpoint, but also along literary, historical and philological lines.

There are two divergent standpoints from which grammatical phenomena may be approached, differing in their view of the fundamental nature of language, and consequently in arrangement, definition and treatment. (1) The traditional, logical standpoint regards language as "thought expressed in words," tacitly assuming that each dissevered idea or thought element is separately associated with its appropriate word. It normally begins, therefore, with hard-and-fast "parts of speech," each regarded as having a simple fundamental function, and then shows how these enter into different logical combinations or "constructions" with each other in connected speech. (2) The newer psychological standpoint views language as a process—namely, the speech communication of successive mental states in all their connections and aspects—and hence regards language primarily as connected discourse. It starts, therefore, from the sentence as the primary unit of connected speech, and passes from this to the consideration of component processes, functions, and terms. These are not only logical, but emotive and volitive also, and must be explained in their complex interactions with each other and not merely as static elements. (For a fuller statement of the psychological aspects and connections of actual speech, see Kellogg, *Studies in Linguistic Psychology*, I, 1, Decatur, Ill. 1912.)

Current English grammar still holds in the main to the traditional logical standpoint both in form and content. There is, however, an increasing recognition of the true psychological nature of connected speech, and a consequent general tendency to pass to the newer psychological standpoint. This is, in my judgment, the most fundamental and important characteristic of current grammatical thought, and must ultimately recast the whole fabric



of the science—the new wine must finally be put into new wine-skins, for it sadly rends the old ones.

There are, however, two important reasons why this transition must be gradual, and why no work, so far as I know, has yet succeeded in fully recasting the science according to the new standpoint: (1) Neither the old nor new standpoints have been critically evaluated, and many even of the most fundamental problems of function and construction remain partly or wholly unsolved—some of them not even formulated for solution. What, for instance, are the psychological processes underlying the article-function, or in the shifting of a “finite” verb to a verbal construction, or in innumerable other hybrid constructions, such as adverbs modifying nouns, nouns, adjectives and participles used as prepositions, etc.? (2) It is not easy to break suddenly with existing grammatical tradition. Any new treatment which hopes to find general acceptance in our schools must be intelligible to the mass of grammar teachers as they are, and must also, if intended for advanced pupils, take account of their previous training.

At the present stage of development therefore, the most fundamental test of excellence for a school grammar is: to what extent does it succeed in subjecting grammatical phenomena to a psychological treatment without breaking too far with the traditional standpoint—in other words, in putting a mixture of old and new wine into the old skins with the least rending? Estimated from this standpoint, as well as from that of scholarly clearness noted above, the English Grammar of Blount and Northup must take high rank. On the whole, it holds formally to the traditional standpoint, as shown in its order of chapters and definition of the parts of speech, tho both of these are partly modified in the direction of the psychological standpoint; its development and discussion of the topics treated is, on the whole, soundly sensible and psychological both in substance and spirit.

The general chapter arrangement is: (a) Introduction; (b) Chapters I-IX, main parts of speech and their functions; (c) XI-XIV, sentence types and functions; (d) XV, contractions and ellipses; (e) XVI-XIX, verbals; (f) XX, word order; (g) XXI, idioms; (h) XXII, chapter for teachers; (i) appendices; (j) index. This reflects the traditional standpoint in beginning with the individual parts of speech and passing from these to the discussion of sentences. But the details of this arrangement are worked out with the utmost effectiveness from the standpoint of clearness and progressive connection. The chief means of overcoming the inherent disadvantages of the traditional order of treatment is by bringing each subdivision of the discussion of functions and syntactical uses into close connection with the descriptive or morphological chapter or division on which it depends. The two chapters on Noun and Pronoun inflections (I and II), for instance are immediately followed by one on Constructions of Substan-

tives (III), that on Adjective Inflections (IV) by one on Adjective Syntax (V). In the chapters on Verbs (VI) and Verbals (XVI-XIX) morphology and syntax are interspersed, tense syntax coming directly after the description of tenses, modal syntax after modes, etc. The chapter on Adverbs (VII) closes with a full discussion of adverbial function. An even completer blending of the discussion of form and function holds for the minor parts of speech and sentence types. The rest of the general chapter arrangement is evidently guided by the same considerations of clearness and connection. Contractions and ellipses must come at the close of sentence types in order to be understood. The treatment of verbals depends on and therefore follows both of these. Word order and idioms presuppose and therefore follow all other forms and constructions.

In the definition of the parts of speech Blount and Northup mainly follow the stock definitions, though improving on them at certain points. Fortunately these traditional definitions are used only as starting points and are generally fully corrected and supplemented in the subsequent discussion. Yet the truth is a good thing even in a starting point—false or inadequate definitions confuse the mediocre student and awaken distrust of the science in the keen-minded. This is the weakest side of the work.

The definition of the noun as "the name of a person, place or thing" is incomplete if thing equals 'concrete object', since it then excludes abstract nouns of time, quality, action, etc.; it is redundant and too sweeping if thing equals 'any entity', because person and place are then included in thing, while, on the other hand, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and prepositions also name things in this broad sense. The psychological definition of the noun as "the name of a subject of thought" is truer and more adequate.

The statement that a "pronoun . . . stands for a noun" is often false, never fundamental, and separates the so-called pronominal adjectives from the pronouns tho their real function is identical and there is abundant evidence that *sprachgefühl* classes them together. It should be replaced by a statement of the fundamental determinative or objectivating function of 'pronouns', which separates them from all conceptuials such as nouns and adjectives.

Blount and Northup rightly correct the stock definition of the verb as a word that asserts. (Compare the statement of Kittredge and Arnold, *Mother Tongue* § 18, who first give this definition to the student to learn, and then inform him that it is not true.) Their own definition ("the asserting or predicating word of the sentence") is however redundant in retaining the word "assert," since predication includes assertion as one of its several forms.

If the adverb (to which is given the stock definition) is to be defined by an enumeration of the words it can modify, we must (in accord with § 163) class it as able to modify not merely

verbs, adjectives, and other adverbs, but also nouns, pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, phrases and clauses or statements. We must further add that it can also be used as subject, predicate, appositive object of a verb, object of a preposition, and as a sort of "pronoun" or representative referring back to a preceding predicate or clause. In other words, the stock definition cannot possibly be fundamental and is often untrue. The difficulty disappears when we recognize that the primary function of an adverb is to denote a circumstance, and that circumstances may quite normally enter into all the objective relations which find expression in the above constructions.

To point out that conjunctions have a relational meaning is an improvement over the stock definition. The distinction between preposition and conjunction should however be made plain by pointing out that prepositions denote factual or objective relations, while conjunctions express logical or subjective relations. It would then be unnecessary to create the false distinction that conjunctions connect clauses only, and possible to distinguish prepositions with clausal objects from true conjunctions.

The definition of the particle as "a word without inflectional changes" is certainly not fundamental, else the English words *such*, *awake* (adj.), *must*, etc., are particles. The true distinction should be made that particles are pure form-words so abstract in meaning that they lack all concrete or sensuous content. The term "particle" itself, however, seems objectionable, since it does not agree historically or semantically with this fundamental distinction. The term "perabstract" would be truer.

The conclusion that "interjections are not properly words at all" (§ 177; compare also Kittredge and Arnold, *Mother Tongue*, §§ 73, 74) is of course warranted from the logical standpoint, but it obviously disagrees both with the history and use of interjections and with normal *sprachgefühl*. The same is true of the view that a purely exclamatory sentence must necessarily be regarded as elliptical (§§ 177; 229a, b; 230a, etc.). Every mental state has not only logical, but also emotive and volitive aspects, expressed often by mere intonation or the emotive associations of the words used, but finding fuller and more explicit expression whenever they become more prominent or dominant. Every conventional vocal combination used in speech-communication, whether its meaning be dominantly logical, emotive or volitive, is truly a part of speech or language and entitled to full explanation in its actual form. When thus viewed, interjections (emotive, volitive and sensitive words) are found to sustain perfectly definite relations to the other portions of connected speech and to be subject to definite psychical laws of grammatical behavior. Likewise the emotive or volitive organization of exclamatory sentences can and must be explained in itself wholly apart from



pointing out its logical incompleteness.

Verbals (§ 231) are defined as "forms of the verb . . . used to express or denote action or being without asserting [predicating?] it," and the statement is added that "they cannot therefore have subjects and be used as predicate verbs." When we remember that the verb is correctly defined as a predicating word, the two parts of the definition contradict each other. The discussion that follows is, as usual, far truer than the definition. Thus § 232 speaks of "assumed subjects" and "thought subjects," which may either be separately expressed or continue the same as the subject or object of the main verb, and also points out that verbals make an implicit predication or are equivalent to a predication. Similar near-recognitions of the true nature of verbals are scattered thruout the four chapters dealing with them. See §§ 234; 235; 236; 238b, c, d; 239; 243; 247; 251a, b; 253c; 255b; 256 with a, b; 259. At many points a single step further would recognize the fact that the verbals are intrinsically true predicatives, tho they never make an independent predication as do the finite verbs, but only a dependent or enclitic or reduced predication, which absorbs into some main predication and becomes a part of it, the two predications thus blending into one. Compare for instance the word "blending" in the sentence just read, and the illustrations in § 232 ("she was annoyed at having been discovered," etc.).

The reason why verbals offer special difficulties to traditional grammar is because they do not agree with the notion of fixed "parts of speech," some grammarians even refusing to class them as such after expelling them from the class of verbs proper. (Compare, for instance, Gowdy, *English Gram.* § 40.) From the psychological standpoint the "parts of speech" are, however, not fixed elements at all, but merely secondary, complex combinations of objective reference, meaning, function and form, which vary not only from one language to another (See Bloomfield, *Introd. to the Study of Lang.*, pp. 112 f., 126 f.), but also to a less degree within the limits of a single language. The fundamental elements of connected speech are the different processes and functions which blend together in such combinations. They are normally multiple and varied in actual discourse. If for any reason certain types of blended functions become habitual in any given language, these may be viewed as its "parts of speech." What these shall be and how far they remain fluid or approach fixed form, depends on the concrete circumstances of the particular language. But they cannot become absolutely stereotyped even in the most inflectional or idiomatic languages, but frequently assume shifted, blended, or intermediate forms (See Ch's VII and XX of Paul's *Prinz.* or of Strong-Logeman-Wheeler's *History of Language.*), as in the case of adjectives and adverbs used as nouns, adjectives used as interjections, participles used as prepositions, etc. Such shifted or blended constructions are of constant occur-

rence in actual speech and are exceedingly diverse in their concrete forms. It is one of the strongest points of the grammar under review that it gives exceedingly clear and satisfactory discussions of border constructions, tho these are generally scantily recognized in current grammars, being usually dealt with as "idioms," "constructions," and "exceptions," and the fundamental principle on which they rest being left unstated. Verbals are among the plainest illustrations of such intermediate functions. Their psychological explanation is quite simple: when any predication is reduced to an implicit or assumed form, a reduced predicate either remains in feeling a simple verb (as in the so-called infinitive clause) or adds on the adjective function. If the whole clause is reduced to the enclitic form, the function of the verbal agrees normally with that of the clause before reduction, noun clauses giving gerunds or infinitives, adjective clauses giving participial adjectives, adverbial clauses giving adverbial or "circumstantial" participles, etc. Observe that this simple principle at once regularizes the supposed exceptional and idiomatic uses of participles as adverbs (§§ 241-242), prepositions (§ 241), conjunctions (§ 213), etc.

Observe that the views we have just criticized are shared by Blount and Northup with current grammarians generally. They are not "sinners above other Galileans," but on the contrary improve on stock definitions in several points. These strictures are not, therefore, a ground for condemning their work even at this point. They do, however, show that an important part of the necessary reconstruction of grammatical science must consist in a reclassification and redefinition of the functions of connected discourse, including the so-called parts of speech. (The reviewer expects to publish shortly a work on "A New Classification of Grammar" along these lines.)

In its treatment of material the work is to be strongly commended from every angle. Illustrations of its luminously clear, yet concise, exposition are the explanation of reciprocals (§ 48), the classification of verbs (§§ 113-120), verb-agreement (§ 122-123), etc. Of especial excellence are the commenting and explaining notes. Many of these are intended to stimulate the student to think for himself, and at the same time to show him that grammatical phenomena are not a matter of stereotyped rules but vital processes which may vary in individual cases. Thruout both main sections and notes the expository, inductive and practic methods are judiciously interwoven, thus heightening the student's interest by a varied style and by constantly stimulating him to understand and do on his own initiative. See, for instance, pp. 271 ff.

The illustrative and practice sentences given in each section and in the larger exercises at the close of each chapter are uniformly of a high grade of excellence, as the exercise on verbals, pp. 298-398, illustrations of the so-called subjective complements,

pp. 99-101. The citations are mainly from standard literary works, including the Bible and classical and modern authors, involving a judicious introduction of archaic and poetic forms to about the extent the student might be expected to understand them in reading the Bible and classic English authors. The only exercise not up to standard is the short exercise on so-called object complements on pp. 54-55. This is decidedly onesided, showing mainly cognate and reflexive objects. The book itself is a continuing example of good English diction—simple, clear, concise, direct.

Cross-references are freely and skilfully used, adding to clearness and saving space. Compare §§ 105, 106, 109, 116, 118, 125, 172, etc., etc. Valuable also are the references to other works on English grammar and general linguistics (as in §§ 107, 108, 111a, 122a, and many others), tending both to familiarize the student with the existence of such works, to give him wider information, and to form habits of independent research.

Grammar necessarily touches linguistics at many points. At such points of contact Blount and Northup's Work generally shows a scholarly insight into the true nature of language that lifts it above the narrow pedantry sometimes shown in English grammars. Comparisons with kindred phenomena in other languages occur where they are illuminating, as in §§ 25, 29, 39, 6, 75, 123i, 140, etc. The concise historical statements of the development of different forms and constructions out of older forms of English speech are clear and helpful, as in §§ 24, 32, 40, 42, 54, 85, 91, 96b, 111 n. 2, 121, 131, 131a, 136b, and many others. Citations from Old and Middle English are generally translated (as in §§ 70, 6, 111 n. 2). For the sake of the students and of some teachers this ought always to be done as a knowledge of Old and Middle English cannot be presumed. It is neglected, for instance, in §§ 48 and 85. In § 160 the statement that *further* is historically the comparative of *fore* with the comparative suffix *-ther*, might well add reference to the same suffix in *other*, *either*, *neither*, *whether*, *nether*. In a few instances the historical statement overshadows or crowds out the statement of present linguistic facts, thus obscuring instead of clarifying the construction it seeks to explain. Thus, in § 161, the historical explanation of the adverbial predicate (as *they descended* FEARLESS) is admirable. It is not made clear, however, that the construction continues ambiguous for present speech-feeling because it is a poetic construction and not normal for ordinary speech. The statement of the historical basis of *had rather* in § 260 is luminously clear—what the construction is for present speech-feeling is not made clear. In § 101c *more* in the phrase *twelve more men* is said to be a substantive and *men* a partitive genitive depending upon it. It should be made plain that this is not true of present English, as is properly done in the immediately following discussion of the



phrase *a hundred men*. In § 274c the statement that *days* and *nights* (in *he worked days and studied nights*) are genitives is of course historical only. This construction has become plural for present linguistic feeling. In § 72 the explanation of *him* in *ask him a question* as an accusative should be noted as merely historical. It is an indirect object for present speech-feeling. Compare for instance the practically universal tendency of Anglo-Saxon users of German to say *er bat mir*, *er fragte mir*, etc., even after repeated reminders that *bitten* and *fragen* take only the accusative. Likewise the explanation of *the* as an adverb in such phrases as *the more the merrier*, *the more he has the more he wants* (§§ 105b and 164) is, I think, now purely traditional and historical. *The* in such phrases is surely the ordinary definite article for my own speech-feeling and for that of all whom I have tested in the matter—THE crowd which is more is THE merrier crowd; when he has THE larger quantity, he wants THE still larger quantity, etc. This conclusion is also borne out by the same practical test of Anglo-Saxon tendencies in speaking and writing foreign tongues—the ordinary definite article is a persistent error instead of German *je . . . desto*, Greek *ὅσῳ . . . τοσούτῳ*, French *plus . . . plus*, etc. Blount and Northup themselves testify to this English speech-feeling, first by classing this use of *the* under the definite article in § 105, and secondly by warning against it in § 164.

The above are all the instances I have been able to find in which any aspects of historical statements could be adversely criticized; the great mass of them are both adequate and properly safeguarded.

Similar sound scholarship is shown in the passages touching on general linguistic science. The few lapses are mostly slight ones. Thus, on p. 9, analogy, or the conforming of words to grammatical and inflectional classes, is at first properly explained as a matter of habit. The succeeding statement that the child unconsciously argues the matter is not so sound. Another slight slip occurs on the same page, where *seed*, child-language for *saw*, is based on the analogy of the *-t* preterits *lookt*, *askt*, *laught*, etc. They are, of course, based on the *-d* preterits, such as *showed*, *loved*, etc. Philologically unsound also is the statement on p. 4 that "uneducated people are always careless of grammatical forms." What is really meant is that popular speech-feeling constantly tends to eliminate stilted and functionless forms no longer in agreement with the colloquial analogies of the language, in other words to get rid of pedantic lumber. Various causes, some of them dating back to the Indo-European period, had made the sentence mechanism of English fundamentally non-inflectional before the Middle English period, thus rendering most inflections superfluous and functionless. But these same inflections, when functional and living, had been retained by the uneducated folk through the preceding millenniums of Germanic speech. Compare also such highly inflected folk dialects as Finnish, Bantu, Lithuan-

ian, Old Slavic, etc.—The reference on p. 10 to *in case that*, *in order that*, etc., as “words” confuses the distinction between word and significant term. A word is the shortest sentence segment which, when analyzed and detached, still suggests meaning and sentence function to the analyzing speech consciousness. A term is a conceptual unit and may contain one or several words, or (in some languages) only part of a compound word.—The statement in §§ 68 and 165 that a preposition is essentially without inflection, is unscientific. Compare English *amid*: *amidst*, *among*: *amongst*, *beside*: *besides*, *toward*: *towards*, *concerning*, *during*, etc.; also O. E. prepositions in *-an* and *-es*, I. E. case forms used as prepositions not to speak of such non-Indo-European phenomena as the Malay verbal inflection of prepositions. The further implication in § 68 that a word such as *like* in *he runs like a deer*, cannot be a preposition if it can also have other grammatical functions, is of course an error. It does not disprove prepositional character to class it as an adverb—when a relational adverb has an expressed object or terminus, it thereby becomes prepositional: compare *under*, *over*, *within*, etc.

Such words of double or intermediate function were partly discussed above. They are frequent in the case of syntactical shifting (as in the use of *but* noted in § 272), or because the thought normally demands a double connection (as in the clause discussed in § 221). They may sometimes vary for the speech feeling of different users of the same language. It is owing to this fact that grammarians fruitlessly differ concerning such constructions as *he is like his father*, etc. What one speech consciousness classes as an adjective, another classes as a preposition, another as a blended function, etc. If a grammarian rightly reports his own speech consciousness unwarped by extraneous theories, his explanation must stand for his individual language.

In the treatment of double and intermediate constructions generally, however, Blount and Northup's Grammar marks a decided advance over the current treatment in school grammars. The principles of sound philological common sense which they have set before themselves are stated and illustrated in § 19. Their attitude is the same as that of Paul in the chapters (VII and XX of his *Prinzipien*) cited above. On the whole these principles are correctly followed thruout the work, particularly in the explanatory notes. Thus, in § 79a and § 80, sentence 10, they point out how a noun may function as a preposition; the note to sentence 8, p. 188, points out how a sentence may waver between the complex and compound type (compare note to sentence 6 of § 185); § 200 n. 5 shows how a clause may be both adjectival and substantival at the same time in two different relations. See also note 6 in the same section. The principle must, however, receive further large extension and application in order to fully correspond to the facts of actual language, and must be applied to the solution

of new problems. Thus, in the case of the so-called active infinitive in a passive sense (§ 255a) in such phrases as *a prop to lean upon*, *nothing to do*, *this house is to let*, the supposed ellipsis disappears as soon as the principle of double construction is invoked. There is only one house involved in *a house to let* and it is once fully expressed, but the infinitive stands in a double relation to the noun, which it both modifies as an adjective or predicate and governs as an object. When this is recognized, it is no longer necessary to call an active form passive.

In general, most cases of so-called ellipsis are simply cases of double or multiple construction. A full recognition of this fact would lead to the partial rewriting of the chapters on contractions and ellipses (XV) and verbals (XVI-XIX) and of some individual sections scattered throughout the work. Let it be remembered at the same time that the grammar agrees in this respect with most current grammars. A valid treatment of ellipses must, in my opinion, observe the following principles: (1) Mere want or incompleteness of construction does not constitute ellipsis—there must also be a material gap or omission in the expression of the thought. (2) Genuine ellipsis must ordinarily be reduced from a previous fuller expression; a construction which was never fuller than at present must have some other explanation if its true cause is stated. (3) Even equivalence to or development out of a fuller construction does not show present living ellipsis if the change consists simply in the elimination of tautology. Thus, *the book I am reading* means the same as *the book which I am reading*, but the first sentence is not elliptical because *book* and *which* refer tautologically to the same object, which is present only once both in fact and in thought. (4) Expandability does not prove ellipsis; nearly everything in language is expandable, with or without tautology. (5) Even in the case of genuine ellipsis, the mere citing of the fuller construction does not grammatically explain the briefer elliptical construction. We must also know how the gap in the expression of the thought is filled out—generally by reference either to the linguistic context or to mental and objective connection, and what are the actual grammatical relations which subsist in the construction in its briefer form.

For particular instances of over-application of the principle of ellipsis see the definition of the conjunction (§ 171), the contraction of compound sentences (§ 188), § 214a, sent. 1, 228, sent. 1, § 229, 6, note, and many sentences in the Exercise following § 230.

Disjunctive pronouns are another psychological category of colloquial English generally unrecognized in current grammar, but whose recognition would solve certain problems that offer difficulty to traditional grammar. Our authors are to be commended for giving them practical recognition at several points.



Thus, in § 57 *it is me* is properly noted as colloquially "used by some educated persons" and Shelley's literary use of the same phrase ("*Be thou me!*") is justified on the ground that "it is more sonorous and takes the emphasis better than the nominative." (Of course *me* is however here also a nominative, though disjunctive.) Observe that this is only another way of saying it is a disjunctive, that is, an independent emphatic form. My own observation is that the disjunctive predicates *me, you, him, her, it, us, them* are freely and normally used by educated speakers in easy colloquial style—the literary and stilted-spoken equivalent is of course *it is I*, etc. The citation from Shelley shows the tendency of the disjunctive predicate to force its way into literary usage. The reason is that speech feeling is in the long run both more powerful and more subtle than crude pedantic rules. Another instance is the seeming confusion of nominative and objective pronominal forms after *than*—see sentences 3-10 in § 272. Our authors courageously and sensibly recognize these forms as sanctioned by usage and therefore correct, though they (in common with grammarians generally) have not grasped their psychological explanation. The perennial confusion (see § 301) between supposed subject and object forms in such combinations as *he gave it to John and I, between you and I, we believed it to be him*, etc. is simply a case of disjunctives misunderstood and therefore persistently combatted. The older colloquial disjunctive forms were *John and me, you and me*, etc. Now that persistent correction has at last induced the average educated speaker to change the supposed objective forms to nominatives, he tends to change all forms together—not only *he and I came* but *between you and I*, etc. The reason is that in his speech feeling they are not conjunctive forms at all, but simple disjunctives, in which no distinction of nominative and accusative obtains, in fact cannot obtain, because the distinction rests on close union with the verb and this is the exact opposite of the disjunctive idea of separation from and independence of the verb. We have shaken the average speaker's certainty as to whether the disjunctive should agree in form with the conjunctive nominative or objective, but we have not phased the category itself, both because language cannot dispense with it and because pedantic grammar never knew we had it. Our authors' partial recognition of disjunctives seems to me therefore of great importance.

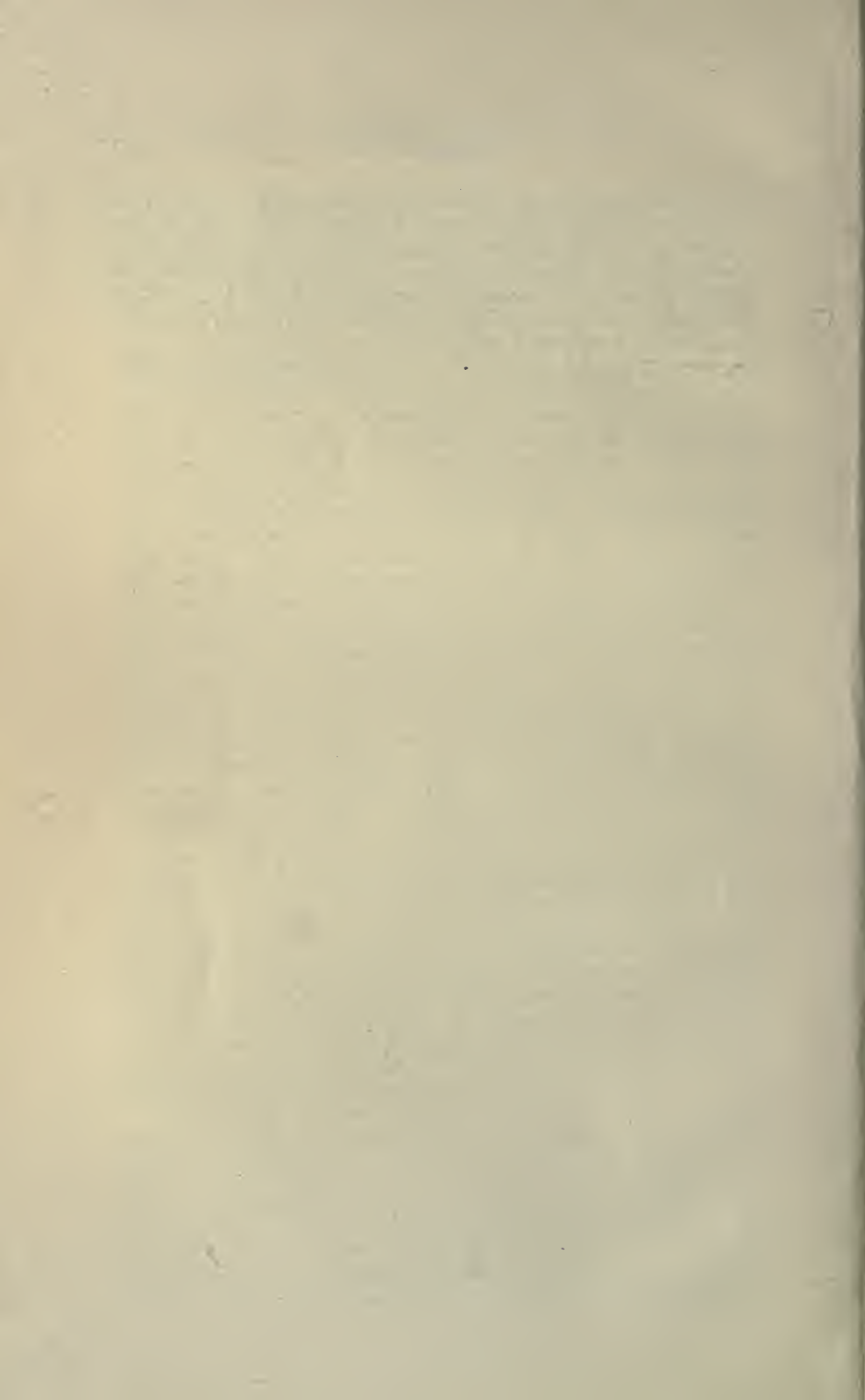
Let me sum up by saying that Blount and Northup's *English Grammar* appeals to me as a strong, clear work of sound linguistic scholarship well adapted to its declared purposes. I have necessarily been unfair to it in the above review in one important particular—I have uniformly contented myself with a few illustrations or even with a bare mention of the points of excellence, while I have endeavored to make adverse criticisms fairly exhaustive, even though they were not rightly criticisms of the book under review but only of current grammar generally.

From the standpoint of practical school use, it remains to note that the mechanical make-up is excellent—clear print on good paper, good and durable binding flexible enough to allow the book to lie flat open at any page. I have detected only one misprint, in l. 4, p. 112, which has *love* for *loved* as the 1 sg. past ind. The page headings on pp. 305 and 307 are also slightly inaccurate.

The book deserves a wide use.

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## DER UNTERSCHIED IN DER AUFFASSUNG DER ETHIK BEI SCHILLER UND KANT

Es war im Januar des Jahres 1791, als ein Fieber den Dichter Schiller erfasste, und ihn aufs Krankenlager warf, von dem der Siechende nur langsam genas. Eine grossherzige dänische Unterstützung ermöglichte es ihm, sich, ledig aller Nahrungssorgen, ganz seiner Lieblingsbeschäftigung, der Philosophie, zu ergeben. Von dem Ueberschwang, der in der Jugendphilosophie des Dichters vorherrschte, hatte ihn sein Freund Körner zurückgerufen und ihn zugleich auf Kant hingewiesen. Die Bekanntschaft mit K. L. Reinhold, seit 1787 Professor der Philosophie in Jena, tat das Uebrige. Dieser von warmer Begeisterung für den Königsberger Philosophen getragene Denker gab gerade in jener Zeit, 1790-92, die "Briefe über die Kantische Philosophie" heraus, die dem Verständnis Kantischer Ideen in weiten Kreisen die Wege ebneten. Kant und sein System bildeten das Tagesgespräch, und wir dürfen in dem regen brieflichen Gedankenaustausch zwischen Körner und Schiller eine gegenseitige Hinführung zu Kant erblicken.<sup>1</sup>

Diese rein äusserlichen Gründe, die den Dichter zu Kant hingleiteten, erhielten eine kräftige innere Stütze durch die merkwürdige Tatsache, dass die Schillersche Jugendphilosophie Fragen und Probleme erörterte, deren Lösung sich auch der Kantische Kritizismus zur Aufgabe gemacht hatte. Aus dieser Tatsache liesze sich auch Schillers aussergewöhnlich schnelles Eindringen in die Kantische Philosophie erklären. Dass die vorkantische Philosophie Schillers für seine spätere künstlerische Weltanschauung von einschneidender Bedeutung gewesen ist, dass die selbständigen Schritte im Reiche des Denkens, die Schiller über Kant hinaus tat, hier ihre Wurzeln haben, wird im Laufe der Untersuchung noch festgestellt werden können.

<sup>1</sup> Ueber die Bedeutung, die Kant für Schiller gewonnen, spricht sich Humboldt in der Einleitung zu seinem "Briefwechsel mit Schiller" (Stuttgart 1830. S. 52) kurz und treffend dahin aus, dass "Schiller von Kant nicht genommen, sondern von dessen Philosophie nur Hülfe und Anregung empfangen" habe.

Bei einer Würdigung der Schillerschen Ethik musz der Gedanke als Richtschnur dienen, dasz Schiller sich nur zu dem Zwecke so intensiv mit philosophischen Studien befaszte, weil er sich über das Wesen und die Aufgabe seiner Kunst Klarheit verschaffen wollte, dasz also im letzten Grunde *ästhetische* Betrachtungen zu Schillers Auseinandersetzung mit ethischen Fragen den Anstosz gaben. Wie grundlegend diese Verquickung ethischer und ästhetischer Ansichten für die Ausprägung von Schillers Weltanschauung geworden ist, soll im folgenden Kapitel kurz erörtert werden.

## I

DAS PROBLEM DES VERHÄLTNISSES ZWISCHEN PFLICHT UND NEIGUNG.

4. *Schillers Begriffsbestimmung des objektiven Schönheitsmerkmals* In einem Briefe, den Körner am 13. März 1791 an Schiller richtete, machte er Kant den Vorwurf, er habe der Objektivität der körperlichen Eigenschaften nicht Rechnung getragen; so spreche Kant nur von der Wirkung des Schönen auf das Subjekt, erkenne aber nicht die Berechtigung an, dasz man von objektiv schönen und objektiv hässlichen<sup>2</sup> Dingen reden dürfe.<sup>3</sup> Hier spielt Körner offenbar darauf an, dasz Kant eine Erkenntnis a priori von Eigenschaften, die den Dingen an sich zukommen, entschieden in Abrede stellt. Dieser Körnersche Brief regte Schiller zu dem Versuche an, durch rein gedankliche Ueberlegungen eine aprioristische Ableitung des objektiven Schönheitsmerkmals durchzuführen. Diese geplante Theorie des Schönen sollte dann zu einem harmonischen Schlussbau zusammen gesetzt werden im "Kallias," zu dessen Ausführung der Dichter aber nicht mehr kam. Wir sind daher auf die knappen Andeutungen angewiesen, die sich im Schiller-

<sup>2</sup> Es heiszt in "Schillers Briefwechsel mit Körner" (Leipzig 1859 Bd. 2. S. 237): "Kant spricht bloz von der Wirkung der Schönheit auf das *Subjekt*. Die Verschiedenheit schöner und hässlicher Objekte, die in den Objekten selbst liegt, und auf welcher diese Klassifikation beruht, untersucht er nicht. Dasz diese Untersuchung fruchtlos sein würde, behauptet er ohne Beweis, und es fragt sich, ob dieser Stein der Weisen nicht noch zu finden wäre."

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. "Kritik der Urteilskraft" [Rosenkranz] S. 48, 79. 123.

Körnerschen Briefwechsel vorfinden: Ausgangspunkt Schillers war der Begriff der praktischen Vernunft als der Form der reinen Selbstbestimmung. Ein Vernunftwesen musz aus reiner und nur aus reiner Vernunft handeln, wenn wir ihm das Attribut der reinen Selbstbestimmung zuerkennen wollen. Aus dem nämlichen Grunde musz ein reines Naturwesen aus reiner und nur aus reiner Natur handeln.<sup>4</sup> Begegnen wir bei einer Durchmusterung des Realen auszer uns einem Naturwesen, das durch sich selbst bestimmt zu sein scheint, so sprechen wir ihm Freiheit-Aehnlichkeit, kurz Freiheit zu. In diesem Falle kann es sich naturgemäsz nur darum handeln, dasz der betreffende Gegenstand uns frei *erscheint* nicht wirklich frei ist. Es liegt hier also keine Freiheit in der Realität, sondern blosz Freiheit in der Erscheinung vor: "Freiheit in der Erscheinung ist (aber) eins mit der Schönheit."<sup>5</sup>

Dieser Satz muszte notwendig, auf das moralische Handeln des  
 5. *Uebertragung des objektiven* Menschen angewendet, folgende  
*Schönheitsbegriffes auf das* Präzision erfahren: Gesetze,  
*sittliche Handeln des Menschen* die Anspruch darauf machen  
 wollen, dem Menschen als Richtschnur für seine Lebensführung  
 zu dienen, dürfen in keiner Weise einen Zwang auf Vernunft  
 und Sinnenrichtung ausüben. Wo Zwang herrscht, da hört die  
 Freiheit auf,<sup>6</sup> und wo die Freiheit aufhört, herrscht keine Schön-  
 heit mehr. So war von vornherein Schillers durch ästhetische  
 Prinzipien geläuterte Stellung zum kategorischen Imperativ  
 Kants gegeben. Seine Künstler und Dichternatur, die sich gegen  
 jede Fessel aufbäumte, muszte ihn notgedrungen in eine Oppo-  
 sitionstellung zu dem Sittengesetz Kants treiben.

Den Willkürlichkeiten der Materialisten und Glückselig-  
 keitsphilosophen, die nur das eigene Wohl des  
 6. *Pflicht und* Menschen zum Maszstab des sittlichen Handelns  
*Neigung* machten, stellte Kant den allgemeinen kate-  
 gorischen Imperativ entgegen. Ihn hat Kant  
 in der "Grundlegung zur Methaphysik der "Sitten" auf drei

<sup>4</sup> Kants Wort hierzu in der "Kritik der praktischen Vernunft" (Reclam S. 81 und 174)

<sup>5</sup> Jonas, Schillerbriefe 3. 266.

<sup>6</sup> Wenn sich auch Kant hier und da ähnlich ausdrückt, z. B. "Kritik der prakt. Vern." (Reclam S. 97 u. 192) so ist das doch ziemlich belanglos.



Hauptformeln<sup>7</sup> gebracht, neben denen eine Menge abweichender Formulierungen<sup>8</sup> herläuft, faszt ihn dann aber als: "Grundgesetz der reinen praktischen Vernunft" dahin zusammen:

"Handle so, dasz die Maxime deines Willens jederzeit zugleich als Prinzip einer allgemeinen Gesetzgebung gelten könne."<sup>9</sup>

Unter "Maxime" versteht Kant:

"das subjektive Prinzip zu handeln, welches wohl vom 'objektiven Prinzip,' nämlich dem praktischen Gesetz unterschieden werden musz. Jene (die Maxime) enthält die praktische Regel, die die Vernunft, den Bedingungen des Subjektes gemäsz (öfters der Unwissenheit oder auch der Neigung desselben) bestimmt, und ist also der Grundsatz, nach welchem das Subjekt handelt; das Gesetz aber ist das *objektive* Prinzip, gültig für jedes vernünftige Wesen, und der Grundsatz, nach dem es handeln soll, d.i. ein Imperativ."<sup>10</sup> Motiv zum Handeln ist nichts "als freier Wille; mithin nicht bloz ohne Mitwirkung sinnlicher Antriebe, sondern selbst mit Abweisung aller derselben und mit Abbruch aller Neigungen, sofern sie jenem Gesetz zuwider sein könnten."<sup>11</sup>

Aussicht auf Belohnung und Bestrafung, Liebe und Neigung zur Pflicht verwirft Kant als egoistische Motive zur sittlichen Tat. Der Wille beim sittlichen Handeln musz nach ihm bloz durchs Gesetz: "ohne andere Triebfedern" bestimmt werden. "Und Pflicht ist zu fassen als die Notwendigkeit meiner Handlungen aus reiner Achtung fürs Gesetz,"<sup>12</sup> welche "Achtung,"<sup>13</sup> wie die Kritik der praktischen Vernunft zeigt (S. 93, 94), nicht eine besondere "Triebfeder zur Sittlichkeit" ist, sondern die Sittlichkeit (d. h. der Gedanke des Sittengesetzes) selbst, subjektiv als Triebfeder betrachtet.<sup>14</sup> Und weiterhin hebt Kant es noch wieder deutlich hervor:

"Es ist von der grössten Wichtigkeit, in allen moralischen Beurteilungen auf das subjektive Prinzip aller Maximen mit der äussersten Genauigkeit acht zu haben, damit alle Moralität der Handlungen in der Notwendigkeit derselben *aus Pflicht* und aus Achtung fürs Gesetz, nicht aus Liebe und Zuneigung zu dem, was die Handlungen hervorbringen sollen, gesetzt werde."<sup>15</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Philosophische Bibliothek (Ausgabe Kirchmann) Bd. 28. a.S.44; b.S.53; c.S.56.

<sup>8</sup> Ebenda: a.S.44; b.S.59; c.S.63; d.S.63; e.S. 64.

<sup>9</sup> Kritik der prakt. Vernunft (Reclam) S.36.

<sup>10</sup> Grundlegung, Phil. Bibl. (Kirchmann) 28.S.43. Anmerkung.

<sup>11</sup> Kr. d. pr. Vern. (Reclam) S. 88.

<sup>12</sup> Kr. d. pr. Vern. (Reclam) S.22.; 42;

<sup>13</sup> Ausser an den angeführten Stellen redet Kant noch von der Achtung in Kr. d. pr. Vern. S. 90, 93, u. 96.

<sup>14</sup> A. Messer: "Kants Ethik" Leipzig 1904 S. 27.

<sup>15</sup> Kr. d. pr. Vern. (Recl.) S. 99. u. 96.

Nur eine im Kampfe mit den sinnlichen Neigungen entstandene Handlung nennt Kant also moralisch. Wenn sich aber der menschliche Wille zwar gemäsz dem Sittengesetze bestimmt, dies jedoch tut aus irgend welchen Gefühlen, die vorausgesetzt werden müssen, damit diese Willensbestimmung eintrete, dann ist die Handlung nur legal. Aber nicht darin, dasz eine Handlung bloz legal (inhaltlich richtig, also pflichtmäszig) sei, wobei auch Neigungen die Bestimmungsgründe des Wollens sein können, sondern darin, dasz sie aus reiner Achtung vor dem Gesetz geschehe, besteht ihre Moralität, ihr eigentlicher moralischer Wert.<sup>16</sup> Durch diese Auseinandersetzungen stellte Kant dem kategorischen Imperativ den hypothetischen entgegen. Alle Sittlichkeitstheorien, welche der Wohlfahrt des einzelnen als auch der Allgemeinheit Rechnung tragen zu müssen glauben, wie z.B. der Eudämonismus, der Utilitarismus, Energitismus (Shaftsbury) usw., fallen unter den Begriff des hypothetischen Imperativs und werden somit von vornherein in Gegensatz zur Kantischen Ethik gebracht.

Der Gedanke, dasz die Neigung verstummen müsse, wo das Gesetz rede, versetzt den Königsberger Philosophen geradezu in Ekstase, und voll Begeisterung bricht er in die bekannten Worte aus:

“Pflicht! Du erhabener groszer Name, der du nichts Beliebtes, was Einschmeichelung bei sich führt, in dich fassest, sondern Unterwerfung verlangst, . . . vor dem alle Neigungen verstummen, . . . welches ist der deiner würdige Ursprung, und wo findet man die Wurzel deiner edlen Abkunft, welche alle Verwandtschaft mit Neigungen stolz ausschlägt, und von welcher Wurzel abzustammen, die unnachlaszliche Bedingung desjenigen Wertes ist, den sich Menschen allein selbst geben können.”<sup>17</sup>

Allem willkürlichen Belieben und Behagen des Individuums stellt also Kant die unwandelbare Strenge eines allgemeinen sittlichen Gesetzes entgegen; es könnte scheinen, dasz das erstere doch zu seinem Rechte komme, da demselben ja freie bewusste Selbstentscheidung zugestanden wird, ja man könnte meinen, dasz er in dieser Beziehung sogar zu weit gehe, indem er den Willen des Einzelnen als gesetzgebend betrachte.<sup>18</sup> Dennoch möchte

<sup>16</sup> F. Bettingen: “Schillers Weltanschauung in seiner Lyrik” Krefeld 1882. S. 18. Messer. a.a.O. S. 80 u. 232. Kr. d. pr. Vern. (Recl.) S. 99.

<sup>17</sup> Kr. d. pr. Vern. (Recl.) S. 105.

<sup>18</sup> Loewe: “Ueber den Wert des Kantischen kategorischen Imperativs.” Stettin 1878. S.20.

ich allen denen z.B. F. H. Jakobi, Schleiermacher usw. beipflichten, die an dem Kantischen Moralprinzip, da es nur die unbeugsame Strenge eines allgemeinen Gesetzes kennt, und dem Allgemeinen alle individuelle Bestimmtheit in Recht und Pflicht zum Opfer bringt, die Möglichkeit individuell bestimmter Entscheidung vermissen. Schillers Ansicht, dasz Schönheit als Freiheit in der Erscheinung auch im sittlichen Handeln herrschen müsse, liesz ihn die Auffassung Jakobis teilen, und so schrieb er am 19. Februar 1793 an Körner:

“Offenbar hat die Gewalt, welche die praktische Vernunft bei moralischen Willensbestimmungen gegen unsere Triebe ausübt, etwas Beleidigendes, etwas Peinliches in der Erscheinung. Wir wollen nun einmal nirgends Zwang sehen, auch nicht, wenn die Vernunft selbst ihn ausübt; auch die Freiheit der Natur wollen wir respektiert wissen, weil wir ‘jedes Wesen in der ästhetischen Beurteilung als einen Selbstzweck’ betrachten, und es uns, denen Freiheit das Höchste ist, ekel; (empört), dasz etwas dem andern aufgeopfert werden und zum Mittel dienen soll.”<sup>19</sup>

Körner stimmt mit Schiller völlig überein, und er antwortet ihm am 26. Februar 1793 u. a.:

“Was du über das Beleidigende der Vorstellung von Pflicht äusserst, ist mir aus der Seele geschrieben. Immer hat mich dieser Punkt in dem Kantschen System geärgert.”<sup>20</sup>

In dem Aufsatz: “Ueber Anmut und Würde” geht Schiller “agressiv”<sup>21</sup> gegen den kategorischen Imperativ vor. Er schreibt:

“In der Kant’schen Moralphilosophie ist die Idee der Pflicht mit einer Härte vorgetragen worden, die alle Grazien davon zurückschreckt und einen schwachen Verstand leicht versuchen könnte, auf dem Wege einer finstern und mönchischen<sup>22</sup> Aszetik die moralische Vollkommenheit zu suchen.”<sup>23</sup>

Allerdings sucht dann Schiller ein wenig einzulenken und bemerkt, dasz eine solche “Miszdeutung” dem “heiteren und freien Geist” des “groszen Weltweisen . . . unter allen gerade die empörendste sein würde,” aber er habe doch selbst durch die “strenge und grelle Entgegensetzung” beider Prinzipien einen “starken, obgleich bei seiner Absicht vielleicht kaum zu

<sup>19</sup> Jonas: “Schillerbriefe.” 3. 264.

<sup>20</sup> Körner: “Briefwechsel mit Schiller 3. S. 73.

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. Schillers Brief an Körner vom 18. Mai 1794. Jonas 3. 348, 438.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. hierzu “Urteilstkraft” (Recl.) S. 119 ff., was zu beweisen scheint, dasz Kant hier von Schiller falsch verstanden wurde.

<sup>23</sup> Schillers Werke (Cotta Taschenausgabe) Stuttgart 1838 Bd. 11. S. 365.



vermeidenden Anlaß dazu gegeben." Und so "rein und objektiv" Kant auch bei der Untersuchung der Wahrheit zu Werke gegangen sei, so hätte er sich bei der "Darstellung der gefundenen Wahrheit" von einer "mehr subjektiven" Maxime leiten lassen. Er habe nämlich die Zeitmoral, sowohl den groben Materialismus, als auch die nicht weniger bedenklichen "Perfektionsgrundsätze" ohne Nachsicht angreifen und so "der Drako seiner Zeit" werden müssen, "weil sie ihm eines Solons noch nicht wert und empfänglich schien."<sup>24</sup> Dann mit entschiedener Schärfe gegen Kant:

"Womit aber hatten es die Kinder des Hauses verschuldet, dasz er nur für die Knechte sorgte? Weil oft sehr unreine Neigungen den Mann der Tugend usurpieren, muszte darum auch der uneigennützigte Affekt in der edelsten Brust verdächtig gemacht werden? Weil der moralische Weichling dem Gesetz der Vernunft gern eine Laxität geben möchte, die es zum Spielwerk seiner Konvenienz macht, muszte ihm darum eine Rigidität beigelegt werden, die die kraftvollste Aeuszerung moralischer Freiheit nur in eine rühmlichere Art von Knechtschaft verwandelt?<sup>25</sup> Denn hat wohl der wahrhaft sittliche Mensch eine freiere Wahl zwischen Selbstachtung und Selbstverwerfung, als der Sinnensklave zwischen Vergnügen und Schmerz? Ist dort etwa weniger Zwang für den reinen Willen als hier für den verdorbenen? Muszte schon durch die *imperative* Form des Moralgesetzes die Menschheit angeklagt und erniedrigt werden, und das erhabenste Dokument ihrer Grösze zugleich die Urkunde ihrer Gebrechlichkeit sein? War es wohl bei dieser imperativen Form zu vermeiden, dasz eine Vorschrift, die sich der Mensch als Vernunftwesen selbst gibt, die deswegen allein für ihn bindend, und dadurch allein mit seinem Freiheitsgefühl verträglich ist, nicht den Schein eines fremden und positiven Gesetzes annahm."<sup>26</sup>

Hier haben wir also den groszen Unterschied zwischen Schiller und Kant. "Hart" fordert dieser, dasz Pflicht und Neigung in steter Feindschaft stehen, dasz die Pflicht die Freundschaft selbst der edelsten Art und der edelsten Neigungen abweise:

Die reine Pflicht musz nach ihm die einzige Triebfeder des sittlichen Handelns sein; die Pflicht die "nicht mit andern Triebfedern verbunden oder wohl gar diesen, (den Neigungen) als Bedingung untergeordnet, sondern in seiner

<sup>24</sup> Anmut u. Würde" Cotta 11. 365-66 und K. Vorländer: "Ethischer Rigorismus und sittliche Schönheit." Philosophische Monatshefte. Bd. 30. 1894. S. 246.

<sup>25</sup> Hier ist Schillers Ansicht reichlich düster. Vergl. Prakt. Vern. (Recl.) S. 192.

<sup>26</sup> Cotta, 11. 366 ff. u. Pr. Vern. S. 96.

ganzen Reinigkeit als für sich *zureichende* Triebfeder aufgenommen werden soll.<sup>27</sup>

Der Dichter dagegen verbindet die Neigung mit der Pflicht:

“Wie sehr auch Handlungen aus Neigung und Handlungen aus Pflicht in objektivem Sinne einander entgegenstehen, so ist dies doch in subjektivem Sinne nicht also, und der Mensch *darf* nicht nur, sondern *soll* Lust und Pflicht in Verbindung bringen; er *soll* seiner Vernunft mit Freuden gehorchen.”<sup>28</sup>

An “die Erzieher” ergeht der Tadel:

“Bürger erzieht ihr der sittlichen Welt, wir wollten euch loben,  
Stricht ihr sie nicht zugleich aus der empfindenden aus”<sup>29</sup>

insofern sie dieselben lehren, bei der Ausübung der Pflicht die Neigung zu verachten.<sup>30</sup> Schillers Ideal war stets die schöne Harmonie, der versöhnend wirkende Ausgleich zwischen Gegensätzlichem, eine Anschauung, die einerseits die Bestrebung fortsetzt, die er in seiner Jugendphilosophie unter dem Einfluß Shaftesburys verfolgt hatte.<sup>31</sup> Und er glaubt, in seinem Streben nach dem Ausgleich zwischen Pflicht und Neigung, mit dem Rigoristen der Moral einstimmig zu sein, hofft aber,

“dadurch noch zum *Latitudinärer* zu werden, dasz ich die Ansprüche der Sinnlichkeit, die im Felde der reinen Vernunft und bei der moralischen Gesetzgebung völlig zurückgewiesen sind, im Felde der Erscheinung und bei der wirklichen Ausübung der Sittenpflicht noch zu behaupten<sup>32</sup> versuche.”

Körner stimmt den gegen Kant gerichteten Ausführungen des Freundes lebhaft zu, ja sie gehen ihm noch nicht weit genug:

<sup>27</sup> Die Religion innerh. d. Grenzen der bloß Vern. Philos. Bib., (Kirchmann) 17.52.

<sup>28</sup> Cotta, 11.364.

<sup>29</sup> Votivtafeln, Reclam. Bd. 402-03 No. 61.

<sup>30</sup> E. Reinertz: “Schillers Gedankendichtung.” Ratibor 1894.

<sup>31</sup> Shaftesbury schreibt ganz im Einklang mit Schiller: “Die weltliche Moral gipfelt in der Aufgabe des weltlichen Individuums, alle seine Kräfte zu entfalten, alle Seiten der in ihm liegenden Anlage zur vollen Entwicklung zu bringen und damit sein Leben zu harmonischer Einheit zu gestalten. Alle Gegensätze einer Natur, die egoistischen und die sozialen, die sinnlichen und die geistigen Triebe sollten in dieser harmonischen Lebensgestaltung gleichmäszig ihr Recht haben, und so das Individuum aus seiner natürlichen Anlage heraus zur edlen Persönlichkeit entwickeln.” (Kultur der Gegenwart I. 5. S.459).

<sup>32</sup> Anmut und Würde, Cotta 11.363. Die technischen Ausdrücke stammen aus: “Relig. innerh. d. Gr.” Philos. Bibl. 17. 21-23, wo es heiszt: “Man nennt gemeinlich die, welche dieser strengen Denkungsart zugetan sind, Rigoristen, und so kann man ihre Antipoden Latitudinärer nennen.”

“Was du über Kants Moralphilosophie sagst, unterschreibe ich mit ganzer Seele. Deine Apologie für Kant ist sinnreich, aber fast glaube ich, dasz du ihm zuviel Ehre antust. Vielleicht fehlte es ihm an Gefühl für die moralische Schönheit; und von der Evidenz seines Moralsystems bin ich noch garnicht völlig überzeugt. Was nötigt uns denn, jede einzelne Handlung zu generalisieren und als *Maxime* zu betrachten? Ist es nicht eine höhere Vollkommenheit eines denkenden Wesens, sich nach den individuellen Verhältnissen, als nach allgemeinen Regeln, die doch immer nur Behelf des geistigen Unvermögens sind, zu bestimmen”<sup>33</sup>

Doch nicht dem alten Freunde Körner allein, sondern auch Kant selbst gab “Anmut und Würde” Anlaß zu Aeuszerungen. Er antwortete in seiner Abhandlung “Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der bloßen Vernunft”—und diese Antwort ist wichtig, sie ist eine Grenzbestimmung—

“Herr Professor Schiller miszbilligt in seiner mit Meisterhand verfaszten Abhandlung (Thalia 1793. 3. Stück) ‘Über Anmut und Würde’ in der Moral diese Vorstellungsart der Verbindlichkeit, als ob sie eine karthäuserartige Gemütsbestimmung bei sich führe; allein ich kann, da wir in den wichtigen Prinzipien einig sind, auch in diesem keine Uneinigkeit statuieren, wenn wir uns nur unter einander verständlich machen können. Ich gestehe gern, dasz ich dem *Pflichtbegriffe*, gerade um seiner Würde willen, keine *Anmut* beigesellen kann. Denn er enthält unbedingte Nötigung, womit Anmut in geradem Widerspruche steht. Die Majestät des Gesetzes (gleich dem auf Sinai) flöszt Ehrfurcht ein (nicht Scheu, welche zurückstöszt, auch nicht Reiz, der zur Vertraulichkeit einladet), welche *Achtung* des Untergebenen gegen seinen Gebieter, in diesem Falle aber, da dieser in uns selbst liegt, ein *Gefühl des Erhabenen* unserer eigenen Bestimmung erweckt, was uns mehr hinreißt, als alles Schöne.”<sup>34</sup>

Hier tritt Kants Schärfe deutlich zu Tage. Es ist der unerbittliche, preussisch-friederizianische Pflichtbegriff, der den Museen stolz vorangeht und letzteren keinerlei Einfluß gestattet auf die Pflicht. In den Pausen dürfen sie dienen. Solche Straffheit und Schroffheit kennt freilich keine Zugeständnisse.

Allerdings fährt Kant fort:

“Aber die Tugend, d.i. fest gegründete Gesinnung, seine Pflicht genau zu erfüllen, ist in ihren Folgen auch *wohlthätig*, mehr wie alles, was Natur oder Kunst in der Welt leisten mag; und das herrliche Bild der Menschheit, in dieser ihrer Gestalt aufgestellt, verstattet gar wohl die Begleitung der *Grazien*, die aber, wenn von Pflicht allein die Rede ist, sich in ehrerbietiger Entfernung halten. Wird aber auf die anmutigen Folgen gesehen, welche die Tugend, wenn sie überall Eingang fände, in der Welt verbreiten würde, so zieht alsdann

<sup>33</sup> Körner Briefwechsel mit Schiller 3.132.

<sup>34</sup> Philosoph. Bibl. (Kirchmann) 17.24 Anmerk.



die moralisch-gerichtete Vernunft die Sinnlichkeit (durch die Einbildungskraft) mit ins Spiel. Nur nach bezwungenen Ungeheuern wird Herkules *Musaget* vor welcher Arbeit jene guten Schwestern zurückbeben. Diese Begleiterinnen der Venus Urania sind Buhlschwestern im Gefolge der Venus Dione, sobald sie sich ins Geschäft der Pflichtbestimmung einmischen und die Triebfedern dazu hergeben wollen.<sup>35</sup>

Kant will also, das tritt deutlich zu Tage, "Anmut" nur den wohlthätigen Folgen zusprechen, welche die Tugend, "wenn sie überall Eingang fände," in der Welt verbreiten würde. Dies ist ein Zugeständnis, welches Schiller nicht genügen kann, wenn er sich auch in dem Briefe an Kant (den übrigens Cohen: "Ethik" S. 288 ganz zu Unrecht als "Ein Zeugnis *völliger* prinzipieller Uebereinstimmung" auffasst) für die "nachsichtige Zurechtweisung"<sup>36</sup> dankbar erklärt. Dem Dichterphilosophen ist es nicht bloß um die Folgen zu tun, er will eine prinzipiellere Anerkennung des Gefühls, oder, wie man damals häufiger sagte, der Sinnlichkeit. Diese jedoch läßt Kant nicht zu: "Nur nach bezwungenen Ungeheuern wird Herkules Musaget" d.h. nur nach Niederkämpfung der Begierden kann die Ethik von den Grazien begleitet sein; während Schiller von vornherein die Versöhnung anstrebt, die an Stelle der Niederwerfung treten soll. Noch deutlicher tritt die Differenz zu Tage: Nicht "anhängen," darf sich die Grazie, nur "beigesellen," ja selbst, um ihm Eingang zu verschaffen, darf die Anmut nicht mit dem Pflichtbegriff verbunden werden, "das ist der Gesetzgebung zuwider, die eine strenge Forderung ist und für sich geachtet sein will." Daher will Kant denn auch von einer "Mitwirkung der sinnlichen Natur" in der Ethik, wie sie Schiller gewünscht hatte, nichts wissen. Jene müsse, nicht als "mitwirkend," sondern "unter der Despotie des kategorischen Imperativs gezügelt," der "Anarchie der Naturneigungen"<sup>37</sup> Widerstand leisten; die von Schiller geforderte "durchgängige Harmonie" könne allein "durch deren (der Anarchie) Abschaffung" befördert werden. Ueberall blickt Kants über-groszer Eifer für die "Reinerhaltung der Ethik" durch, das ängstliche Sorgen, es könnten die Sinnlichkeit, die Natur, die Neigungen, wenn sie zugelassen, die Reinheit des Pflichtbegriffes, die Eigentümlichkeit des ethischen Sollens beeinträchtigen.

<sup>35</sup> Philos. Bibl. (Kirchmann) 17. 24. Anmerk.

<sup>36</sup> u.

<sup>37</sup> Schiller, Cotta 11.369. Philos. Bibl. 57. S.526.

Deshalb gilt ihm: Erst Pflicht, *dann* Anmut!<sup>38</sup> Darum ist die erste Frage, die Kant gleich nach der Ueberschrift "Thalia" sich stellt die: "ob Anmut vor der Würde, oder diese vor jener ratione prius vorhergehen müsse," und er beantwortet dieselbe natürlich in letzterem Sinne, während Schiller beide als gleichberechtigt neben einander stellt. Erst "wenn die Einpfropfung dieses Begriffes (der Pflicht) auf unsere Gesinnung endlich geschehen ist," so "könne es wohl geschehen, dasz wir pflichtmäßige Handlungen mit Lust tun," aber nicht "mit Lust aus Pflicht," was sich widerspricht. Diese Lust ist nur ein "Parergon der Moral." So lange das endliche Wesen physische Bedürfnisse hat, die "den moralischen sich entgegensetzen können," musz "bei allem Zutrauen zu sich selbst" die "imperative Form" des Sittengesetzes, die Schiller ausdrücklich für die "Kinder des Hauses" verworfen hatte, bestehen bleiben.<sup>39</sup> Pflicht und Lebensgenusz sind für Kant unvereinbar; sagt er doch am Schlusse des Kapitels "Von den Triebfedern der reinen praktischen Vernunft:"

"Die Ehrwürdigkeit der Pflicht hat nichts mit Lebensgenusz zu schaffen; sie hat ihr eigentümliches Gesetz, auch ihr eigentümliches Gericht, und wenn man auch beide noch so sehr zusammenschütteln wollte, um sie vermischt, gleichsam als Arzneimittel, der kranken Seele zuzureichen, so scheiden sie sich doch alsbald von selbst."<sup>40</sup>

Ueber das Verhältniß der Neigung zur Pflicht sind Schiller und Kant nie einig geworden. In das Jahr 1796 fallen die Xenien, und Schiller widmet auch diesem Punkt in seiner und Kants Philosophie ein Doppeldistichon mit seiner Spitze gegen Kant:

GEWISSENSSKRUPEL

"Gerne dien ich den Freunden, doch tu' ich es leider mit Neigung  
Und so wurmt es mir oft, dasz ich nicht tugendhaft bin;"

worauf die paradoxe "Entscheidung" im Kantischen Sinne:

DECISUM

"Da ist kein anderer Rat, du muszt suchen, sie zu verachten,  
Und mit Abscheu alsdann tun, wie die Pflicht dir gebeut."<sup>41</sup>

Gegen die "moralischen Schwätzer," die von der straffen Moral des Königsberger Philosophen einige Aeuszerlichkeiten

<sup>38</sup> Vgl. auch Kr. d. pr. Vern. (Recl.) S. 173.

<sup>39</sup> Vorländer S. 557 ff. Die zitierten Stellen sind der "Rel. innerh. der Gr. . . ." entnommen Philos. Bibl. 17. S. 50 ff.

<sup>40</sup> Kr. d. pr. Vern. (Recl.) S. 108.

<sup>41</sup> Reclam, No. 402/03. S. 80. 388.

aufgegriffen haben, und sich fort und fort damit brüsten, ohne selbst wirklich innerlich moralisch zu sein, richtet er die Verse:

“Wie sie mit ihrer reinen Moral uns, die schmutzigen, quälen!  
 Freilich, der groben Natur dürfen sie garnichts vertraun!  
 Bis in die Geisterwelt müssen sie fliehn, dem Tier zu entlaufen,  
 Menschlich können sie selbst auch nicht das menschlichste tun.  
 Hätten sie kein *Gewissen* und spräche die *Pflicht* nicht so heilig,  
 Wahrlich, sie plünderten selbst in der Umarmung die Braut.”<sup>42</sup>

Schon im vorhergehenden Jahre (1795) hatte sich Schiller über die rigoristische Moral Kants, zumal aber deren unberufene Nachbeter, die sich in ihrem methaphysischen Dünkel über Natur und die gegebene Welt hochmütig hinwegsetzen, in witzigen Versen lustig gemacht;

#### DER METAPHYSIKER

“Wie tief liegt unter mir die Welt!  
 Kaum seh’ ich noch die Menschlein unten wallen!  
 Wie trägt mich meine Kunst, die *höchste* unter allen,  
 So nahe an des Himmels Zelt!”  
 So ruft von seines Turmes Dache  
 Der Schieferdecker, so der kleine grosze Mann,  
 Hans Metaphysikus, in seinem Schreibgemache.  
 Sag’ an, du kleiner groszer Mann,  
 Der Turm, von dem dein Blick so vornehm niederschauet,  
 Wovon ist er—*worauf* ist er erbauet?  
 Wie kamst du selbst hinauf—und seine kahlen Höhn,  
 Wo zu sind sie dir nütz, als in das Tal zu sehn?”<sup>43</sup>

Das Pflichtbewusstsein wurzelt in der Vernunft. Die Triebe und Neigungen werden genährt von der sinnlichen Natur des Menschen. Im Grunde genommen handelt es sich also hier in dieser Streitfrage um den Gegensatz von Vernunft und Sinnlichkeit, und unter diesen Schlagwörtern wird das Problem in den Schriften Schillers noch des öfteren erörtert. Einige markante Stellen seien darum als Quellenbelege noch kurz angeführt und zu den kantischen Ansichten in Parallele gesetzt: Empfindung, Sinnlichkeit ist die erste menschliche Funktion, mögen wir das Individuum als Kind uns ansehen, oder, wie Schiller es mit Vorliebe tut, uns einen prähistorischen Zustand kon-

<sup>42</sup> Votivtafeln, Reclam 402-03 S. 91. 42.

<sup>43</sup> Cotta, I. 440.; Hoffmeister vermutet, jedoch wohl zu unrecht, dass sich dieses satirische Gedicht auf Fichte beziehe. Vgl. Viehoff, Schillers Gedichte, Stuttgart 1859 II. S.152.



struieren. Hier ist der Mensch ganz Natur.<sup>44</sup> Nun besteht für Kant die Aufgabe des Willens in erster Linie darin, nach Maszgabe des Sittengesetzes sich zu bestimmen mit Ueberwindung der aus der Sinnlichkeit stammenden Antriebe. Für Kant ist das Sinnliche überhaupt, und am Menschen ist alles Auszervernünftige lediglich Materie, die jeder innern Beziehung zum Sittlichen entbehrt; denn auch im organischen stehen für Kant Materie und vernünftige Zweckmäßigkeit nur neben einander. Davon geht Kant überall aus, dasz das Intelligibele, Spontane, Vernünftige einerseits, das Materielle, Mechanische, Sinnliche andererseits in einem ausschliessenden Gegensatze zu einander stehen; es sind im ganzen auch hier die beiden kartesischen Substanzen. Das Sinnliche ist bei Kant nur Mittel,<sup>45</sup> darum fordert er:

„Die sinnliche Natur musz nicht als mitwirkend, sondern unter der Despotie des kategorischen Imperativs gezügelt, der Anarchie der Natureigungen Widerstand leisten, deren Abschaffung allein auch ihre durchgängige Harmonie unter einander befördert.“<sup>46</sup>

Dieser ganze Dualismus zwischen Ideellem und Materiellem, diese Isolierung des Natürlichen als eines rein Mechanischen ist etwas, was Schiller durchaus widerstrebt. Schiller weisz im Grunde von keiner Materie, sondern nur von der an sich lebendigen Natur. Es will ihm überhaupt nicht in den Sinn, irgend etwas bloz als Mittel zu denken. Die Kantische Vorstellungsart erinnert an die Platonische, die Schillersche an die Aristotelische. Für Schiller ist nirgends blozter Stoff, sondern überall zugleich Form. Das Organische, das Lebendige ist ihm nicht bloz, wie für Kant, die „vollkommenste Maschine“,<sup>47</sup> nicht bloz zweckmäßig durch Vernunft gefügte und gruppierte Materie, sondern wie alles Aeuzere, Sinnliche, von Anfang an seelenvolle, dem Geist verwandte Natur.<sup>48</sup> Die rigoristische Moral Kants, die schon alle Neigungen verbannte, setzt also einen steten Widerspruch zwischen Vernunft und Sinnlichkeit voraus und ver-

<sup>44</sup> G. Geil „System von Schillers Ethik“ Straszburg 1890 S. 21.

<sup>45</sup> Windelband „Geschichte der neueren Philosophie“ III. 2.59. Hettner: „Literaturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts. III. 4. 3. 2. S. 22“ A. Baumeister: Ueber Schillers Lebensansicht in ihrer Beziehung zur Kantischen.“ Tübingen 1897 S.19.

<sup>46</sup> Messer, a.a.O. S.240.

<sup>47</sup> Windelband, a.a.O. S.154.

<sup>48</sup> Baumeister, a.a.O. S.19.

leiht ersterer ohne alle Rücksicht die unumschränkte Herrschaft über letztere. "Die Vernunft musz der Sinnlichkeit Gewalt antun," sagt Kant in der "Kritik der Urteilskraft,"<sup>49</sup> und es ist nach ihm die Vernunft" der allein gesetzgebende Faktor" im Menschen. Schiller will, dasz Vernunft und Sinnlichkeit in friedlicher Harmonie zusammenwirken. Die Sinnlichkeit soll beim sittlichen Handeln nicht die Rolle des Unterdrückten, sondern des Mitwirkenden spielen. Sie (die Sinnlichkeit) soll zwar mit den Geboten der Vernunft übereinstimmen:

"Nicht um sie wie eine Last wegzuwerfen, oder wie eine grobe Hülle von sich abzustreifen, nein, um sie aufs Innigste mit seinem höheren Selbst zu vereinbaren, ist seiner reinen Geisternatur eine sinnliche beige-  
*sellt. Erst alsdann, wenn sie aus seiner gesamten Menschheit als die vereinigte Wirkung beider Prinzipien hervorquillt, wenn sie ihm zur Natur geworden ist, ist seine sittliche Denkart geborgen.*"<sup>50</sup>

Damit es nun zur Harmonie zwischen Sinnlichkeit und Vernunft komme, ist die Sinnlichkeit durch die Vernunft zum Dienste des Vernunftgesetzes zu erziehen. Allerdings wird es hier ohne eine gewisse "Gewalt, ohne Zwang und Kampf nicht" abgehen.<sup>51</sup> Schiller achtet wohl die gebietende Stellung der Vernunft, aber: "Wohl dir, wenn die Vernunft immer im Herzen dir wohnt."<sup>52</sup> Ist dies aber erst erreicht, dann ist der Mensch auch dahin gelangt, dasz er der Stimme der Sinnlichkeit trauen darf, ohne stets gezwungen zu sein, alles vor dem Grundsatz der Moral entscheiden zu müssen, und er kann sich dieser Stimme anvertrauen, ohne Furcht, miszleitet zu werden. Dort freilich, wo beide Kräfte: Vernunft und Sinnlichkeit, noch nicht harmonisch ausgebildet sind, und wo im praktischen Leben die Sinnlichkeit versucht sein könnte, sich über die Vernunft zu setzen, steht letzterer das Recht der Gesetzgebung zu, dem sich die Sinne zu unterwerfen haben, und so sagt Schiller:

"Kannst du nicht *schön* empfinden, dir bleibt doch *vernünftig* zu wollen, Und als ein *Geist* zu tun, was Du als *Mensch* nicht vermagst."<sup>53</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Rosenkranz: "Kants sämtliche Werke" IV. S. 128.

<sup>50</sup> Schiller, Cotta 11.364.

<sup>51</sup> Ebda. S. 381.

<sup>52</sup> Ebda. I. 419.

<sup>53</sup> Xenien, Recl. No. 402-03. S. 86.8.

Hier nähert sich Schiller wieder sehr Kantischen Ansichten. Ein prinzipieller Unterschied in der Stellungnahme beider Philosophen zu dieser Frage, die ja das eigentliche Grundproblem der Ethik ist und bleibt, läßt sich hier kaum noch feststellen. Es handelt sich um die Frage, ob die vernünftige Natur des Menschen stark genug ist, dauernd über die sinnliche Natur zu triumphieren. Kant rechnet mehr mit den tatsächlich gegebenen Verhältnissen; für ihn ist die Dominanz der Triebrichtung ein unbezweifelbares Faktum, das sich nie ausschalten läßt, solange der Mensch seine menschliche Natur behält. Daraus erklärt sich die Härte, mit der er sein Sittengesetz formuliert. Schiller als Künstler und Idealist glaubt, vor allem auf eine Ueberbrückung des Kontrastes zwischen Stoff- und Formtrieb hinarbeiten zu müssen. Eine Entscheidung letzter Hand über die Möglichkeit eines solchen Ausgleiches läßt sich nur dann geben, wenn die Streitfrage endgültig entschieden ist, ob die Grundrichtung der menschlichen Natur mehr dem Bösen oder dem Guten zustrebt. Wenn bei Kant der Begriff des radikalen Bösen so häufig wiederkehrt, so scheint er sich im pessimistischen Sinne entschieden, Schiller dagegen, in seiner idealistischen Lebensauffassung, mehr die optimistische Auffassung geteilt zu haben. Im ersten Kapitel seiner Abhandlung: "Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der bloßen Vernunft" spricht Kant: "von der Einwohnung des bösen Prinzips neben dem Guten; oder über das radikale Böse in der menschlichen Natur."<sup>54</sup> Er kommt zu dem Ergebnis: "Eine gewisse ursprüngliche Anlage zum Guten (S. 27) ist wohl nicht zu leugnen, aber ebenso sicher liegt auch 'ein Hang zum Bösen in der menschlichen Natur' (S. 30)." Ja, Kant geht so weit zu behaupten: "Der Mensch ist von Natur böse" (S. 35), und er sucht in breiten Ausführungen diesen Satz zu beweisen und zu verteidigen und forscht in weiteren Darlegungen nach dem "Ursprung des Bösen in der menschlichen Natur" (S. 43). Schiller nennt in einer Anmerkung zu "Anmut und Würde" dies "das Glaubensbekenntnis Kants,"<sup>55</sup> und er berichtet darüber unter dem 28. Februar 1793 an Körner:

<sup>54</sup> Für dies und die nächstfolgenden Zitate siehe Philos. Bibl. (Kirchmann) Bd. 17. S. 19. 27. 30. 35. 43.

<sup>55</sup> Schiller, Cotta, 11. 367.



„Es ist einer seiner ersten Grundsätze darin empörend für mein und wahrscheinlich auch dein Gefühl. Er (Kant) behauptet nämlich eine Propension des menschlichen Herzens zum Bösen, das er das radikale Böse nennt, und das mit den Neigungen der Sinnlichkeit ganz und garnicht verwechselt werden darf. Er setzt es über die Sinnlichkeit hinaus in die *Person* des Menschen als den Sitz der Freiheit.“<sup>66</sup>

Und Körner antwortet am 4. März 1793:

„Die Nachricht von dem neuen Kantschen Werke war mir sehr interessant . . . Mit seinem radikalen Bösen werde ich mich übrigens schwerlich aussöhnen. Ich kenne keinen Satz der Dogmatik—selbst die Ewigkeit der Höllenstrafen nicht ausgenommen—der mir so verhaszt wäre.“<sup>67</sup>

Und als Goethe in seinem Briefe an Schiller vom 31. Juli 1799, anlässlich der Besprechung von Miltons „Paradise Lost,“ auch das Thema „vom freien Willen“ und Kants „radikalem Bösen“ anschnitt,<sup>68</sup> antwortete Schiller am 2. August 1799:

„Ich erinnere mich nicht mehr, wie Milton sich bei der Materie vom freien Willen heraushilft, aber Kants Entwicklung ist mir gar zu monchisch, ich habe nie damit versöhnt werden können. Sein ganzer Entscheidungsgrund beruht darauf, dass der Mensch einen *positiven Antrieb* zum Guten, sowie zum sinnlichen Wohlbefinden habe; er brauche also auch, wenn er das Böse wählt, einen *positiven inneren Grund* zum Bösen, weil das Positive nicht durch etwas bloß Negatives aufgehoben werden könne. Hier sind aber zwei unendlich heterogene Dinge, der Trieb zum Guten und der Trieb zum sinnlichen Wohle völlig als gleiche Potenzen und Quantitäten behandelt, weil die freie Persönlichkeit ganz gleich *gegen* und *zwischen* beide Teile gestellt wird. Gottlob, dass wir nicht berufen sind, das Menschengeschlecht über diese Frage zu beruhigen, und immer im Reiche der Erscheinung bleiben dürfen. Uebrigens sind diese dunklen Stellen in der Natur des Menschen für den Dichter, und den tragischen insbesondere, nicht leer und noch weniger für den Redner; und in der Darstellung der Leidenschaften machen sie kein kleines Moment aus.“<sup>69</sup>

## II

### ETHISCHE BEGRIFFSBESTIMMUNGEN, DIE AUF DER STELLUNGNAHME ZUM PFLICHT- UND NEIGUNGSPROBLEM BERUHEN.

Die gegensätzliche Stellungnahme unserer beiden Philosophen zu dem ethischen Hauptproblem musste naturgemäß auch zu

<sup>66</sup> Schiller, Cotta 11. 376. Briefwechsel<sup>2</sup> zwischen Schiller und Körner 3. 76.

<sup>67</sup> Ebda 3. 84.

<sup>68</sup> Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Goethe 1794-1805 Stuttgart 1829 Bd. 5. S. 130/31.

<sup>69</sup> Jonas, Schillerbriefe 6. 63.

einer Verschiedenheit ihrer Ansichten über andere ethische Fragen Anlaß geben. Die Voraussetzungen, auf deren Grundlage sie ihre diesbezüglichen Herleitungen gründeten, waren eben verschieden. Kein Wunder also, wenn auch die Ergebnisse ihrer Beweisführung nicht übereinstimmten. Es bleibt uns also noch die Aufgabe, kurz darüber zu berichten, in wie weit Kant und Schiller in andern ethischen Begriffsbestimmungen, als denen der Pflicht und Neigung, von einander abweichen. Dann können wir dazu übergehen, die selbständigen Schritte Schillers im Reiche des Denkens zu erörtern, seine Ausführungen darüber, wie eine Ueberbrückung der Kluft zwischen Pflicht und Neigung am besten durchgeführt werden könne.

Hatte Kant besondern Nachdruck auf den Nachweis gelegt, dasz der Hang zum Bösen in der ursprünglichen  
 9. *Liebe* Konstitution der menschlichen Natur liege, ihr angeboren sei, sah er in dem Kampfe der siegenden Vernünftigkeit gegen die Sinnlichkeit die ganze Aufgabe des Menschen, und wuszte er am Menschen nichts Erhabeneres als die Tugend, d.i. jenen Kampf, basiert auf die Achtung vor dem Vernunftgesetz, so ist auch Schillers Idealmensch zu jedem Opfer zeitlichen Glückes fähig, aber er opfert nicht aus bloßer Achtung, sondern aus Liebe.<sup>60</sup> Sie kommt bei Schiller immer und immer wieder vor und erscheint in einem gleichen Gegensatz zur Selbstsucht, wie bei Kant die Vernunft zur Sinnlichkeit. Diese Liebe hat, von Schillers eigenen psychologischen Voraussetzungen abgesehen, nichts gemein mit dem Gefühl, auch nichts mit der Sinnlichkeit: "Sie ist vielmehr Eigenschaft und Tätigkeit des selbstbewussten Willens, jene uneigennützigte Selbstaufopferung, welche für Schiller nicht bloß ein Ideal ist, sondern Wirklichkeit, an die er glaubt."

Schiller denkt sich die reine Liebe als eine solche, die in keiner Weise auf einen jenseitigen Lohn Bezug nimmt<sup>61</sup> (Rousseau, Shaftesbury). "Rücksicht auf eine belohnende Zukunft schlieszt die Liebe aus."<sup>62</sup> Ferner sagt Schiller ausdrücklich: "Ich bekenne es freimütig, ich glaube an die Wirklichkeit einer uneigennützigten

<sup>60</sup> Sommer "Ueber die Beziehungen der Ansicht Schillers vom Wesen und der geistigen Bedeutung der Kunst zur Kantischen Philosophie" Halle 1869. S. 8.

<sup>61</sup> Minor, "Schiller, sein Leben und seine Werke I. S. 1.

<sup>62</sup> Schiller, Cotta 10. 293.

Liebe. Ich bin verloren, wenn sie nicht ist; ich gebe die Gottheit auf, die Unsterblichkeit und die Tugend. Ich habe keinen Beweis für diese Hoffnung mehr übrig, wenn ich aufhöre, an die Liebe zu glauben."<sup>63</sup>

Nur die Liebe kann den Menschen harmonisch und glücklich machen:

“Weisheit tötet oft die Glut,  
Unsrer schönsten Triebe;  
Tugend kämpft mit heissem Blut,  
Glücklich macht nur Liebe. (Hochzeitslied)

“Zwar ist es schon Veredlung einer menschlichen Seele, den gegenwärtigen Vorteil dem ewigen aufzuopfern—es ist die edelste Stufe des Egoismus—aber Egoismus und Liebe scheiden die Menschheit in zwei höchst unähnliche Geschlechter, deren Grenzen nie in einander fließen.”<sup>64</sup>

Es musz auch hier zum Ausgleich, zur “Harmonie” kommen, jeder Mensch musz dahin gelangen, dasz er seine Pflicht nicht aus Furcht oder in der Hoffnung auf Belohnung tut, sondern mit Bewusstsein, aus Liebe zu ihr; erst dann wird man von ihm sagen können:

“Der entjochte Mensch jetzt seine Pflichten denkt,  
Die Fessel *liebet*, die ihn *lenkt*.”

Auch Kant hat sich über die Liebe ausgesprochen und zwar in seinem ethischen Hauptwerk, in der “Kritik der praktischen Vernunft” (S. 100). Höher als die “Liebe” steht ihm aber die echte moralische “Maxime.” Das Gebot: “Liebe Gott über alles und deinen Nächsten wie dich selbst” ist ihm zwar der Kern aller Gesetz, doch darf die in ihm geforderte Liebe keine pathologische oder Neigungsliebe sein, sondern “blosz” die praktische Liebe, d.h. wir sollen darnach streben,

“die Gebote Gottes *gern* zu tun, die Pflichten gegen den Nächsten *gern* auszuüben. Aber könnte ein vernünftiges Geschöpf jemals dahin kommen, alle moralischen Gesetze völlig gern zu tun, so würde das soviel bedeuten, als es fände sich in ihm auch nicht einmal die Möglichkeit einer Begierde, die es zur Abweichung von ihm reizte, . . . die sittliche Gesinnung in ihrer ganzen Vollkommenheit” wäre erreicht.

Doch ist ein solches “Ideal der Heiligkeit” einem Geschöpfe schier unerreichbar, da es “in Ansehung dessen, was es zur gänz-

<sup>63</sup> Ebda. 10. 292.

<sup>64</sup> Cotta 10. 293.



lichen Zufriedenheit mit seinem Zustande fordert," nie gänzlich von Begierden und Neigungen frei ist. So kann sich das Sittengesetz nicht auf Liebe, "die keine innere Weigerung des Willens gegen das Gesetz besorgt," gründen; wohl aber sollen wir sie uns "zum beständigen, obgleich unerreichbaren Ziele" unseres Strebens machen; denn "durch die mehrere Leichtigkeit, ihm Genüge zu tun, wird sich die ehrfurchtsvolle Scheu in Zuneigung und Achtung, in Liebe verwandeln." Hier sind also in gewissem Sinne Harmonie und Liebe anerkannt, aber es ist nicht die Harmonie von Vernunft und Sinnlichkeit, sondern die Abschaffung aller Sinnlichkeit in einem sozusagen sündlosen Wesen; also nicht sittliche Schönheit, sondern sittliche Heiligkeit. Alles andere ist moralische Schwärmerei, Steigerung des Eigendünkels, und es folgen gerade in diesem Zusammenhange einige der rigoristischsten Stellen der ganzen "Kritik der praktischen Vernunft," gegen die dann Schiller zu Felde zog; Stellen, die sich besonders gegen "alle Herzensaufwallungen," gegen das Preisen edler, erhabener und großmütiger Handlungen als eine "windige, überfliegende phantastische Denkungsart" wenden.<sup>65</sup>

Hier zunächst ein kurzes Wort über zwei Momente der Ethik, die schon im Vorhergehenden mehrfach berührt werden

10. *Lust* mussten: Lust und Glückseligkeit. Während Kant, wie schon aus den vorherigen Ausführungen erhellt, nachdrücklich das Gefühl,<sup>66</sup> auch in seinen zartesten, edelsten Gestalten, als Bestimmungsgrund zurückweist und streng genommen keinerlei sittliche Lust gelten lassen will,<sup>67</sup> faszt Schiller die reine Lust, ein reines Vergnügen gerade als höchste Blüte sittlichen Lebens auf. Das beweisen seine Ausführungen am Schlusse des Abschnittes über "Aufopferung,"<sup>68</sup> wo er spricht von einer Lust ohnegleichen, welche der Selbstlosigkeit zu teil werde; oder aus dem Aufsatz: "Ueber die tragische Kunst" das Wort von der "Lust," "welche aus unserer moralischen Natur hervorquelle;"

<sup>65</sup> Die Zitate entstammen dem III. Hauptstück der "Kr. d. pr. Vern." (Recl.) S. 100 ff. Benutzt wurde auch Vorländer, a.a.O. S. 556.

<sup>66</sup> Ebda. Pr. Vern. S. 183.

<sup>67</sup> Vgl. Einleitung zur "Metaphysik der Sitten" (Berliner Akademieausgabe), wo Kant unterscheidet zwischen der contemplativen (untätigen) und der praktischen, für die Ethik wichtigen Lust.

<sup>68</sup> X. 294.

oder in der Abhandlung "Ueber das Erhabene" die Bemerkung über das "Frohsein, das bis zum Entzücken steigen kann, und ob es gleich nicht eigentlich Lust ist, von feinen Seelen aller Lust doch weit vorgezogen wird."<sup>70</sup> Allerdings spricht auch Kant von einem "Trost" im Gefolge der "Achtung erweckenden Idee der Persönlichkeit, welche uns die Erhabenheit unserer Natur (ihrer Bestimmung nach) vor Augen stellt,"<sup>71</sup> bemerkt aber ausdrücklich: "Dieser Trost ist nicht Glückseligkeit, auch nicht der mindeste Teil derselben."<sup>72</sup> Allein in der Sache kommt dieser "Trost" der Schillerschen moralischen Lust ziemlich gleich, wobei freilich einzuräumen ist, dasz systematisch betrachtet, diese geistige Lust bei Kant lediglich als äusere Zutat, als Anhängsel erscheint, während sie bei Schiller, jedenfalls in der "Theosophie," die Spitze der Darstellung, das Ziel des Strebens bildet und auch später nie völlig verschwindet, und es hat Schiller trotz aller Belehrung durch Kant, die geistige Lust, wenn auch nicht als Triebfeder des Handelns, so doch als integrierendes Moment sittlichen Lebens selbst immerfort festgehalten.<sup>73</sup>

Anstößig war für Kant die Auffassung der Ethik als Glückseligkeitslehre. Und im Lehrsatz IV der 11. *Glückseligkeit* "Kritik der praktischen Vernunft," wo es heisst, "das gerade Widerspiel des Prinzips der Sittlichkeit ist: wenn das der *eigenen* Glückseligkeit zum Bestimmungsgrund des Willens gemacht wird,"<sup>74</sup> weist Kant besonders daraufhin, dasz die Glückseligkeitslehre und die Sittenlehre "pünktlich, ja peinlich" zu scheiden seien.<sup>75</sup> Schon in der "Kritik der reinen Vernunft" sprach er ausdrücklich aus, dasz "das System der sich selbst lohnenden Moralität" eine in der Erfahrung nicht realisierbare Idee sei, und dasz es nur unter einem weisen Urheber und Regenten und nur in einer intelligibilen Welt möglich sei, dasz die Glückseligkeit der Moralität entspreche.<sup>76</sup> So werden auf den Gedanken, dasz der Moralität als der Würdigkeit, glück-

<sup>69</sup> Cotta 11. 452.

<sup>70</sup> Schiller, Cotta 12. 300.

<sup>71</sup> u.

<sup>72</sup> Kr. d. pr. Vern. (Recl.) 106. 107.

<sup>73</sup> Baumeister a.a.O. S. 10.

<sup>74</sup> u.

<sup>75</sup> Kr. d. pr. Vern., S. 42 u. 112.

<sup>76</sup> Kr. d. reinen Vern. (Recl.) S. 613.

selig zu sein, auch die Glückseligkeit, wenn nicht hier so in einem Jenseits zu teil werden müsse, die Postulate von Gott und Unsterblichkeit aufgebaut. Dieselbe Lehre von den Postulaten treffen wir dann in der "Kritik der praktischen Vernunft" wieder an (S. 143). Hier wird ausdrücklich hervorgehoben, dasz die Zufriedenheit mit seiner Person, welche die Moralität dem Handelnden verleihe, *nicht* Glückseligkeit heißen kann.<sup>77</sup> Würde die Ethik als Glückseligkeitslehre aufgefasst, dann würde die Bestimmung des Sittlichen und dessen Wert abhängig gemacht von etwas, das es nicht selbst ist. Das Ethische würde als bloßes Mittel für irgend einen Zweck anzusehen sein und noch dazu für einen solchen, bei dessen näherer Bestimmung sich nur höchstens schwankende Begriffe darbieten. Dieser mit der Aufstellung der Postulate vollzogene "Schritt zur Religion"<sup>78</sup> ist, nach Vorländer,<sup>79</sup> ein bedenklicher Schritt, abseits von der sonst so streng eingehaltenen Bahn der reinen Ethik d.h., der transzendentalen (rigoristischen) Methode. In seiner Bekämpfung der Glückseligkeitslehre, die sich besonders auch durch die "Grundlegung" vom Anfang bis zum Ende wie ein roter Faden hinzieht, macht Kant zunächst geltend, dasz zur Erlangung der Glückseligkeit der Wille eines vernünftigen Wesens nicht notwendig sei, sondern dasz dieser Zweck viel sicherer durch Instinkt hätte erreicht werden können; also könne der Wert des vernünftigen Wollens unmöglich in der Erreichung eines Zweckes bestehen, für welchen es nicht einmal das tauglichste Mittel sei.<sup>80</sup> An einzelnen sittlichen Ideen zeigt Kant alsdann die Verkehrtheit des Eudämonismus und weist nach, dasz nach diesem Prinzip nicht allgemeine Uebereinstimmung sondern der ärgste Widerstreit sich ergeben würde, da jeder ein andres Objekt der Neigung zu Grunde lege, und bald diese bald jene Neigung überwiege,<sup>81</sup> ferner, dasz nach demselben Prinzip der Begriff des Verbrechens eigentlich der sein müsse, seiner eigenen Glückseligkeit Abbruch zu tun, wonach also eine Handlung erst dadurch, dasz man sich eine Strafe zuziehe, zum Verbrechen werde.<sup>82</sup> Der Begriff der Pflicht könne im Eudämonis-

<sup>77</sup> Messer, a.a.O. S. 26.

<sup>78</sup> Kr. d. pr. Vern. (Recl.) S. 155.

<sup>79</sup> a.a.O. S. 392.

<sup>80</sup> Hartenstein, a. Bd. 4. S. 19.

<sup>81</sup> Ebda. S. 127.

<sup>82</sup> Hartenstein, a. Bd. 4. S. 140;



mus keinen Platz haben, da es töricht sei, das zu gebieten, wonach jeder von selbst strebe.<sup>83</sup> Trotz dieser Tatsachen sucht Vordländer zu beweisen,<sup>84</sup> dasz Kant fort und fort Glück und Glückseligkeit gefordert habe. An diesen Ausführungen entspricht das der Tatsache, dasz Kant allerdings darauf hinweist, dasz die Moral wohl die Glückseligkeit gestatte, doch darf diese nicht die Oberhand gewinnen. Heiszt es doch: "Die reine praktische Vernunft will nicht, man solle die Ansprüche auf Glückseligkeit aufgeben, sondern nur, sobald von Pflicht die Rede ist, darauf keine Rücksicht nehmen."<sup>85</sup> Und in der Abhandlung: "Ueber den Gemeinspruch: Das mag in der Theorie richtig sein, taugt aber nicht für die Praxis" (Teil I.) antwortet er "Herrn Prof. Garve" auf dessen Einwürfe gegen seine Glückseligkeitslehre:

"Ich (Kant) hatte nicht verabsäumt anzumerken, dasz dem Menschen nicht angesonnen werde, er solle, wenn es auf Pflichtbefolgung ankommt, seinem natürlichen Zweck, der Glückseligkeit, *entsagen*; denn das kann er nicht, so wie kein endliches, vernünftiges Wesen überhaupt; sondern es müsse, wenn das Gebot der Pflicht eintritt, gänzlich von dieser Rücksicht *abstrahieren*; er müsse sie durchaus nicht zur *Bedingung* der Befolgung des ihm durch die Vernunft vorgeschriebenen Gesetzes machen; ja sogar, soviel ihm möglich ist, sich bewusst zu werden suchen, dasz sich keine von jener hergeleitete *Triebfeder* in die Pflichtbestimmung unbemerkt mit einmische."<sup>86</sup>

Schiller nennt *den* Zustand des menschlichen Gemütes Glückseligkeit, wo alle sinnlichen Triebfedern des Willens mit dem Gebote der Vernunft in Einklang stehen. Glückselig nämlich sei der, welcher, um zu genieszen, nicht nötig habe zu entbehren. In diesem Zustande sei es, wo die gesetzmässigen und geordneten Neigungen des Menschen das Gebot der Vernunft antizipieren, und keine Versuchung zum Bruch des Gesetzes das Gesetz bei ihm in Erinnerung bringe. Wir sehen, dasz auch hier als Grundakkord die Mahnung zur Harmonie erklingt, die Forderung, dasz die Menschheit zur "Vollstimmigkeit" hinstreben müsse, wo beide Naturen "eine innige Uebereinstimmung" geschlossen.<sup>87</sup> Auch auf ethischem Nachbargebiet, in der *Rechtslehre*, will Kant

<sup>83</sup> Loewe, a.a.O. S. 10.

<sup>84</sup> a.a.O. S. 393 ff.

<sup>85</sup> Kr. d. pr. Vern. (Recl.) S. 113.

<sup>86</sup> Hartenstein. Bd. 6. S. 309/310.

<sup>87</sup> Schiller Werke, IX, 279 f. K. Tomaschek: "Schiller in seinem Verhältnis zur Wissenschaft." Wien 1862. S. 237.

das Gefühl vollständig ausgeschlossen wissen, denn "das Strafgesetz ist ein kategorischer Imperativ, der mit den "Schlangenwindungen der Glückseligkeitslehre nichts zu schaffen" haben darf. Hier gilt "der zwar etwas renommistisch klingende, sprichwörtlich in Umlauf gekommene, aber wahre Satz: 'Fiat justitia pereat mundus,' das heisst zu deutsch: 'Es herrsche Gerechtigkeit, die Schelme in der Welt mögen auch insgesamt darüber zu Grunde gehen.' " Dies ist für den strengen Philosophen von Königsberg "ein wackerer, alle durch Arglist oder Gewalt vorgezeichneten, krummen Wege abschneidender Rechtsgrundsatz" (Zum ewigen Frieden).<sup>88</sup> Das Prinzip der eigenen Glückseligkeit ist, nach Kant, dem der Sittlichkeit diametral entgegengesetzt. Wenn dieses lautet: "Liebe Gott über alles und deinen Nächsten als dich selbst,"<sup>89</sup> so würde jenes lauten: "Liebe dich selbst über alles, Gott aber und deinen Nächsten um dein selbst willen."<sup>90</sup> Wie nun aber für Kant die "oberste Bedingung" der Glückseligkeit die Glückwürdigkeit ist, so gilt ihm als "alleiniger Bestimmungsgrund" des moralischen Handelns das Sittengesetz.

Sittlich ist für Kant nie eine Handlung, welche teilweise oder ganz aus sinnlicher Triebfeder stammt, sie  
 12. *Sittlichkeit* mag legal oder illegal sein. Sittlich ist nur, was ohne Berücksichtigung der sinnlichen Motive aus Achtung vor dem Sittengesetz geschieht.<sup>91</sup> Das Sittengesetz gilt ihm als oberste Norm. Und wenn auch der Königsberger Philosoph fort und fort auf die reine Pflicht als "einzig dauernde Triebfeder des sittlichen Handelns" hinweist, und wenn er auch mit besonderem Nachdruck hervorhebt, dass alle moralische Bildung mit der Umwandlung der Denkungsart und der Gründung eines Charakters anfangen müsse,<sup>92</sup> dann erweist er sich doch in der Art der Aneignung des Sittlichen weit duldsamer. Diese "Aneignung" hat die "Erziehung" zu besorgen, denn der Mensch kann nur Mensch werden durch Erziehung; "er ist nichts, als was Erziehung aus ihm macht."<sup>93</sup> Kant scheint, wie folgende Stelle aus der "Kritik der Urteilskraft" dartut, unter

<sup>88</sup> Philos. Bibl. (Kirchmann) 37. 195 f.

<sup>89</sup> Kr. d. pr. Vern. (Recl.) S. 100/01.

<sup>90</sup> Kr. d. pr. Vern. S. 101 Anmerk.

<sup>91</sup> Baumeister, a.a.O. S. 8.

<sup>92</sup> Religion innerh. der . . . Philos. Bibl. 17. S. 50 ff.

<sup>93</sup> Pädagogik S. W. IX. 372; Vorländer 389.

dem Gefühl, welches durch das Sittengesetz erweckt wird, nur das Erhabene verstanden, die schöne Sittlichkeit dagegen geradezu ausgeschlossen zu haben:

“Da diese Macht (sc. des Sittengesetzes) sich eigentlich nur durch Aufopferung ästhetisch kenntlich macht, (welches eine Beraubung, obgleich zum Behufe der innern Freiheit, ist, dagegen eine unergründliche Tiefe dieses übersinnlichen Vermögens, mit ihren ins Unabsehbliche sich erstreckenden Folgen in uns aufdeckt), so ist das Wohlgefallen von der ästhetischen Seite (in Beziehung auf Sinnlichkeit) negativ, d. i. wider dieses Interesse, von der intellektuellen aber betrachtet positiv und mit einem Interesse verbunden. Hieraus folgt: dasz das Intellektuelle an sich selbst Zweckmäßige, das Moralisch-Gute, ästhetisch beurteilt, nicht sowohl schön, als vielmehr erhaben vorgestellt werden müsse, sodasz es mehr das Gefühl der Achtung, welches den Reiz verschmährt, als der Liebe und vertraulichen Zuneigung erwecke; weil die menschliche Natur nicht so von selbst, sondern nur durch Gewalt, die die Vernunft der Sinnlichkeit antut, zu jenem Guten zusammenstimmt.”<sup>94</sup>

Zu einer prinzipiellen Anerkennung der Sinnlichkeit innerhalb der Ethik, zu einer systematischen Verbindung des reinen Willens mit dem Gefühl schöner Sittlichkeit gelangt Kant nicht.<sup>95</sup> Ja es begegnet nirgends der Ausdruck “sittliche Schönheit” oder “Sittlich schön” bei Kant in der kritischen Periode.<sup>96</sup>

Wie stellen sich nun Schillers Ausführungen über die Sittlichkeit und seine Definitionen von ihr dar? Schiller sagt in seiner Abhandlung “Ueber Anmut und Würde,” dasz “der Anteil der Neigung an einer freien Handlung für die reine Pflichtmäßigkeit dieser Handlung nichts beweist.”<sup>97</sup> Sittlich ist diejenige Handlung, und nur sie ist es, die ich vollbringe aus Achtung vor dem Sittengesetz. Aber dem Menschen, dem vernünftigsinnlichen Wesen, kommt es nicht bloz zu, solche vernünftige Handlungen auszuführen, oder zu beabsichtigen, sondern zur “Tugend” sich zu erheben. Tugend aber ist “nichts anderes als eine Neigung zur Pflicht.” Unter “Neigung zur Pflicht” versteht Schiller dies, dasz die “sittliche Denkart” dem Menschen “zur Natur geworden ist.” Oder genauer: am sittlichen Handeln soll nicht bloz seine “Geisternatur,” sondern auch seine Sinnlichkeit beteiligt sein. Die Sinnlichkeit aber soll so erzogen

<sup>94</sup> Kr. d. Urteilkraft S. 129; Vorländer, a.a.O. S. 550.

<sup>95</sup> u.

<sup>96</sup> Vorländer, a.a.O.S. 555/56. 553.

<sup>97</sup> Schiller Cotta, 11. 364; Zu Vorländers Angaben (Anmerk. 2. 3.) siehe Urteilkraft (Recl.) S. 129.



werden, dasz sie von sich aus ohne Zwang, mit den sittlichen Zwecken sachlich übereinstimme. Dies ist ihm nun gleichbedeutend damit, dasz der Mensch nicht nur vereinzelt Gutes hervorbringe, sondern dauernd selbst gut sei. Hier sind offenbar zwei verschiedene Einwände gegen Kant von Schiller zusammengeworfen worden. 1. Schiller setzt an der Kantischen Darstellung aus, dasz hier nur von "Tugenden," nicht von "der Tugend" (hierüber wird weiter unten noch gehandelt werden), die Rede sei, nur von einzelnen sittlichen Handlungen oder Willensregungen, nicht von einem sittlichen Zustand, einer sittlichen Verfassung; 2. rügt Schiller an Kant, dasz dieser den Triumph des göttlichen Teils des Menschen auf die Unterdrückung des sinnlichen gründe, dasz er nur darauf halte, dasz die sinnliche Seite am Menschen von dem sittlichen Willen bezwungen, nicht dasz sie gewonnen werde, dasz Kant hier—so meint es Schiller—nur Dressur, nicht Erziehung gelten lasse. Diese beiden wohl zu unterscheidenden Momente hält Schiller nicht aus einander. Sie erscheinen bei ihm verbunden, in der *einen* Forderung der "Neigung zur Pflicht." Mit Recht verlangt er, dasz im Menschen nicht bloß dieser oder jener sittlich geartete Entschluß, oder diese und jene sittliche Tat zu stande komme, sondern eine "sittliche Denkart" (wie an die Stelle des Glücks die Glückseligkeit, so habe an die Stelle der Sitten die Sittlichkeit zu treten,<sup>98</sup> so dasz die einzelnen sittlichen Akte nicht mehr bloß als solche je für sich existieren, sondern zusammenhängende Aeuszerungen jener sittlichen Denkart seien. Hier handelt es sich freilich um eine Neigung, aber nicht darum, dasz der sinnliche Faktor, eine Neigung, einen Hang zum Sittlichen gewinne, sondern um eine Neigung des Willens selbst, des geistigen Begehrungsvermögens zum Sittengesetze, darum, dasz dieser Wille eine stetige, feste Richtung auf das geistige Gesetz gewinne und behalte. Also in Frage kommt hier nicht eine bestimmte Beschaffenheit, ein bestimmter Zustand des letzteren selbst. Von Zuständen kann nun freilich nur dort geredet werden, wo man nicht bloß Erscheinungen, sondern auch Wesenheiten im Auge hat, nicht bloß Tätigkeiten, sondern auch irgend wie tätige Substanzen. Kant will jedenfalls theoretisch von Wesenheiten oder Substanzen als wirklichen nichts wissen. Soll nicht mehr bloß von einzelnen

<sup>98</sup> Tomaschek, a.a.O.S. 239.

sittlichen Tätigkeiten, sondern von einem *sittlichen Habitus* gesprochen werden, so musz auch hier eine Wesenheit anerkannt werden, welcher dieser Zustand zukommt, ein Wille, ein Bewusstsein nicht bloz im Sinne des Nominalismus, für welchen die Seele bloz ein Name, ein regulativer Begriff ist, mittels dessen wir die verschiedenen psychologischen Erscheinungen ordnen, gruppieren, eben subjektiv verbinden. Kant ist in solcher Weise Nominalist: "Die Schluszfolge ist," heiszt es in den "Paralogismen der reinen Vernunft," "daz wir auf keine Art, welche es auch sei, von der Beschaffenheit unserer Seele, die die Möglichkeit ihrer abgesonderten Existenz überhaupt betrifft, irgend etwas erkennen können."<sup>99</sup> Und doch will auch er nicht nur einzelne sittliche Entschlüsse, sondern, was Schiller vielleicht nicht hinreichend hervorhebt, eine sittliche Gesinnung. Vorländer stellt in der schon oft zitierten Abhandlung,<sup>100</sup> allerdings ohne auf obigen Unterschied hinzuweisen, verschiedene Sätze aus Kant zusammen, in welchen eine Beziehung zu der Schillerschen Forderung des Sittlich—Schönen, der Neigung zur Pflicht, des Dauernden in der Sittlichkeit hervortritt. So wird dort hingewiesen auf den von Kant geltend gemachten Begriff des "Edlen," den der "Affektlosigkeit eines seinen unwandelbaren Grundsätzen nachdrücklich nachgehenden Gemütes." In der Erwiderung auf die Einwände Schillers gegen seinen Rigorismus spricht Kant ausdrücklich von der "Tugend" als der festgegründeten Gesinnung, seine Pflicht genau zu erfüllen." Aber wird hier nicht die von Kant gezogene Linie psychologischer Voraussetzungslosigkeit, wie er sie in der oben angeführten Stelle vorträgt, überschritten? Kant darf höchstens reden von einem Gesetz, dessen sich das Subjekt hier und dort bewusst wird, von diesem und jenem sittlichen Akt, den das Subjekt mit Bewusstsein und Willen hervorbringt, aber nicht von einem Zustand, der ohne eine seelische Wesenheit nicht vorgestellt werden kann. "Gesinnung" im Unterschiede von Entschlusz ist aber nichts anderes als ein bestimmter Zustand der Willensseite des Selbstbewusstseins. Gesinnung ist denkbar nur unter Voraussetzung eines psychologischen Substrates. Somit scheint die Forderung einer sittlichen Gesinnung ausserhalb des Kantischen Kritizismus zu liegen. Nicht dasselbe gilt von dem Schillerschen Vorstellen, das bei aller Einsicht in das Subjektive

<sup>99</sup> Kr. d. r. Vern. S. 337.

<sup>100</sup> S. 533 ff.

der Geistestätigkeit doch entschieden zum Objekt vorzudringen strebt. Wille und Bewusstsein bedeuten für Schiller im Ernst keine bloßen subjektiven Prinzipien: "Der Mensch ist das Wesen, welches will"; "Der Wille ist der Geschlechtscharakter des Menschen."<sup>101</sup> Hierin ist die Voraussetzung für die Vorstellung eines moralischen Zustandes, einer sittlichen Gesinnung enthalten. Von Sittlichkeit will Schiller, rechtverstanden, nur da reden, wo eine solche dauernd an das Sittengesetz frei sich haltende Denkart vorhanden ist. Sittlich ist der einzelne Entschluss, die einzelne Tat nur, sofern sie aus jener Denkart fließt, die in ihnen liegt. Demnach ist sittliches Handeln im weiteren Sinne wohl Entschluss und Tat, welche der sittlichen Gesinnung entspringen; sittliches Handeln im engeren Sinne und wesentlich ist aber der Selbstaufbau der sittlichen Persönlichkeit. Einen frühen Anklang an diesen aus Schillers Forderung in "Anmut und Würde" sich ergebenden Gedanken haben wir in §10 der "Philosophie der Physiologie," wo es u.a. heisst:

"Die Freiheit liegt also nicht darin, dass ich das wähle, was mein Verstand für das Beste erkannt hat (dann dass ist ein ewig Gesetz), sondern dass ich das wähle, was meinen Verstand zum besten bestimmen kann."<sup>102</sup>

Das Prädikat "sittlich" wenden Kant und Schiller da an, wo ohne Beimischung eines sinnlichen Faktors eine Beziehung auf das Sittengesetz, Achtung vor dem Sittengesetz gegeben ist. Achtung vor dem Sittengesetz kann nach Kant zukommen: Entschlüssen oder Handlungen; nach Schiller: der wollenden oder handelnden Persönlichkeit. Daher verlangt jener sittliche Taten, dieser sittliche Denkart. Warum bleibt Kant im Grunde bei den Taten stehen?<sup>103</sup>

"Weil es für ihn kein Ding an sich als bekannt, keine Psychologie, kein Ich gibt, sondern nur eine, die Bewusstseinsakte begleitende, transzendente Apperzeption." Warum schreitet Schiller weiter fort zur Denkart? Weil er ein echter Jünger der Transzendentalphilosophie ist, weil es für ihn eine Psychologie, ein Ich gibt. Aber nun darf nicht behauptet werden, was Schiller im Unterschied von Kant biete, sei nur eine psychologische Ausführung darüber, wie das auch von ihm Kantisch gedachte Sitt-

<sup>101</sup> Schiller, Cotta 10. 214.

<sup>102</sup> Schiller, Histor. krit. Ausgabe I. S. 91.

<sup>103</sup> Vgl. aber Kr. d. pr. Vern. (Recl.) S. 191.



liche zustande komme, sondern es stellt die richtig gedeutete Schillersche im Vergleich zur Kantischen eine andere, tiefere organische Auffassung des Sittlichen dar, welche allerdings möglich wird erst auf Grund der bestimmten, von Schiller geteilten psychologischen Voraussetzung. Mit diesem das Sittliche selbst bereichernden Begriff ist nun bei Schiller in der Forderung der Neigung eine Position verbunden, welche allerdings nur die Darstellung des Sittengesetzes, seine Durchführung im Leben, eine umfassendere Anwendung desselben betrifft, die Aufstellung, dasz das sittliche Handeln das gemeinsame Produkt der zusammenwirkenden Vernunft und Sinnlichkeit werde, dasz es aus der Totalität der menschlichen Natur entspringe,<sup>104</sup> worüber bereits oben gehandelt wurde. Es steht also für Schiller der ästhetisch-moralische Mensch höher als der rigoristisch-moralische, um diesen Ausdruck der Deutlichkeit halber einmal zu brauchen, und in diesem Sinne sagt er in einer der *Tabulae votivae*:

#### DER VORZUG

*Ueber* das Herz zu siegen ist grosz, ich verehere den Tapfern,  
Aber wer *durch* sein Herz sieget, er gilt mir doch mehr.<sup>106</sup>

Diesem Kapitel sei zunächst ein Wort angefügt über die Tugend, die Kant und hier und da auch Schiller mit der Sittlichkeit in engste Verbindung bringt. Kant definiert, wie oben angeführt, „die Tugend“ als „die festgegründete Gesinnung, seine Pflicht genau zu erfüllen.“<sup>106</sup> Ferner heiszt es in der „Kritik der praktischen Vernunft,“

„dasz *Tugend* (als die Würdigkeit, glücklich zu sein) die *oberste Bedingung* alles dessen, was uns nur wünschenswert scheinen mag, mithin auch aller unserer Bewerbung um Glückseligkeit, mithin das *oberste Gut* sei, ist in der Analytik bewiesen worden.“<sup>107</sup>

Gegenstand des Begehrungsvermögens vernünftiger endlicher Wesen ist aber, „das ganze vollendete Gut,“ zu welchem auch Glückseligkeit gehört. Tugend gibt zwar Anspruch auf Glückseligkeit, ist aber nicht diese selbst, also für sich allein auch nicht das vollendete Gut. Tugend und Glückseligkeit sind nicht

<sup>104</sup> Baumeister, a.a.O.S. 15 ff.

<sup>106</sup> Votivtafeln, (Reclam) No. 402/03, S. 94. No. 60.

<sup>106</sup> Relig. innerh. d. Grenz. . . . Philos. Bibl. 17. S. 24 Anmerk.

<sup>107</sup> Kr. d. pr. Vern. (Recl.) S. 133.

analytisch, sondern synthetisch mit einander verknüpft; erst zusammen, und zwar Glückseligkeit ganz genau in Proportion der Sittlichkeit ausgeteilt, machen sie das höchste oder vollendete Gut für den Menschen aus. Nun sollen wir diese Uebereinstimmung zwischen Tugend und Glückseligkeit zu befördern suchen. Dazwischen wir, obwohl der Glückseligkeit bedürftig und würdig, doch derselben nicht teilhaftig werden sollen, "kann mit dem vollkommenen Wollen eines vernünftigen Wesens, welches zugleich alle Gewalt in sich hätte, wenn wir uns auch nur ein solches zum Versuch denken, garnicht zusammen bestehen."<sup>108</sup> Es ist also das Dasein einer von der Natur verschiedenen Ursache der gesamten Natur, welche vermöge einer der moralischen Gesinnung gemäßen Kausalität, demnach durch Verstand und Willen den Grund für jenes Verhältnis zwischen Sittlichkeit und Glückseligkeit, nämlich die genaue Uebereinstimmung beider enthalte, d.h. das Dasein Gottes postuliert. Ein arger *circulus vitiosus* liegt hier deutlich zu Tage. Zunächst wird festgestellt, daß eine Annahme mit der Idee eines allmächtigen, vernünftigen Wesens, falls es ein solches gäbe, oder man sich ein solches zum Versuch denke, notwendig in Widerspruch stehen würde, und dann wird aus diesem Widerspruch das Dasein eines solchen Wesens gefordert. Die grobe Inkonsistenz zeigt sich in der schließlich doch noch geforderten Glückseligkeit, also in der Wiedereinführung des so eifrig und glücklich bekämpften Eudämonismus. Schopenhauer<sup>109</sup> sagt hierzu mit Recht:

"Kant läßt zwischen Tugend und Glückseligkeit eine geheime Verbindung übrig, in seiner Lehre vom höchsten Gut, wo sie in einem entlegenen und dunklen Kapitel zusammenkommen, während öffentlich die Tugend gegen die Glückseligkeit ganz fremd tut . . . Der Lohn, der für die Tugend, welche also nur scheinbar unentgeltlich arbeitete, hinterdrein postuliert wird, tritt aber anständig verschleiert<sup>110</sup> auf, unter dem Namen des höchsten Gutes, welches die Vereinigung der Tugend und Glückseligkeit ist. Dieses ist aber im Grunde nichts anderes als die auf Glückseligkeit ausgehende, folglich auf Eigennutz gestützte Moral, oder Eudämonismus, welchen Kant als heteronomisch

<sup>108</sup> Kr. d. pr. Vern. (Recl.) S. 19. Vgl. auch Loewe, a. a.O. S. 19.

<sup>109</sup> Jul. Frauenstädt: Schopenhauer "Die beiden Grundprobleme der Ethik" Leipzig 1877. 2. Aufl. S. 118—124.

<sup>110</sup> Shaftesbury schon hatte verlangt, daß die Tugend nur um ihrer selbst willen geübt werden sollte, ohne himmlischen Egoismus, wodurch der Zweck derselben aufgehoben und dieselbe zu einem gemeinen Judenhandel herabgewürdigt werde. Vgl. G. Spieker: "Die Philosophie des Grafen von Shaftesbury." Freiburg, 1872.

feierlich zur Haupttür seines Systems hinausgeworfen hatte, und die sich nun unter dem Namen 'höchstes Gut' zur Hintertür wieder hereinschleicht."

An einer andern Stelle definiert Kant:

"Der zur Fertigkeit gewordene feste Vorsatz in Befolgung seiner Pflicht heisst auch Tugend, der Legalität nach, als ihrem empirischen Charakter (virtus phaenomenon). Sie hat also die beharrliche Maxime gesetzmässiger Handlungen; die Triebfeder, deren die Willkür hierzu bedarf, mag man nehmen, woher man wolle. Daher wird Tugend in diesem Sinne nach und nach erworben und heisst Einigen eine lange Gewohnheit (in Beobachtung des Gesetzes), durch die der Mensch vom Hange zum Laster durch allmähliche Reformen seines Verhaltens und Befestigung seiner Maxime in einen entgegengesetzten Hang übergekommen ist. Dazu ist nun nicht eben eine Herzensänderung nötig, sondern nur eine Aenderung der Sitten. Der Mensch findet sich tugendhaft, wenn er sich in Maximen, seine Pflichten zu beobachten, befestigt fühlt, obgleich nicht aus dem obersten Grunde aller Maximen, nämlich aus Pflicht."<sup>111</sup>

Schillers Tugendbegriff ist im allgemeinen ein weiterer als der kantische.<sup>112</sup> Für Schiller ist, wie wir gesehen haben, nur *der* tugendhaft, der aus uneigennütziger Liebe zu dem sittlichen Vernunftgesetz handelt, der aus Liebe zu diesem alle seine Neigung opfert,<sup>113</sup> und es stellt Schiller, ganz unabhängig von Kant, den Willkürlichkeiten der Materialisten und der Glückseligkeitsphilosophen insofern den reinen Tugendbegriff auf, als er die interesselose Liebe zur Pflicht und zum Gesetz nur als Motiv der sittlichen Handlungen gelten lassen will, die allerdings frei von jedem Egoismus, aber doch immer noch Neigung ist und als solche auf sinnlicher Basis ruht. Schiller wendet seinen Tugendbegriff auch auf Handlungen an, die, aus Neigung hervorgegangen, mit dem Vernunftgebot im Objekt zusammentreffen, und denen er eben deshalb Anmut beigesellt sah.<sup>114</sup> "Nicht Tugenden," heisst es in "Anmut und Würde" "sondern *die* Tugend ist des Menschen Vorschrift, und Tugend ist nichts andres als eine Neigung der Pflicht."<sup>115</sup> Schiller und Kant unterscheiden sich also darin, dass ersterer dem einseitigen Spiritualismus gegenüber, der die sinnliche Natur des Menschen überhaupt verleugnete und ohne Beachtung liesz, die Berechtigung der menschlichen Natur in

<sup>111</sup> Religion innerhalb . . . Philos. Bibl. 17. S. 52. 53.

<sup>112</sup> Meurer: "Das Verhältnis der Schillerschen Ethik zur Kantischen." 1886. 2. S. 19.

<sup>113</sup> Sommer a.a.O.S. 10.

<sup>114</sup> Tomaschek, a.a.O.S. 234.

<sup>115</sup> Schiller, Cotta 11. 364.



geringem Masze geltend machte, während Kant ihr jede Berechtigung, als Faktor bei Beurteilung der menschlichen Handlungen berücksichtigt zu werden, absprach, weil sie von Natur nur auf das Gesetzwidrige gerichtet sei.<sup>116</sup> Kant "verlangt eine Tugend in ihrer eigentlichen Gestalt" ohne "alle Beimischung."<sup>117</sup> Während also Schillers Tugendbegriff auf der Liebe, also auf der Neigung beruht, gründet der Kants sich auf blosser Achtung; während Schiller die Natur einschlieszt, schlieszt Kant sie gänzlich aus.<sup>118</sup> Bei Schiller kommt dann auch hier überall die Mahnung zur Harmonie, zur Schönheit zum Durchbruch: Die Tugend soll nicht abschreckend wirken, nicht im Gegensatz zu unserer Natur stehen, sondern mit Grazien gepaart sein. Dieser Gedanke, den Schiller sein ganzes Leben hindurch von früher Jugend verfolgte, kommt schon in dem 1788 gedichteten Festcarmen auf Franziska von Hohenheim zum Ausdruck, wo es heiszt:

EMPFINDUNGEN DER DANKBARKEIT

"Einst wollte die Natur ein Fest erschaffen,  
Ein Fest, wo *Tugenden mit Grazien*  
Harmonisch in einander trafen . . .  
So war das Fest ein Heiligtum."<sup>119</sup>

Ebensowenig wie mit Kants Tugendbegriff und seiner Theorie vom radikalen Bösen konnte sich Schiller mit dessen Freiheitsbegriff, soweit er die Ethik berührt, befreunden. In dem Uebergang von der Methaphysik der Sitten zur Kritik der praktischen Vernunft sucht Kant zunächst nachzuweisen, dasz "der Begriff der Freiheit" der Schlüssel zur Erklärung der Autonomie des Willens sei, sodann dasz "die Freiheit als Eigenschaft des Willens aller vernünftigen Wesen vorausgesetzt werden müsse."<sup>120</sup> Der Inhalt von Kants Freiheitsbegriff ist kurz folgender: Das Wesen des Willens wird als Autonomie gefaszt, als Freiheit, aber als eine Freiheit, die dadurch prozesslos ist, dasz sie nur negiert und nicht zum Momente das Objekt aufhebt, an welchem sie sich durchführt, und *weil* sie das negiert, woran sie sich durchführen soll,

<sup>116</sup> Bettingen, a.a.O. S. 19.

<sup>117</sup> Kants Werke, Rosenkranz-Schubert VIII. S. 53.

<sup>118</sup> Sommer, a.a.O.S. 10.

<sup>119</sup> Schiller, Cotta 1. 53. Bettingen, S. 8.

<sup>120</sup> Grundlegung, Philos. Bibl. 28. 74.

sich selbst aufhebt. Kants Freiheit ist prozeszlos, leblos, existenzlos. Dadurch dasz Kant die Freiheit nur moralisch deutet, das nur pflichtmässige Wollen und Handeln als das einzig Freie hinstellt, zwingt er zu jenen Konsequenzen. Wer, nach ihm, aus blosser Achtung vor dem Gesetz daselbe ausführt, ist frei; Handeln aus Liebe und Neigung zum Gesetz ist Unfreiheit. Wer frei sein will, hat jede Neigung, selbst die edelste, zu bannen und nur das Gesetz sprechen zu lassen. Freiheit ist nach ihm nicht ein Idealisieren der Sinnlichkeit, sondern ein Negieren derselben:

“Die Freiheit ist die *ratio essendi* des moralischen Gesetzes; das moralische Gesetz aber die *ratio cognoscendi* der Freiheit. Denn, wäre nicht das moralische Gesetz in unserer Vernunft eher deutlich gedacht, so würden wir uns niemals berechtigt halten, so etwas, als Freiheit ist, (ob diese gleich sich nicht widerspricht) *anzunehmen*. Wäre aber keine Freiheit, so würde das moralische Gesetz in uns garnicht *anzutreffen* sein.”<sup>121</sup>

Wenn wir dies im Sinne Kants formulieren, dann erhalten wir folgende Sätze: “1. Du kannst, deshalb sollst du. 2. Daraus, dasz du sollst, erkennst du, dasz du kannst. Das moralische “Du sollst” ist realiter unmöglich ohne Deine Freiheit. Dasz Du aber eine Freiheit habest, erkennst Du erst daraus, dasz Du praktisch sollst.”<sup>122</sup> Die Idee der Freiheit ist also bei Kant eine unerlässliche und konstitutive Eigenschaft des intelligibelen Charakters (Subjektes), es ist die Idee, ohne welche die Ethik Kants eigentlich unmöglich ist. Dadurch aber, dasz er die Freiheit nur moralisch begriffen, hat Kant die absolute Herrschaft der idealen und den Untergang der sinnlichen Welt als notwendig ausgesprochen. Nach ihm ist nur der pflichtmässig handelnde Mensch, dessen innere Allgemeinheit in stetem Kampfe mit seiner Individualität bleibt, der Mensch der Idee; einen Menschen, dessen ganzes Leben eine *schöne* Erscheinung ist, kennt sein Freiheitsbegriff nicht.

Schiller sagt fast das Gegenteil. In “Anmut und Würde” spricht er von der Form (einer ursprünglichen Eigenschaft der Natur) und von der Freiheit der Natur. Schiller erörtert das Wesen der schönen Seele (hierüber unten mehr):

“Nur im Dienste einer schönen Seele,” heisst es dort, “kann die Natur zugleich Freiheit besitzen und ihre Form bewahren, da sie erstere unter der

<sup>121</sup> Kr. d. pr. Vern. (Recl.) S. 2. Anmerk.

<sup>122</sup> G. Geil: “Schillers Ethik und ihr Verhältnis zur Kantischen.” Strassburg, 1888. S. 9.

Herrschaft eines strengen Gemütes, letztere unter der Anarchie der Sinnlichkeit einbüßt.

Die Form der Natur heiszt ausdrücklich ihre Form, also wieder ihr Eigentum. Bei der Freiheit musz Schiller nach dem Zusammenhang dasselbe im Auge haben, Freiheit und Form der Natur können unterdrückt, verdrängt werden. Bei der Freiheit geschieht dies "durch die Herrschaft eines strengen Gemütes," also durch Askese, welche in einseitiger Weise die Sinnlichkeit zum puren Mittel abstrakt idealer Zwecke herabwürdigt.<sup>123</sup>

"Bei der Freiheit, welche die Sinnlichkeit sich selbst nimmt, ist an keine Schönheit zu denken. Die Freiheit der Formen, die der sittliche Wille bloz *ingeschränkt* hatte, *überwältigt* der grobe Stoff, welcher stets soviel Feld gewinnt, als dem Willen entrissen wird. Ein Mensch in diesem Zustand empört nicht bloz den *moralischen* Sinn, der den Ausdruck der Menschheit unablässig fordert; auch der *ästhetische* Sinn, der sich nicht mit dem bloßen Stoffe befriedigt, sondern in der Form ein freies Vergnügen sucht, wird sich mit Ekel von einem solchen Anblick abwenden, bei welchem nur die *Begierde* ihre Rechnung finden kann."<sup>124</sup>

Aehnlich drückt sich Schiller am Schlusz des Briefes vom 12. Februar 1793 an Körner aus:

"Alles, was man gewöhnlich *Härte* nennt, ist nichts anderes als das Gegenteil des *Freien*. Diese Härte ist es, was oft der Verstandesgrösze, oft selbst der *moralischen* ihren *ästhetischen* Wert benimmt."<sup>125</sup>

In dem Aufsatz: "Ueber die tragische Kunst" heiszt es sodann:

"Nach dem Verhältnis, in welchem die sittliche Natur eines Menschen zu seiner sinnlichen steht, richtet sich der Grad der Freiheit, der in Affekten behauptet werden kann; und da nun bekanntlich im *Moralischen* keine Wahl für uns stattfindet, der sinnliche Trieb hingegen der Gesetzgebung der Vernunft unterworfen und also in unserer Gewalt ist, wenigstens sein soll, so leuchtet ein, dasz es möglich ist, in allen denjenigen Affekten, welche mit dem eigennützigen Trieb zu tun haben, eine vollkommene Freiheit zu behalten, und über den Grad Herr zu sein, den sie erreichen sollen."<sup>126</sup>

Aus Schillers Worten: "Es gibt keinen anderen Weg, den sinnlichen Menschen vernünftig zu machen, als dasz man ihn vorher ästhetisch macht" (S. 353) geht hervor, dasz Ethik und Aesthetik, zumal im Sinne Schillers, sehr nahe mit einander ver-

<sup>123</sup> Sommer a.a.O. S. 3.

<sup>124</sup> Cotta, Schiller. 11. 361 ff.

<sup>125</sup> Jonas, Schillerbriefe 3. 285.

<sup>126</sup> Schiller, Cotta. 11. 450.

<sup>127</sup> Schiller, Cotta 11. 450.



wandt sind. Demgemäsz müssen auch hier Fragen gestreift werden, die an sich zwar in das Gebiet der Aesthetik zu verweisen sind, in der Art und Weise aber und in dem Zusammenhange, in welchem Schiller und Kant sie behandeln, auch die Ethik berühren. Es handelt sich zunächst um die Erörterung des Schönheitsbegriffes, der in dem Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Körner aus dem Ende des Jahres 1792 und Anfang 1793 das Hauptgesprächsthema bildet.

Kant behauptete, dasz es nur ein Subjektiv-Schönes gebe, das nur in dem Betrachtenden vorhanden sei, 15. *Schönheit* nicht aber ein Schönes, das in den Gegenständen selbst liege, und folgerichtig redet er bloz von der Wirkung des Schönen auf das Subjekt, nicht aber vom Schönen an sich und hält eine Untersuchung über die Verschiedenheit schöner und häszlicher Objekte, die in diesen liege und ihre Klassifikation begründe, für fruchtlos. Diese "Lücke" in Kants System, auf die Körner seinen Freund Schiller aufmerksam gemacht hatte, wollte nun dieser durch die Aufdeckung des in den Dingen selbst liegenden Gesetzes des Schönen ausfüllen und plante eine umfassende philosophische Abhandlung in Form eines Gespräches: "Kallias oder über die Schönheit." Sie blieb aber unausgeführt, und nur die oben erwähnten Briefe an Körner (Kalliasbriefe) gewähren uns einen Einblick in die Werkstatt des Denkers.<sup>127</sup> Unter dem 21. Dezember 1792 schreibt er an Körner:

"Den objektiven Begriff des Schönen, der sich eo ipso auch zu einem objektiven Grundsatz des Geschmackes qualifiziert, und an welchem Kant zweifelt, glaube ich gefunden zu haben. Ich werde meine Gedanken darüber ordnen und in einem Gespräch: 'Kallias' oder 'Ueber die Schönheit' auf die kommenden Ostern herausgeben."<sup>128</sup>

In der Tat ist Schiller in diesem Punkte weiter vorgedrungen als Kant, der von dem Schönen bloz als von einer Wirkung auf das Subjekt spricht, und es zeigt sich der Dichterphilosoph in der Deduktion des Schönheitsbegriffes durchaus selbständig.<sup>129</sup>

Als Körner in seinem Antwortschreiben vom 15. Februar 1793 auf einen Brief Schillers vom 8. Februar 1793 berichtet, dasz er "nicht gern die Schönheit aus der *Sittlichkeit*, sondern lieber

<sup>127</sup> A. Salzer, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, 2. 1266.

<sup>128</sup> Jonas, Schillerbriefe 3. 232.

<sup>129</sup> Es kann dies nicht im einzelnen untersucht werden; das würde zu weit führen und gehört, da es schon sehr weit auf das Gebiet der Aesthetik über-

diese aus jener und beide aus einem höheren Prinzip deduzieren<sup>130</sup> möchte, antwortet Schiller in einem sehr langen Schreiben vom 18. Februar 1793:

„Ich bin soweit entfernt, die *Schönheit* von der Sittlichkeit abzuleiten, dasz ich sie vielmehr damit beinahe unverträglich halte. Sittlichkeit ist Bestimmung durch reine Vernunft, Schönheit als Eigenschaft der *Erscheinungen* ist Bestimmung durch reine Natur.“<sup>131</sup> „Freiheit in der Erscheinung ist eins mit der Schönheit.“<sup>132</sup>

Nach allerlei Ausführungen über Kant und dessen Satz: „Bestimme dich aus Dir selbst . . .“ geht Schiller vom eigentlichen Schönen über auf das Schöne „im uneigentlichen Sinne“<sup>133</sup> d.h. auf die moralische Schönheit, und er erläutert an mehreren, der biblischen Samaritan-Geschichte frei nachgebildeten Beispielen die gutherzige (S. 261), nützliche (S. 267), rein moralische (S. 262), großmütige (S. 262), und moralisch-schöne (S. 263) Handlung. Die rein-moralische und die moralisch-schöne Handlung sind für uns, im Rahmen dieser Abhandlung, die wichtigsten. Nach Schillers Ausführungen (S. 262) ist „rein moralisch jene Handlung, welche gegen das Interesse aus Achtung für das Gesetz unternommen wurde“ (S. 262). „Schön wird eine moralische Handlung erst dann,“ heiszt es in dem Briefe vom 19. Februar 1793, „wenn sie aussieht, wie eine sich von selbst ergebende Wirkung der Natur.“ Mit einem Worte: Eine freie Handlung ist eine schöne, wenn die Autonomie des Gemütes und die Autonomie in der Erscheinung koinzidieren. Damit wandte sich Schillers Interesse von dem Schönen in Natur und Kunst zur Betrachtung des schön sich entwickelnden, schön empfindenden Menschen zu. Und auch hier schreitet er, obgleich auf Kants Annahme fuszend, dasz das Schöne Symbol des Sittlichen sei, weit über Kant hinaus.

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greift, nicht mehr zum Thema. Ich verweise aber auf die eingehenden Behandlungen dieses Themas in den Abhandlungen von: *Hemsen*: „Schillers Ansichten über Schönheit und Kunst, Göttingen 1854; *Zimmermann*: „Geschichte der Aesthetik“ Wien 1858. *Twisten*: „Schiller in seinem Verhältnisse zur Wissenschaft.“ Berlin 1863; *Ueberweg*: „Schiller als Historiker und Philosoph,“ Herausgegeb. von M. Brasch 1884. Besonders aber *Tomaschek*: „Schiller in seinem Verhältnisse zur Wissenschaft“ Wien 1862 S. 154 ff.

<sup>130</sup> Körner Briefwechsel, 3. 25.

<sup>131</sup> Jonas, Schillerbriefe 3. 255.

<sup>132</sup> Ebda. 3. 266.

<sup>133</sup> Ebda. 3. 260.

Vom Zustande des Sittlich-Schönen kann man, nach Schiller, dann reden, wenn "in einer harmonischen Stimmung der Seele Stoff (gegeben durch den sinnlichen Trieb)—und Form (gegeben durch das Gesetz der Vernunft) der sittlichen Betätigung sich zu einem gleichsam natürlichen Einklang verbinden (das Gute ist wie zur Natur geworden)<sup>134</sup>. . . Aus diesem Grunde ist das "Maximum der Charaktervollkommenheit eines Menschen moralische Schönheit," denn sie tritt nur "alsdann ein, wenn ihm die Pflicht zur Natur geworden ist."<sup>135</sup>

"Offenbar hat die Gewalt, welche die praktische Vernunft bei moralischen Willensbestimmungen gegen unsere Triebe ausübt, etwas Beleidigendes, etwas Peinliches in der Erscheinung. Wir wollen nun einmal nirgends Zwang sehen, auch nicht, wenn die Vernunft selbst ihn ausübt; auch die Freiheit der Natur wollen wir respektiert wissen, weil wir 'jedes Wesen in der ästhetischen Beurteilung als einen Selbstzweck' betrachten, und es uns, denen Freiheit das Höchste ist, eckelt(empört), dasz etwas dem andern aufgeopfert werden und zum Mittel dienen soll. Daher kann eine moralische Handlung niemals schön sein, wenn wir der Operation zusehen, wodurch sie der Sinnlichkeit abgeängstigt wird. Unsere sinnliche Natur musz also im moralischen (Handeln) frei erscheinen, obgleich sie es nicht wirklich ist, und es musz das Ansehn haben, als wenn die Natur bloz den Auftrag unserer Triebe vollführte, indem sie sich, den Trieben gerade entgegen, unter die Herrschaft des reinen Willens beugt."

Dann an Körner persönlich gerichtet:

"Du siehst aus dieser kleinen vorangeschickten Probe, dasz meine Schönheitstheorie von der Erfahrung schwerlich zu fürchten haben wird. Ich fordere Dich auf, mir unter allen Schönheitserklärungen, die Kantische mit eingerechnet, eine einzige zu nennen, die das uneigentliche Schöne so befriedigend löste, als, wie ich hoffe, hier geschehen ist."<sup>136</sup>

Bei Kant finden sich nur schwache Keime für den Begriff des Sittlich-Schönen,<sup>137</sup> das Schiller so sehr betont. Und während

<sup>134</sup> Schnedermann: "Ist die Ethik Schillers eine andere nach als vor dem Kantstudium des Dichters?" Leipzig 1878. S. 18.

<sup>135</sup> Jonas, Schillerbriefe, 3. 264 ff.

<sup>136</sup> Ebda. 3. 264.

<sup>137</sup> Drobisch schreibt treffend darüber (Ber. über die Verh. d. Königl. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Lpzg. Phil. hist. Kl. Bd. 9. 1897. S. 196): "Ein wirklicher Uebergang zum Sittlichen kann bei Kant das Schöne deshalb nicht sein, weil er das Gefühl des Schönen für diejenige Lust hält, und erklärt, die eine Folge des freien Spiels der Einbildungskraft und des Verstandes, also von zwei Erkenntnisvermögen und die Harmonie desselben der Grund jener Lust ist (Kr. d. Urteilskr. § 9 Werke VII. 60 ff.). Da nun aber das Sittliche auf Verhältnissen von Begehrungsvermögen (der Vernunft zur Begierde) beruht, so



der Dichter das Sittlich-Schöne dadurch, dass er es als sein Ideal bezeichnet, über das rein Moralische stellt und letzterem die Achtung, ersterem aber seine Liebe schenkt, verlangt Kant für sein Ideal nur "Achtung."<sup>138</sup> Aber zu der von Schiller gepriesenen Harmonie genügt das Sittlich-Schöne, oder sagen wir die ästhetische Sittlichkeit allein nicht, sie schlieszt sogar "Gefahren für die Moralität des Charakters" in sich. Schönheit und Tugend ist ein Führer,<sup>139</sup> Erhabenheit und Achtung heiszt der zweite, und erst da, wo die Schönheit sich mit der Erhabenheit gepaart hat, gibt es gute Harmonie, schöne Charaktere, Kraft im Unglück. Dies führt Schiller näher aus in seinem Aufsatz: "Ueber das Erhabene."

Hervorgehoben sei folgende charakteristische Stelle:

"Die Fähigkeit, das Erhabene zu empfinden, ist eine der herrlichsten Anlagen in der Menschennatur, die sowohl wegen ihres Ursprunges aus dem selbständigen Denk- und Willensvermögen unsere Achtung, als wegen ihres Einflusses auf den moralischen Menschen die vollkommenste Entwicklung verdient. Das Schöne macht sich bloz verdient um den Menschen, das Erhabene um den reinen Dämon in ihm; und weil es einmal unsere Bestimmung ist, auch bei allen sinnlichen Schranken uns nach dem Gesetzbuch reiner Geister zu richten, so musz das Erhabene zu dem Schönen hinzukommen, um die ästhetische Erziehung zu einem vollständigen Ganzen zu machen."<sup>140</sup>

Ich möchte mit Tomaschek das Sittlich-Er-  
16. *Erhabenheit* habene das im eigentlichen Sinne Moralische nennen, da die widerstrebende Neigung gebrochen werden musz, "um das Gebot der Vernunft aufrecht zu erhalten." Der Dichter

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kann zwischen ihr und dem Schönen keine nähere Beziehung als bloze Analogie bestehen. Schiller dagegen, der, wie aus seinem Briefwechsel mit Körner zu ersehen ist, anfangs das Schöne im Begehungsvermögen "unter der Rubrik der praktischen Vernunft" suchte, will es in den Briefen aus dem freien Spiel erklären, das entsteht, wenn Stofftrieb und Formtrieb d.i. Sinnlichkeit und Vernunft, aber beide sowohl in der theoretischen als in der praktischen Bedeutung genommen, sich das Gleichgewicht halten und insofern harmonieren, wo dann also in der ästhetischen Stimmung allerdings der ganze Mensch sich betätigt. Und dann ist diese Stimmung der wirkliche Uebergang, nicht nur vom sinnlichen Begehren zum sittlichen Wollen, sondern auch zugleich vom sinnlichen Erkennen zum Denkenden."

<sup>138</sup> Messer, a.a.O.S. 49.

<sup>139</sup> Das Gedicht, welches heute die Ueberschrift trägt: "Die Führer des Lebens," war in den "Horen" 1795 betitelt: "Schön und Erhaben." Cotta, I. 408.

<sup>140</sup> Schiller, Cotta. 12. 314.

behandelt dies Thema ausser in der oben erwähnten Schrift noch in dem Aufsatz: "Vom Erhabenen," sodann in den "Zerstreute (n) Betrachtungen über verschiedene ästhetische Gegenstände," und endlich in den "Gedanken über den Gebrauch des Gemeinen und Niedrigen in der Kunst." Alle vier, vor allem aber die zwei ersten wurden von Schiller niedergelegt "zur weiteren Ausführung einiger Kantischen Ideen."<sup>141</sup> Schiller teilt ein in den Begriff des "mathematischen" und "dynamisch Erhabenen" und gründet jenen auf einen Widerspruch von Erscheinungen der Natur zu unserem "Erkenntnistriebe," diesen auf einen solchen Widerspruch zu unserem "Erhaltungstriebe." Schon gleich hierin liegt eine Abweichung von Kant, wenn auch nur von geringer Bedeutung, wie Tomaschek urteilt.<sup>142</sup> Gröszer ist schon die Verschiedenheit, wenn Schiller das erste das "Theoretisch-Erhabene," oder das "Erhabene der Erkenntnis," das andere das "Praktisch-Erhabene," oder das "Erhabene der Gesinnung" nennt, eine Bezeichnung, die Kant vielleicht deshalb vermied, weil er auch bei dem Mathematisch-Erhabenen "das Gefühl unserer übersinnlichen Bestimmung"<sup>143</sup> und eine Gemütsstimmung voraussetzte, "welche derjenigen gemäsz und mit ihr verträglich ist, die der Einfluss bestimmter Ideen (praktischer) aufs Gefühl bewirken würde."<sup>144</sup> Theoretisch erhaben ist, nach Schiller, ein Gegenstand, insofern er die Vorstellung der Unendlichkeit, deren Darstellung sich die Einbildungskraft nicht gewachsen fühlt, mit sich führt; praktisch erhaben derjenige, welcher die Vorstellung einer Gefahr mit sich führt, welche zu beseitigen und zu besiegen unsere physische Kraft sich nicht vermögend fühlt. Ein Beispiel des ersteren sei der Ozean in Ruhe; der Ozean im Sturm ein Beispiel des zweiten. Dort spottet ein Unendliches, Unermeszliches des rechnenden Verstandes, unserer Vorstellungsfähigkeit; hier spielen furchtbare Naturkräfte mit dem Erdgeborenen. In beiden Fällen aber wird unser Geist durch die Erniedrigung der Sinne zum Triumph über die äusseren Naturbedingungen aufgerufen, eine innere Kraft geweckt, "die einerseits sich mehr denken kann, als der Sinn faszt, und die andererseits für

<sup>141</sup> Neue Thalia, 1793, Bd. 3. S. 320 ff.

<sup>142</sup> a.a.O.S. 208.

<sup>143</sup> Kr. d. Urteilskr. Rosenkranz IV. 114.

<sup>144</sup> Ebda S. 112.

ihre Unabhängigkeit nichts fürchtet, und in ihren Aeuszerungen keine Gewalt erleidet, wenn auch ihr sinnlicher Gefährte unter der furchtbaren Naturmacht erliegen sollte."

Sowohl bei Schiller als bei Kant ist es eigentlich nicht der Gegenstand, der erhaben genannt werden kann. "Erhaben ist nur die Gemütsbestimmung, in die er uns versetzt; der Gegenstand ist nur erhebend."<sup>145</sup> Kant definiert:

"Schön ist das, was in der bloßen Beurteilung (Also nicht vermittelt der Empfindung des Sinnes nach einem Begriff des Verstandes) gefällt. Hieraus folgt von selbst, daß es ohne alles Interesse gefallen müsse. *Erhaben* ist das, was durch seinen Widerstand gegen das Interesse der Sinne unmittelbar gefällt."<sup>146</sup>

Schiller:

"Das Erhabene schafft uns einen Ausgang aus der sinnlichen Welt, worin uns das Schöne gern immer gefangen halten möchte."<sup>147</sup>

Aus den Beispielen, die Schiller anführt, zieht er dann den Schlus: Grosz ist, wer das Furchtbare überwindet (Herakles' zwölf Arbeiten). Erhaben ist, wer es, auch selbst unterliegend, nicht fürchtet (der in seinen Leiden den Göttern trotzen Prometheus). Daher ist die Aufgabe der tragischen Kunst, das Sittlich-Erhabene darzustellen. "Im Unglück, im Affekt ist es, wo die schöne Seele sich in eine erhabene verwandelt;"<sup>148</sup> das ist der Augenblick, wo "das grosze, gigantische Schicksal . . . den Menschen erhebt, wenn es den Menschen zermalmt."<sup>149</sup>

Die oben erwähnte "Schöne Seele,"—ein Wort, das seit Rousseau im Umlauf war, aber von den  
17. *Schöne Seele* Klassikern vertieft und der Sphäre des Empfindsamen entrückt wurde,—ist das Idealbild des klassischen Menschentums, wie Schiller es erstrebte. In "Anmut und Würde" hatte Schiller deutlich genug darauf hingewiesen, daß durch Kants Prinzipien, wonach die Neigung sich unbedingt dem strengen Gebot der Pflicht unterwerfen musz, nur der erhabene, der moralische Mensch gezüchtet werde zum sogenannten Kantischen "Charakter," weniger aber der schöne

<sup>145</sup> Ebda. S. 112.

<sup>146</sup> Kr. d. Urteilskr. Rosenkranz Bd. IV. S. 126.

<sup>147</sup> Schiller, Cotta 12. 304.

<sup>148</sup> Ebda 11. 377.

<sup>149</sup> Shakespeares Schatten, Cotta S. 436.



(Mensch), der es versteht, Pflicht und Neigung zu friedlicher Harmonie zu vereinen. Zur seelisch-ethischen Vollendung gehören aber auch Schönheit und Anmut. Würde ist zwar "der Ausdruck einer erhabenen Gesinnung", Anmut aber "der Ausdruck einer schönen Seele."<sup>150</sup> Und das Ideal eines "vollstimmigen, ganzen Menschen," die "reifste Frucht der Humanität,"<sup>151</sup> ist die Vereinigung von Würde *und* Anmut. Wenn also die schöne Seele sich im Affekt in eine erhabene verwandelt, so hat sie dies Ideal erreicht und unterscheidet sich dadurch vom bloß "guten Herzen" und liebenswürdigen Temperament:

"Die Temperamentstugend sinkt im Affekt zum bloßen Naturprodukt herab; die schöne Seele geht ins Heroische über und erhebt sich zur reinen Intelligenz."<sup>152</sup>

So ist denn die "Schöne Seele" im letzteren Sinne das Menschheitsideal Schillers; es ist für ihn ein Mensch, der seinem Begriffe: "moralischer Schönheit" entspricht, dem also die Pflicht zur Natur geworden ist; und diese Neigung zur Pflicht ist Tugend.

"Eine schöne Seele nennt man es, wenn sich das sittliche Gefühl aller Empfindungen des Menschen endlich bis zu dem Grade versichert hat, daß es dem Affekt die Leitung des Willens ohne Scheu überlassen darf, und nie Gefahr läuft, mit den Entscheidungen desselben in Widerspruch zu stehen."

Auch mit diesen Gedanken, die nichts als notwendige Enthaltungen jenes Keimes sind, der von der Tugend den Trieb nicht ausschließen mochte, ist Schiller weit über Kant hinausgekommen.<sup>153</sup> Die schöne Seele, in der "Sinnlichkeit und Vernunft, Pflicht und Neigung harmonieren," verdient, nach Schiller, entschieden den Vorzug vor dem "schulgerechten Zögling der Sittenregel, so wie das Wort des Meisters (Kant) ihn fordert," gleichwie ein Tiziansches Gemälde vor den harten Strichen einer Zeichnung.<sup>154</sup> "Daher sind bei einer schönen Seele die einzelnen Handlungen nicht sittlich, sondern der ganze Charakter ist es."<sup>155</sup> Schiller will sagen: Die einzelnen Handlungen fallen nicht als sittlich besonders auf, sondern das ganze Wesen strahlt Sittlichkeit von selber aus: "Die schöne Seele,"

<sup>150</sup> Schiller, Cotta 11. 371.

<sup>151</sup> Ebda 371.

<sup>152</sup> Schiller, Cotta 11. 377.

<sup>153</sup> Sommer, a.a.O.S. 13.

<sup>154</sup> Philos. Monatshefte, 30. 1894 S. 243 ff.

<sup>155</sup> Schiller, Cotta 11, 368.

fährt er etwas zugespitzt fort, "hat kein anderes Verdienst, als dasz sie ist" . . . zugespitzt: denn das Sein setzt sich natürlich in Einzelverdienste um; aber er will damit sagen und betonen, dasz die Sittlichkeit hier nicht mehr in den Einzeltaten als solchen liegt, sondern in Fleisch und Blut übergegangen ist. So will auch Schillers bekanntes Distichon verstanden sein:

UNTERSCHIED DER STÄNDE

Adel ist auch in der sittlichen Welt. Gemeine Naturen  
Zahlen mit dem, was sie *tun*, edle mit dem, was sie *sind*.<sup>156</sup>

Die schöne Seele offenbart sich in der Anmut ihres Aeuszeren, während der bloß sinnliche Mensch nur architektonisch schön wirken kann; wenn dann die schöne Seele im Affekt den Kampf zwischen Neigung und Pflicht siegreich durchkämpft, zeigt sie Würde, wird sie erhaben. "In einer schönen Seele ist es also, wo Sinnlichkeit und Vernunft, Pflicht und Neigung harmonieren," wo sich das aus Lust und Unlust gemischte Gefühl der Achtung verwandelt in das ungemischte Gefühl der Liebe zum Sittengesetz; "und Grazie ist ihr Ausdruck in der Erscheinung."<sup>157</sup> Die harmonische Verknüpfung von Sinnlichem und Uebersinnlichem, die höchste Menschlichkeit bleibt fortan Schillers Ideal, und noch in seiner letzten Dichtung, in der "Huldigung der Künste" ruft er aus:

"Doch Schön'res find' ich nichts, wie lang' ich wähle,  
Als in der schönen Form . . . die schöne Seele."

III

SCHILLERS VERSUCH, DEN GEGENSATZ ZWISCHEN FORM- UND  
STOFFTRIEB DER MENSCHLICHEN NATUR AUFGZUEHEN.

In dem Briefwechsel mit Körner hatte Schiller eine Begriffsbestimmung des objektiven Schönheitsmerkmals versucht und sich dadurch zum ersten Male vom Boden der kritischen Philosophie Kants gelöst. Im Schlus- und Hauptteil des Aufsatzes: "Ueber Anmut und Würde," der chronologisch wie organisch eine Mittelstellung in seiner Philosophie einnimmt, wird der Begriff der

<sup>156</sup> Schiller, Cotta 1. 413.

<sup>157</sup> Ebda. 11. 369.

Schönheit als der Freiheit in der Erscheinung auf das *sittliche* Handeln des Menschen angewandt. Weder die, die Sinnlichkeit mit allen ihr zu Gebote stehenden Mitteln unterjochende Vernunft, noch die mit elementarer Gewalt die Vernunftgrenze überschreitende Sinnlichkeit vermögen dem Schillerschen Schönheitsbegriff Genüge zu leisten. Jede gewaltige Zurückdrängung selbst der geringsten Aeuszerung des menschlichen Trieb- und Vernunftlebens wäre ja gleichbedeutend mit Zwang und Unfreiheit und somit eine Beleidigung des Schönheitsempfindens. Daher die stricke, sich immer wiederholende Forderung, dasz Vernunft und Sinnlichkeit, Pflicht und Neigung zusammenstimmen, dasz die Einheit von Geist und Natur gewahrt werden müsse. Der strenge Kritizist hatte in seiner Sittenlehre jede aus Neigung entspringende Handlung für moralisch wertlos erklärt und die Möglichkeit einer Harmonie zwischen der geistigen und sinnlichen Natur des Menschen in Frage gestellt. Das fein empfindende, schönheitsempfängliche und jede Fessel verachtende poetische Genie schwelgt in dem Gedanken an eine uns gleichsam zur Natur gewordene Uebereinstimmung des Willens mit dem reinen Sittengesetz.

Dieses Ideal hilft dem sich als Individualität fühlenden Dichter,  
auch noch in einem andern Punkte

19. *Schillers Individualethik* über Kant hinaus zu kommen:  
*gegenüber Kants weltbürgerlicher Moral* Nicht nur die einzelne sittliche  
 Handlung soll durch den Zusammenklang von Vernunft und Sinn-

lichkeit ihr Gepräge bekommen, nein, die ganze Persönlichkeit soll von dem Streben nach subjektiver Uebereinstimmung mit dem Sittengesetz, soll von Tugend durchdrungen sein. So wird der Kosmopolitismus des Kantischen Imperativs durch das Schönheitsevangelium einer Individualethik überwunden. Der Gedanke, den Schönheitsbegriff auch auf die Totalität des menschlichen Charakters auszudehnen, wird in "Anmut und Würde" nur leise berührt. Seine eigentliche Ausgestaltung erfährt er erst in den "Briefen über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschengeschlechtes." Gleichzeitig wird hier der Versuch gemacht, die bestimmenden Faktoren zu ermitteln, mit deren Hülfe eine restlose Verquickung des höheren und niederen Seelenlebens des Menschen sich erreichen liesze. In der sinnlich-vernünftigen Natur des Menschen liegt begründet 1. Das Gesetz der absoluten



Realität: "Der Mensch will alles zur Welt machen, was bloß Form ist, und alle seine Anlagen in die Erscheinung bringen."

2. Das Gesetz der absoluten Formalität: "Der Mensch will alles vertilgen, was bloß Welt ist, und Uebereinstimmung in alle seine Veränderungen bringen." Mit andern Worten: Er will alles Innere veräusern und alles Aeuszere formen.

Beide Teile müssen gleichzeitig und vollauf befriedigt werden, wenn jeder lästige Zwang ausgeschaltet werden soll. Dieser Satzungsprozess wird schlackenlos erfüllt durch den Spieltrieb.

Dieser will nicht wie der Formtrieb ein Objekt hervorbringen, oder, wie der sinnliche Trieb, ein Objekt empfangen, sondern ist bestrebt, so zu empfangen, wie er selbst hervorgebracht hätte, und so hervorzubringen, wie der Sinn zu empfangen trachtet. Durch die Vermittelung des Spieltriebes wird uns die physische und moralische Freiheit gewährleistet. In ihm fühlen wir uns ganz als Naturwesen, ganz als Geist, doch niemals als das eine auf Kosten des andern. Die Sinnlichkeit, um es noch einmal ganz deutlich hervorzuheben, die Sinnlichkeit, als die Eindrücke der Auszenwelt in sich aufnehmend und empfangend, wird *Sach- oder Stofftrieb*, die Vernunft, als die Sinnlichkeit zügelnd und formend, *Formtrieb*, die Versöhnung und Wechselwirkung beider einander widerstreichender Triebe *Spieltrieb* genannt. Der Gegenstand des Spieltriebes ist die Schönheit. Dem Menschen Schönheit zu verschaffen, ist aber Aufgabe der Kunst. In den "Briefen über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschengeschlechtes" sehen wir im Geiste das leuchtende Idealbild höchster Menschenkultur sich entrollen: Wir alle sollen an unserem Platze zur Verwirklichung dieses Idealmenschen mitarbeiten. Idealmensch sein heisst aber nichts anderes, als Anmut und Würde in seinem Charakter widerspruchslos vereinen, die Gegensätze des Stoff- und Formtriebes im Menschen durch geeignete Objektivierung des Spieltriebes mit Hülfe der Kunst aufheben.

Wir kommen zum Schlussabschnitt unserer Untersuchung, deren Resultate wir in die Beantwortung dreier Grundfragen kurz zusammenfassen wollen: 1. Worin bestehen die Mängel der Kantischen Ethik? 2. Welche Kritik lässt ihnen Schiller

angedeihen? 3. Welche abweichenden Momente ergeben sich bei einem Vergleich der Sittenlehre beider Philosophen?

Schon gleich in der ersten ethischen Schrift aus Kants kritischer Periode, der bereits mehrfach erwähnten "Grundlegung," die das "Verständnis für die Kritik der praktischen Vernunft vorbereiten" will, erwies sich Kant als strengster Rigorist. Und er nimmt keinen Anstand, sich selber als solchen zu bezeichnen; verwiesen sei nur auf die bekannte Stelle in der "Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der bloßen Vernunft"<sup>158</sup> (S. 23). Auch die begeistertsten Anhänger Kants, etwa: A. Messer, B. Bauch,<sup>159</sup> K. Vorländer müssen angesichts von Stellen, wie etwa aus der "Kritik der Urteilskraft" (S. 126): "Die echte Beschaffenheit der Sinnlichkeit ist die, wo die Vernunft der Sinnlichkeit Gewalt antun musz," oder aus der "Metaphysik der Sitten" (S. 218), wo Kant die Pflicht definiert als: "eine Nötigung zu einem ungern genommenen Zweck . . .," so gern sie sonst auch den Rigorismus Kants hinwegzuleugnen, menschlich zu erklären oder zu entschuldigen suchen, doch eingestehen, dasz sich Kants Rigorismus hier und da hart ausdrückt. Und Cohen weist in "Kants Begründung der Ethik" (S. 315) darauf hin, dasz dieser Rigorismus "bei den Allerbesten Anstosz erregt hat."

Zu diesen zählt auch Schiller. Schreibt er doch am 28. Oktober 1794 an Goethe: "Die Kantische Philosophie übt in den Hauptpunkten selbst keine Duldung aus und trägt einen *viel zu rigoristischen Charakter*, als dasz eine Akkomodation mit ihr möglich wäre."<sup>160</sup> Und schon am 9. Februar 1793 berichtet er in einem Briefe "an den Prinzen Friedrich Christian von Schleswig-Holstein-Augustenburg" von Kants Philosophie als einer solchen, "die sich nachsagen lassen musz, dasz sie nur immer einreise und nichts aufbaue."<sup>161</sup> Das Schreiben von Goethe vom 1. November 1795 spricht von dem "Horribilen, das diese (Kants) Philosophie

<sup>158</sup> Philos. Bibl. (Kirchmann) Bd. 17. S. 23.

<sup>159</sup> Bruno Bauch: "Glückseligkeit und Persönlichkeit in der kritischen Ethik" 1902. S. 45 ff.

<sup>160</sup> Jonas, Schillerbriefe 4. 48.

<sup>161</sup> Ebda, 3. 250.

ausgeheckt''<sup>162</sup> habe. Hiernach kann es nicht Wunder nehmen, dasz Schiller einen Gegensatz zu Kant bildet, oder sagen wir besser, dasz Schiller von einer ganz andern Auffassung der Ethik beseelt war als Kant. Und trotz Vorländers Annahme, es habe kein Grund zur Polemik gegen Kant in "Anmut und Würde" vorgelegen, glaube ich, dasz ein solcher doch vorgelegen hat; handelt es sich doch um nicht unbedeutende Differenzen zwischen Schillerscher und Kantischer Lebensansicht und schliesslich Weltanschauung.<sup>163</sup> Man hat nun vielfach behauptet,<sup>164</sup> Schiller habe Kants Ethik nur nach der Seite des Gefühls ergänzt. Weit gefehlt! Der Dichterphilosoph greift mit dem feinem Verständnis, das ihm als Künstler wie als sittlichem Menschen eigen ist,<sup>165</sup> ins volle Menschenleben; da fühlt er die Grenzen der Kantischen Ethik und sprengt sie.

Der Kantischen Ethik lässt sich ferner der Vorwurf des Formalismus kaum ersparen. Die theoretische  
 23. *Formalismus der* Grundlegung dieser Seite der kritizistischen Moral liegt auf erkenntnistheoretischem Gebiete. Sie gründet in der Meinung, dasz beim Wahrnehmungs- und Vorstellungsprozess die Objekte nur insofern in Frage kommen, als sie den Stoff liefern; die Formung des Stoffes geschieht aber einzig und allein durch die Verstandeskategorien, d.h. den Dingen selbst darf nie ein Attribut als ihnen objektiv anhaftend zuerkannt werden, da sie nur als chaosartige Masse in unseren Wahrnehmungsbereich eintreten; daraus folgte dann für Kant der Satz, dasz in sittlichen Fragen nur die Vernunft als das formende Prinzip ausschlaggebend sei und mit Hintansetzung aller egoistischen Auffassungen zu entscheiden habe.

Die Kritik, die Schiller dem Formalismus der Kantischen Ethik  
 24. *Schillers Kritik* angedeihen lässt, richtet sich in erster Linie gegen die Behauptung, dasz die Objekte als bestimmende Faktoren bei der Sinneswahrnehmung nicht in Frage kommen. Wenn auch die kritische Erörterung, der Schiller diese Behauptung unterzieht, zu wünschen übrig lässt, so ebnet sie ihm doch den Weg, auf dem er gegenüber der welt-

<sup>162</sup> Ebda. 4. 309.

<sup>163</sup> Baumeister, a.a.O.S. 19.

<sup>164</sup> z.B. Vorländer: "Ethischer Rigorismus" S. 405.

<sup>165</sup> Geil, a.a.O.S. 20.



bürgerlichen Moral Kants zu einer weitgehenderen Berücksichtigung der Individualität gelangen kann.

Schillers Auffassung der Ethik unterscheidet sich also von derjenigen Kants durch des Dichters

25. *Zusammenfassung der abweichenden Momente* Opposition gegen den Rigorismus und Formalismus der kritizistischen Moral. Diese prinzipiellen Unterschiede bedingen dann im letzten Grunde die ganze Reihe von Abweichungen, die im Laufe der Untersuchung zu Tage traten, und hier eine kurze *Zusammenfassung* erfahren mögen: Hart fordert Kant, dasz *Pflicht und Neigung* in steter Feindschaft stehen, dasz die Pflicht die *Freundschaft*, selbst der edelsten Neigungen, abweise. Schiller kann es nicht als das höchste Ideal des Menschen ansehen, wenn seine sinnliche und geistige Natur, welche Geburt schon auf *Einheit* hinweist, in schroffem Gegensatz zu einander stehen. Nicht einen Widerspruch, und somit etwas Hässliches, sondern eine *Harmonie*, und damit etwas Schönes, darzustellen, ist des Menschen Bestimmung. Kant betet auf der einen Seite den Gattungsscharakter des Menschen, sein überempirisches Wesen an, auf der anderen Seite verdammt er seine Individualität, sein empirisches Wesen als *radikal böse*. Schiller dagegen sieht, in seinem Glauben an eine vollendete Menschennatur, in der Individualität des Menschen nicht den radikalen Hang zum Bösen, sondern nur eine Abkehr von ihrer ursprünglichen Güte; deshalb ist auch eine *Einheit beider Naturen*, der *geistigen* und *sinnlichen*, als möglich, in einer *schönen Sittlichkeit* gewisz. Kants *Freiheitsbegriff* ist ganz abstrakt, wesenlos, da er nirgends etwas hat, woran er sich durchführe; bei Schiller ist die Freiheit ein objektive-realer Prozesz, eine Vergeistigung der geistlosen Natur. Darum ist endlich bei Kant das *Schöne* nirgends in der Bedeutung zu finden, dasz es erscheine; es ist form- und körperlos, ein abstraktes Etwas, das wohl dem Verstande definierbar, aber für die Sinne nicht vorhanden ist. Bei Schiller dagegen gehört das Schöne der Erscheinungswelt an, es ist hier der Schein der übersinnlichen Idee, die es darstellt. Bei Schiller ist die *ästhetische Erhebung* nicht das seinem Inhalte nach unbestimmte *Lustgefühl* als Folge einer empfundenen subjektiven Zweckmäßigkeit; sie ist wirkliche Erhebung zu der konkreten

*sittlichen Idee*, eine Erhebung zu meiner eigenen Bestimmung.<sup>166</sup> Während Kant also die *Sinnlichkeit* sowohl da, wo sie mit frecher Stirn dem Sittengefühl hohn spricht, als in der imposanten Hülle moralisch löblicher Zwecke ohne Nachsicht verfolgt, rettet Schiller die *schöne Sittlichkeit*, indem er sie als ein notwendiges Moment des Begriffes der Idee des Menschen faszt. Nach ihm musz es auch einen Ausweg geben aus dem Labyrinth der verschlungenen Pfade des menschlichen Vernunft- und Sinnenlebens, und den Ariadnefaden liefert ihm der Gedanke eines harmonischen Ausgleiches beider:

“Führt kein Weg hinauf zu jenen Höhen?  
Musz der Blume Schmuck vergehen,  
Wenn des Herbstes Gabe schwellen soll?  
Wenn sich Lunens Silberhörner füllen,  
Musz die andre Hälfte Nacht umhüllen?  
Wird die Strahlenscheibe niemals voll?  
Nein, auch aus der Sinne Schranken führen  
Pfade aufwärts zur Unendlichkeit.”

(Das Ideal und das Leben)<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Sommer, a.a.O.S. 13.

<sup>167</sup> Alte Fassung (Das Reich der Schatten; Das Reich der Frommen) Cotta, 1. 341.

## THE GROBIANUS OF SACHS AND ITS PREDECESSORS

From the time of the appearance of the Latin Cato in the fourth century a series of works have followed this model, exhorting the readers to proper conduct in all situations of life. The early treatments were serious and didactic, among the first to appear in German<sup>1</sup> being a translation of the Latin Cato, and the long poem by Thomasin von Zirklaria entitled "Der Wälsche Gast."<sup>2</sup> Nearly contemporary with these early works are two independent productions of the fourteenth century<sup>3</sup> as well as two compilations of the fifteenth century in a similar vein, from Freidank, Cato, Moretus and others. The end of the fifteenth century saw the production of several works of like nature. One of these a *Tischzucht*<sup>4</sup> by Jac. Köbel, Stadtschreiber in Oppenheim appearing in 1492 rests on old sources and apparently had little influence on Sachs. Another somewhat earlier poem from the collection of Clara Hätzlerin<sup>5</sup> who prepared her manuscript in 1470 will be examined later.

Most important for consideration here are the poems of a satirical nature in which the lesson is conveyed by apparent praise of the boorish subject. This rude person was first introduced under the name of Grobianus by Sebastian Brant in his *Narrenschiff*.<sup>6</sup> Brant devotes one of the later chapters<sup>7</sup> in this satire to a scathing review of suitable actions recommended for this saint and his tribe, while an earlier parody on Cato<sup>8</sup> entitled

<sup>1</sup> *Der deutsche Cato*. ed. by Zarncke. Leipzig 1852.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Rückert. Quedlinburg and Leipzig. 1852.

<sup>3</sup> For a general discussion see "Altdeutsche Tischzuchten. Abhandlung zu dem Osterprogramm des Herzogl. Friedrichgym. zu Altenburg. 1882. By Dr. M. Geyer.

<sup>4</sup> Geyer, *supra* p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> *Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin*. Ed. by C. Haltaus. Quedlinburg 1840. Zweite Abt. No. 71 p. 276 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. by F. Zarncke. Leipzig 1854. No. 72, 1.

<sup>7</sup> No. 110a.

<sup>8</sup> *Der deu. Cato*. *supra* p. 144 ff.



"Wie der Meister sein sun lernet" treats the same subject though without naming the central figure.

It is this rude person, offending all rules of conduct but secure in his own self-conceit, whose behavior Sachs deplors both in serious and satirical vein. To make this list complete it will be well to record here the occasions on which the Nürnberg poet has treated this theme. His interest in the subject is shown by the fact that he employs it no less than five times, once in a didactic poem dated July 14, 1534,<sup>9</sup> twice in a master song of March 31, 1542<sup>10</sup> and April 16, 1543, and twice under the author's classification of Schwank in April, 1562<sup>11</sup> and on June 15, 1563.<sup>12</sup> The first three of these poems are in serious mood while the last two, which are under special consideration here, are written in the satirical humor of Brant and the parody on Cato just mentioned. Finally, mention must be made here of the classic version of the subject, in bitter satire, Dedekind's Latin *Grobianus* appearing in 1540 and its German translation by Scheidt.<sup>13</sup> This however seems to have exercised little influence on Sachs as the form and content of his treatment was fixed before the appearance of this version.

As has already been indicated the purpose of this paper is to examine these versions, especially the parodies, with reference to the treatment of the subject by Sachs and detect his source if possible. The subject had already been treated satirically twice in the literature before Sachs, once in the parody of Cato and once by Brant. Gustav Milchsack, editor of the critical edition of Scheidt's *Grobianus*<sup>14</sup> indicates the parody of Cato as Sachs' source in his satirical version. It is true that the text of this parody contains the same general satire of bad manners but it does not restrict itself to table manners as the poem of Sachs does. Examination of the text also reveals very few verbal coincidences.

<sup>9</sup> Ein tisch-zucht. Bib. des Stutt. Lit. Ver. Vol. 105 p. 297 ff. 72 lines.

<sup>10</sup> Geyer p. 29 f.

<sup>11</sup> Beginning "Die umbkert disch zuecht" 66 lines. Now lost.

<sup>12</sup> Die verkert dischzuecht *Grobiani*. 106 lines. An extension of the earlier Schwank. Neudrucke deu. Literaturwerke des 16. und 17. Jh. No. 126-134 p. 434 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Neudrucke Nos. 34-35.

<sup>14</sup> Neudrucke No. 34 p. IV.

The following illustrations show the greatest similarities:

Parody	Sachs
dein hend solt du nimer zwagen <sup>15</sup>	Wasch dein hent nicht <sup>16</sup>

Parody	Sachs
wegk <sup>17</sup>	prot oder den weck <sup>18</sup>

Parody	Sachs
grab in der schizzel hin und her <sup>19</sup>	Nach ander speis grewff wider her <sup>20</sup>

It will be seen that these similarities are hardly close enough to draw definite conclusions that the parody was Sachs' immediate source.

Two of the other early works on this subject show a much closer similarity both in detail and phraseology to the version of Sachs. One of these is the didactic poem found in the collection of Clara Hätzlerin, the other is Brant's satire.<sup>21</sup> A comparison of these two poems with that of Sachs will be of interest in determining the debt of the younger poet to his predecessors.

<sup>15</sup> Line 32.

<sup>16</sup> Neudrucke Schwank No. 325, 6.

<sup>17</sup> Line 76.

<sup>18</sup> Line 19.

<sup>19</sup> Line 134.

<sup>20</sup> Line 37.

<sup>21</sup> Brant's source is a serious poem by himself on the same subject, entitled *Thesmophagia*, itself a translation of a Latin original from a Lübeck manuscript. In the *Narrenschiff* he makes the same details serve a satirical purpose. cf. Brant (Zarncke) p. 147 ff.

The following parallels in idea and word show the similarities:

Hätzlerin	Brant	Sachs
Beschneiden die Negel schon 11		Lang negel zimen dir auch wol. 8
Die hennd solt du zwahen 13	Als die nit weschen dünt ir hend, Wann sie zû disch sich setzen wend, 15-16	Wasch dein hent nicht, e dw pist gses- sen, 6
Sprich dann das Benedicite 14	Oder der vor nit gbettet hat Den Segen über win und brott, Ee dann das er zûm disch hin got. 24-26	Des benediczte auch vergis! 11
Nyemant sol ze tisch sitzen, Es haisz dann der wirt mit wit- zen. Der wirt sol setzen sein Gest, Nyemant waisz, wer da ist der pest. 25-28	Oder die sich zû disch dünt setzen Und andere an dem sit- zen letzen, Die vor in solten sin gesessen, Vernunft, hofzücht also vergessen, Das man zû in müsz sprechen, ho,	Und secz am disch dich oben on, Seczt gleich der wirt dich nit hinan! 9-10
	Woluff güt fründ, sitz abhar do, Losz den dar sitzen an din statt 17-23	
Wilt du ze hof prott schneiden, So solt du ye vermeiden, Nit setz das an dein prust, Nach der krancken weib gelust, 69-72		Den schneid das prot an deiner pruest! 18
Wirt dir das trinkvas kunt, So wüsch vor deinen mundt. 87-88	Sin schmutzigen mundt wüsch keiner im, Do mit das veiszt im becher schwim, 98-99	Wisch dein maül nit, wen du wilt trinc- ken; Ob dw gleich schmal- zig machst den wein, 56-57



Wer in das tischtüch schneytzt sich, Das stätt nit wol, für war ich sprich. 101-102	Schmatzen am drincken lob ich nit, 100  .	Am disch schnaude und sewisch schmacz, 15 An dem disch mag- stw dich oft schnew- czen 75
Red wär und hoflich sach, Das nit unlust, noch ungemach Yemantz dauon beschehen. 137-139	Der ouch schwätzt über disch allein Und nit loszt reden sin gemein, Sunder müsz hören jederman Im zû, das er vil schwât- zen kan, Kein andern er usz reden loszt, Ein jeden er mit worten stoszt Und hinder redet alle frist Manchen, der nit zû gegen ist. 119-126	Und sey der erst mit allen schamppern Worten, glechter und phantasey! Dreib nachred, zenck und püelerey! 72-74
Du solt nit hin und her sehen Ob dem tisch, das stat wol Auch ratt ich, das chaines sol In ander schüssel sehen 140-143	Und mit dem essen umb sich gaff In alle winckel wie ein aff, Und sicht eim jeden zû mit bger, Ob der villicht me essz dann er, 78-81	Auf iderman wüerff dein gesicht, Merck auf sein drincken und sein essen! Wer dir zu nechst am disch ist gessen, 64-66
Wer oben an dem tisch sitzt, 147  Er sol die cost auch greiffen an Zûm ersten, es wär dann getän, Das erber frawen sassen mit Im, Oder ain man, dem es zym, Die sol er lassen vahan an; 151- 155	Der ouch zûm erst griff in die schüssel Und stoszt das essen in den drüssel Vor erbern lüten, fro- wen, herren, Die er doch solt ver- nünftlich eren, Das sie zûm ersten grif- fen an Und (er?) nit wer zû vorderst dran. 27-32	Sûnder zuck den lof- fel und is Und grewff hinein vor andern alten! 12-13

Nach dem tisch so bis nit las, Sprich got ze danck das gracias: 207-208	Den sag got weder lob noch danck! 90
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Sachs has included some ideas and phrases that he could have found only in Brant:

Brant	Sachs
Mancher betrefft dislach und kleidt, 37	Wen dw dich gleich draifst, es stet wol, Das es gleich auf das dischduech rin, 34-35
Ob das schon vor eim andern litt, Grifft er und nimbt das doch zû zit Und loszt das vor im bliben ein, Das es keim andern werd gemein, 59-62	Und grewff nicht fûer dein ort allein! Sûnder sichst vor dem nechsten dort, Der siczet an aim andren ort, Etwas ligen, des dw lûest hast, So denck: ich pin doch auch ain gast, Thw snel das schleckerpisslein zwacken 24-29
Ouch der sich kratzet in dem grind Und lûg, ob er kein wiltpret find 127-128	Auch magst dich in dem part wol krawen, Das hembt auftan, in puesen schawen Und hinein nach dem wilpert fischen. 79-81
Die ouch so hôflich sint erzogen, Die uff ir arm und elenbogen Sich lânen und den disch bewegen, 135-137	Wer dir zu nechst am disch ist gses- sen, Den irr, und rueck stet mit der penck! 66-67  Ist man den lang zu disch gesessen, Das dw vol pist mit drincken, essen, So leg dich auf mit paidn elpogen, Prait dich aus und sicz nit geschmogen, Oden leg den kopff in ein hent, Und spreicz dich hinden an die went, Pis das mal hat seinen ausganck. 83-89

These parallels could be continued<sup>22</sup> but enough have been indicated to draw the conclusion of some kinship in the versions. The exact relationship is difficult to determine but the weight of evidence would seem to show that Sachs drew more directly from Brant while the latter and the author of the Hätzlerin manuscript may have had a common source.<sup>23</sup> Sachs seems to have been little influenced by the Grobianus of Scheidt although this appeared before the former's final satirical treatment of the subject in the form of Schwank. It is quite likely however that he was led by this work to change the style and method of his treatment even though he did not borrow from the phraseology of the pedagogue of Worms.

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<sup>22</sup> Other similarities showing apparent direct influence on Sachs by Brant are found in Brant 133-134, Sachs 77; Brant 141-142, Sachs 68-70; Brant 143, Sachs 62.

<sup>23</sup> Geyer assigns as the basis of the poem in the Hätzlerin collection, Cato with additions from the Rossau manuscript.



## KARL GUTZKOW AND BULWER LYTTON

During the decade following the attempted revolution of 1848 the German journalists continued to devote much attention to English political institutions, English social conditions and contemporary English literature. Most of the literary criticism between 1830 and 1860 was in one way or another politically biased, in marked contrast to the impartial scientific consideration which has prevailed since 1875.<sup>1</sup>

During the period 1830 to 1840 the English novelist who attracted the most attention in Germany was Bulwer Lytton. Bulwer Lytton succeeded Walter Scott in popularity as a novelist in Germany and preceded Dickens, whose vogue began with "David Copperfield" in 1850. These English novelists surpass any contemporary German novelists in popularity.<sup>2</sup> Gutzkow's "Ritter vom Geiste" (1851) was the only novel before 1855 which was able to compete with the English works in this respect.

To say that Gutzkow was a liberal journalist would be indefinite, for the term liberalism at that time covered the widest variety of political opinion. Gutzkow believed in a broad tolerance in religious questions, he believed in a levelling off of social and financial inequalities. He was more interested in social than political reforms. He was inclined toward a certain form of communism and in political affairs he placed humanity above nationalism. He would perhaps to-day be called a social democrat rather than a liberal.<sup>3</sup>

Karl Gutzkow's chief opponent in political as well as literary matters was the predominating literary critic of the time Julian Schmidt. Julian Schmidt also called himself a liberal. He believed in the formation of a strong national union under the leadership of Prussia with Austria excluded. He believed in realities. He believed that England's command of the sea should

<sup>1</sup> The date of Erich Schmidt's *Richardson, Rousseau u. Goethe*. Jena.

<sup>2</sup> Julian Schmidt *Bilder aus dem geistigen Leben unserer Zeit*. Leipzig. 1870. I 268.

<sup>3</sup> J. Dresch *Le Roman social en Allemagne*. Paris 1913, p. 3-10.

inspire Germany to emulation.<sup>4</sup> He had dreams of imperialism. He maintained that individual character and national welfare were founded on industry and organization and so helped to prepare public opinion for the work of Bismarck. He would be designated today more precisely as a national liberal.

Julian Schmidt's literary criticism was largely polemic. It is therefore necessary to recall all these political differences in order to appraise rightly his judgments of Gutzkow. Even more than most German journalists of the time Julian Schmidt was interested in English literature and like his contemporaries he criticised with a political bias. But he had a definite literary program as well. He opposed the dreamy excursions of the romanticists into foreign lands and climes. He opposed the indefinite political and social programs of the Young Germans and their subversive ethical systems. As against both he advocated the realism of the English novel and commended its conservatism in ethical questions.

It happened to suit Julian Schmidt's purposes to make frequent comparisons between Bulwer Lytton and Karl Gutzkow, usually to the disadvantage of the latter. These assertions of resemblance have apparently never been challenged. It is the purpose of the present study to re-examine them. It is proper to note at the outset that resemblances between the works of Bulwer Lytton and Gutzkow were not especially obvious to Gutzkow's contemporaries. Heinrich Laube and Robert Prutz in their discussion of Bulwer and of Gutzkow make no comparisons between them,<sup>5</sup> while Rudolph Gottschall says positively: "Gutzkow erweist sich als echt deutscher Romandichter der nicht jenseits des Kanals in die Schule gegangen."<sup>6a</sup> Karl Gutzkow him-

<sup>4</sup> Julian Schmidt *Boz. Charles Dickens. Eine Charakteristik*. Leipzig Lorck 1852. p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> Laube *Moderne Charakteristiken*. Mannheim 1835 II p. 335-380 (Bulwer) Prutz *Die deutsche Literatur der Gegenwart 1848-1858* 2. Aufl. 1870 p. 14-47 (Gutzkow); Menzel *Deutsche Dichtung* Stuttgart 1859 passes over Gutzkow almost without mention.

<sup>6a</sup> *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* 1858 p. 932. Gottschall adds: "Auch Gutzkow hat Humor, doch es ist nicht der Humor Cruikshank'scher Gestalten noch der realistische Humor von Dickens und Thackeray; es ist ein deutscher Humor, der aus geistigen Tiefen kommt und nicht in einer Tonart aufgeht."

self, moreover, generally assumes a disparaging tone when speaking of Bulwer Lytton.

In the case of two of his works Gutzkow apparently admits a slight indebtedness to Bulwer Lytton. Bulwer's "England and the English" appeared in the year 1832, two years before the mandate went forth which subjected the works of the Young Germans to censorship. Gutzkow found it necessary to seek the shelter of another name, and published consequently in 1837<sup>6</sup> under the title "Bulwers Zeitgenossen" a work of criticism of his own time and institutions. An assumed style accompanied the assumed name for, as Gutzkow says: "Die schützende Devise eines ausländischen Schriftstellers durfte freilich kein blosses Aushängeschild sein. Die Verfolger würden ein Titelblatt leicht durchschaut haben. Ich musste daher bedacht sein, dem Buche auch eine englische Färbung zu geben, wobei ich mir Bulwer's "England und die Engländer" zum Muster nahm."<sup>7</sup> Bulwer's manner, Gutzkow says, was not according to his taste. But the genre painting, the attempt to depict modern characters after the manner of La Bruyère, belonged at that time to both the French and English literature.<sup>8</sup> In this practice Gutzkow admits he joined with Bulwer. In the edition of 1846 Gutzkow re-named his work "Säkularbilder" and substituted German names and characters for English ones. In other respects the changes were slight though the work was much condensed.

It will be seen that in the production of this work Gutzkow exposed himself to the influences of Bulwer's thought as well as his style, yet evidences of influences even in the "Zeitgenossen" are not especially apparent. Like most German democrats of his day Gutzkow expressed a high admiration for England's characteristic political institutions, particularly for the House of Commons. He believed that the democratic gains in France would prove transitory, those in England permanent. "Geben wir auf England acht! Es lässt von seinen Eroberungen im Bereiche

<sup>6</sup> J. Dresch *Gutzkow et la jeune Allemagne* Paris 1904 p. 179 gives 1835 as the date. Gutzkow's recollection, Gutzkow's *Gesammelte Werke* II Aufl. Jena 1872-1875 (hereafter cited G. W.) VIII, p. vi as cited above was doubtless correct. It is confirmed by Heinsius *Bücherlexikon* IX (1835 A-L) p. 140.

<sup>7</sup> G. W. VIII p. vii.

<sup>8</sup> Gutzkow *Rückblicke auf mein Leben* Berlin 1875 p. 157.



politischer Aufklärung nichts mehr fahren. Diese ächte Verschmelzung von Freiheit und Gesetz, von Menschenrecht und politischem Verrecht soll, wie sie sich in England findet, den Lauf um die Welt machen."<sup>9</sup> The edition of 1875 found Gutzkow still looking with interest toward England. The frequent references to English institutions are still retained for, as Gutzkow says in the preface, English social conditions are of such a kind that Germany would do well to compare her own therewith.<sup>10</sup> It is interesting to note that while Gutzkow pays his tribute to the democracy of England's political institutions Bulwer holds before his countrymen the superior efficiency of the Prussian educational system<sup>11</sup> and seeks to make full acknowledgement of England's debt to Germany in literary matters.<sup>12</sup> The tone of both works is similar for both writers are directing their criticisms particularly against their own countries.

Julian Schmidt's comment on the success of Gutzkow's imitation is, however, misleading. "Gutzkow hat in der That die Ähnlichkeit bis zum Verwechseln getroffen, nur dasz der Engländer doch immer mehr Form und Plastik bewahrt hat, als der Deutsche."<sup>13</sup> As a matter of fact Gutzkow played with the task of imitation. He foisted upon Bulwer the experiences of his own first day at school.<sup>14</sup> He imputed to English children some exclusively German customs,<sup>15</sup> and finally, relying on the traditional stupidity of censors, he ventures to speak in this pseudo-Bulwerish book of the already half-forgotten Bulwer.<sup>16</sup> Gutzkow's vein of benevolence preserves him from Bulwer's frequent harshness. His characters are not caricatures like Bulwer's, but are drawn with a certain Jean Paulish fondness and indulgence.

<sup>9</sup> Gutzkow *Bulwers Zeitgenossen* (zweite unveränderte Aufl. Pforzheim 1842) II pp. 413-414.

<sup>10</sup> G. W. VIII vii.

<sup>11</sup> Bulwer *England and the English* N. Y. 1833 I pp. 189-192.

<sup>12</sup> Bulwer *England and the English* II pp. 37-76.

<sup>13</sup> *Grenzboten* 1851 II p. 125.

<sup>14</sup> Gutzkow *Bulwers Zeitgenossen* I p. 17 cf. G. W. I p. 100 (*Aus der Knabenzeit*).

<sup>15</sup> Gutzkow *Bulwers Zeitgenossen* I p. 17.

<sup>16</sup> See footnote 41 of this essay over which the passage is quoted in its proper connexion.

Throughout Gutzkow seeks to comprehend his age with his sympathies as well as with his intellect. Bulwer's style is lucid and logical, while Gutzkow's is only slightly less blind than usual. In short the diverse personalities of the two authors are evident on any two pages one might compare.

The second instance of half-confest borrowing concerns Gutzkow's "Schule der Reichen" (1841) and Bulwer's "Money" (1840). In the preface to "Die Schule der Reichen," edition of 1880, it is true, Gutzkow seems to claim the work as original with himself. "Die Erfindung und Durchführung dieses Stücks ging vom Gemüth aus"<sup>17</sup> but a veiled reference in "Rückblicke auf mein Leben" seems to indicate that the plot had parallels elsewhere. "Da ging alles wie in den Gebrüdern Foster von Ehrentöpfer (von d. h. übersetzt aber frischweg wie ein Original auf seinen Namen verbreitet)."<sup>18</sup> This admission of the existence of a model seems to give support to the surmise of Dresch: "Peut-être Gutzkow avait-il lu le drame de Bulwer "Money."<sup>19</sup>

Common to both dramas is the ruse of simulated poverty. In Bulwer's drama the ruse is used as a means of distinguishing true friends from false and as a test of true love. In Gutzkow's comedy the ruse becomes for a time reality and tests the character of the inventor. Bulwer's play is represented as taking place in England in 1840, Gutzkow's as taking place in England in the seventeenth century. Bulwer's is a comedy of intrigue, Gutzkow's to a greater extent of character development. Thompson, the rich merchant, cannot adapt himself to the situation when real poverty comes but his son, at the beginning of the play a young rowdy, becomes at the end the spokesman of sound middle-class morality. "Arbeit ist die Schule der Armen, Arbeit ist die Schule der Reichen! Das ist das Wort, das uns fortan gut machen soll und glücklich."<sup>20</sup> Characteristic of Gutzkow is this educational tendency, exhibited also in "Basedow und seine Söhne," in "Lenz und Söhne—Komödie der Besserung" and elsewhere. Characteristic of Bulwer is the portraiture. In picturing hypo-

<sup>17</sup> G. W. 2te Serie 18. Bdchen p. 3.

<sup>18</sup> Gutzkow *Rückblicke auf mein Leben* p. 258. I have not been able to secure the play of Töpfer in question.

<sup>19</sup> J. Dresch *Gutzkow et la jeune Allemagne* p. 347.

<sup>20</sup> G. W. 2te. Serie 18. Bdchen p. 92.

crites Bulwer here falls into the frequent error of his countrymen, that of caricaturing.

A similarity of two unessential incidents lends some color to the suggestion of literary influence. Graves in Bulwer's "Money" is a lover of melancholy. Lady Frank roguishly determines to cheer him up for once at least. She leads him to speak of his wife, the lost Maria, and how she used to dance. Discussion leads to practical demonstration, in the midst of which Sir John Vesey and his friends enter and confound Graves with mingled reproaches and applause.<sup>21</sup> Gutzkow rather outdoes Bulwer in a scene of a similar kind. The subject of riding is under discussion. Frau Thompson says: "Ja, Kinder, wenn ich wüsste, dasz sich das Reiten zu meinem Körper eignen würde." Eliza permits herself to doubt whether there is a horse in England strong enough to carry her mother but Frau Thompson replies with assurance: "Schottische gibt's schon." Waxing enthusiastic about the subject she exclaims: "Eine sammet'ne Robe bis an die Knöchel, c'est a dire des Pferdes, du cheval, herabhängend und einen grünen Schleier in alle Winde flatternd!" Thompson and Fielding enter at this moment unnoticed. With a "Galop, Hopp, hopp, hopp!" Frau Thompson charges down upon her husband who calmly remarks to Fielding: "Das Pferd ist meine Frau!"<sup>22</sup>

Julian Schmidt's most sweeping assertion of Gutzkow's literary dependance is to be found in his "Bilder aus dem geistigen Leben unserer Zeit." Bulwer's "Pelham" appeared in 1828. Schmidt says: "Die Welt erfüllte sich seitdem mit Pelhams, die sich nach der neuesten Mode kleideten, der Gesellschaft bald durch ungeheure Fadaisen, bald durch Citate aus leichtfertigen Moralisten imponierten, die . . . möglichst viel Unverschämtheit zur Schau trugen. . . . Als Pelham nach Paris geht, erkennt er, dasz er eine Rolle spielen müsse, um Eindruck zu machen; er wählt die Rolle eines Gecken, und . . . spielt sie mit Erfolg."<sup>23</sup> Elsewhere Schmidt describes the figure of Pelham as "die Maske eines Vornehmen, der durch seine Bildung über allen Glauben hinaus ist, der sich durch nichts imponieren lässt, der allen Empfindungen eine vornehme Kälte und spöttische Zweifel entgegen-

<sup>21</sup> Bulwer *Dramatic Works* London 1833 II pp. 55-56.

<sup>22</sup> G. W. 2te. Serie 18. Bdchen p. 28.

<sup>23</sup> Julian Schmidt *Bilder aus dem geistigen Leben unserer Zeit* I p. 285.



stellt."<sup>24</sup> Schmidt then makes the assertion unsupported by specific examples: "Faszt man die Aristokratie ins Auge, die in Gutzkows Romanen oder bei der Gräfin Ida Hahn-Hahn auftritt, so erkennt man lauter verkleidete Pelhams, die neben den Masken aus Jean Paul figurieren."<sup>25</sup>

Parallel passages in his "Geschichte der deutschen Literatur" serve to identify characters whom Schmidt wisht to compare with Pelham. Schmidt describes the character of Oscar, the "Schlachtenmaler" in "Blasedow und seine Söhne" as "ein eingebildeter Geck, der die frechsten Gaunereien verübt, lügt und betrügt, und bei dem von Rechtsgefühl und von Ehre nur so viel zurückgeblieben ist, wie es zu seinen endlichen Interessen stimmt."<sup>26</sup> He describes him further as "den vollkommenen Gentleman des 19. Jahrhunderts, der zugleich Genie und Weltmann ist. . . . Solche Schwätzer," he says, "haben uns zuerst unseren Stil, unsere Dialektik—und unsere Empfindung verdorben, sie haben dann in den Zeiten der Revolution als herumreisende Ritter vom Geist die Begriffe des Volks verdreht und fassen jetzt das Leben von dem höheren Standpunkt der Diplomatie auf."<sup>28</sup> Oscar like Pelham attempts the rôle of a dandy upon his first appearance in aristocratic society.<sup>27</sup> It may be added that Edmund von Oppen makes a similar first appearance in "Seraphine."<sup>28</sup> Neither of these characters, however, resembles Pelham except in the external respect mentioned. Blasedow is fundamentally too lacking in honor, too plebeian to be a Pelham while Edmund lacks Pelham's poise and self-assurance.

"Schlachtenmaler," Julian Schmidt says, "ist der Vater einer ganzen Reihe Gutzkow'scher Helden."<sup>29</sup> Among these was Dankmar Wildungen as the mention of "herumreisende Ritter vom Geist in den Zeiten der Revolution" in the above description shows. This surmise is confirmed by Schmidt's comparison of Dankmar Wildungen with Oscar the Schlachtenmaler

<sup>24</sup> Julian Schmidt *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* II Aufl. Leipzig 1855 (hereafter cited Schmidt *Literaturgeschichte*) III p. 273.

<sup>25</sup> Schmidt *Literaturgeschichte* III p. 75.

<sup>26</sup> Schmidt *Literaturgeschichte* III p. 75.

<sup>27</sup> G. W. V pp. 254-265.

<sup>28</sup> G. W. II pp. 364-366.

<sup>29</sup> Schmidt *Literaturgeschichte* III p. 74.

and with Ottfried.<sup>30</sup> Dankmar Wildungen is, Schmidt says, one of Gutzkow's ideal characters and yet he lets him appropriate for his own use some of the money that the plebeian Hackert has been compelled to deposit with him as guaranty that he will not steal his horse; later he causes Hackert to be accused of an offence on grounds which he knows to be false.<sup>31</sup> Schmidt explains why Gutzkow pictures his hero thus. "Gutzkows Charaktere," he says, "haben eine abgöttliche Verehrung vor diplomatischer Weltklugheit, vor gentlemanlicher Bildung, . . . und eine grosse Abneigung gegen die ehrliche, kräftig handelnde Mittelmässigkeit."<sup>32</sup> Again he says: "Gutzkow möchte seinen Helden gern nicht bloss als bedeutend und geistreich, sondern als aristokratisch, als nobel, als gentlemenlike darstellen, und dazu gehört nach seinen Begriffen hochfahrendes Wesen gegen das gemeine Volk."<sup>33</sup>

The Ottfried mentioned above is the title hero of a play published in 1848. He was formerly called Gottfried but changed his name to Ottfried because the latter sounds "noble, geistreich, etwas frivol."<sup>34</sup> He tries for a time to live up to his name. Schmidt says: "Ottfried ist Cäsar, Werner, Uriel Acosta usw., der geistvolle Mann, der niemals weisz, was er will, die schwächliche Molluske ohne Knochen und Mark."<sup>35</sup>

It is then sufficiently clear what type of Gutzkow's characters Schmidt desired to compare with Pelham. It is also obvious that in making these comparisons he regularly overlooks some of the more attractive features in Pelham's character. The characters of Gutzkow in question are unlike Pelham in their manners, lacking in a sense of honor, lacking in a fixed purpose and a consistent endeavor to attain their ends.

Gutzkow's characters represent a different conception of life and vary from the Pelham type in the same way, though to a less degree that the Pelham type varies from the Byronic and the

<sup>30</sup> Schmidt *Literaturgeschichte* III p. 310.

<sup>31</sup> Schmidt *Literaturgeschichte* III p. 309.

<sup>32</sup> Schmidt *Literaturgeschichte* III p. 308.

<sup>33</sup> Schmidt *Literaturgeschichte* III p. 309.

<sup>34</sup> Schmidt *Literaturgeschichte* III p. 154.

<sup>35</sup> Schmidt *Literaturgeschichte* III p. 155. Gutzkow protests directly against Julian Schmidt's characterisation of his heroes. Uriel Acosta, G. W. 2te. Serie 2 Bdchen p. ii. Werner, G. W. 2te. Serie 2 Bdchen p. vii. Ottfried, G. W. 2te Serie 2 Bdchen p. i.

Byronic from the Werther type, for it should be noted here that Bulwer intended his Pelham as a protest against previously prevailing types of heroes. His Falkland, he said, had been his Werther; through it he had rid his mind of its "perilous stuff" and could return to real life and its wholesome objects. He resolved to paint no more Werthers and Lovelaces, no more pictures of gifted men ruined by contact with the world, but rather the picture of the man who had profited by the school of the world.<sup>36</sup> Bulwer states definitely that the Byronic Glanville was drawn as a foil to Pelham, not as a character to inspire imitation.<sup>37</sup> Gutzkow, however, finds Glanville more to his taste than Pelham. "Ist dies (Pelham) ein Weltmann," he inquires, "der die Sucht hat, originell zu scheinen und doch Originelleren, von denen er da und dort erzählt, dem Glanville, dem Tyrrel, dem Thornton, nur zu Folie dient?"<sup>38</sup>

As sanction for the character of Blasedow's eldest son Gutzkow claims the English novel of the eighteenth rather than of the nineteenth century. In the introduction to the edition of 1874 he says: "Ein Gezeter wurde erhoben von den Schelmenstreichen der vier Brüder, vorzugsweise des Schlachtenmalers. Jede Wildheit derselben wurde mit dem Moralcodex verglichen. Die immer mehr einreisende Prüderie und Schönthuerei auf bellettristischem Gebiet hatte demnach vergessen, dasz gerade der 'Schelmenroman' die beste Tradition für sich hat, dasz die Spanier des 17., die Engländer des 18. Jahrhunderts das Komisch-Satyrische im Roman nur im Wagemuth fanden, in kühner Abenteuerlust, in Lebensanschauungen bis zum Cynischen."<sup>39</sup>

Bulwer too referred to the English novel of the eighteenth century in defence of his "Pelham." For the form of Pelham he had chosen, he said, the narrative novel of Smollett, Fielding and Le Sage rather than that of the more dazzling Scott, who deals almost solely with the dramatic species of fiction.<sup>40</sup> It is therefore more plausible to attribute minor resemblances of Blasedow to Pelham to a common ancestry in the English humorous novel

<sup>36</sup> *Bulwer's Novels* London 1862 (*Pelham*) I p. xiv. Cf. *Pelham* II p. 125.

<sup>37</sup> *Bulwer's Novels* (*Pelham*) I p. xvi.

<sup>38</sup> G. W. XI p. 340.

<sup>39</sup> G. W. V p. vii.

<sup>40</sup> *Bulwer's Novels* (*Pelham*) I p. xv.



of the eighteenth century. To cite one specific example, Peregrine Pickle, Pelham and Blasedow are closely parallel. All are possessors of a passion for playing a rôle in the world. All assume an attitude of superiority and seek to surprise the commonplace man or impose upon him. Pelham, however, is more restrained in his methods than Blasedow and far more refined than Pickle.

The peculiar fact in this connexion is, however, that Gutzkow was unwilling to concede to Bulwer's novel a pedigree reaching back to the previous century. He divides the contemporary novel into three classes: "der historische Roman, das Charakterbild und der spekulative Roman." Referring to the second class he says: "Das Charakterbild entwickelte sich wohl zunächst nicht aus dem psychologisch-komischen Roman des vorigen Jahrhunderts sondern war nur eine Ausbildung der plötzlich einreisenden Sucht für das poetische Genrebild. Von dem historischen Roman . . . stürzte man plötzlich auf die nächste Gegenwart und zeichnete nach der Art englischer Ladies Alles ab, was man nur im Fluge von der Gegenwart mitnehmen konnte. Die Genremaler zeichneten uns die höhere Gesellschaft und die niedere, die Salons und die Strassen, die Spielhäuser und die Winkelkneipen. Der Fashionable, der Dandy, der Kurzathmige, der Schwerwampige, der Dünne, der Dicke; dies waren Charaktere oder vielmehr Karikaturen, die mit kurzen Strichen an die Wand gemalt wurden. . . . Diese Portraitierungen nun unter einander zu verbinden und zu Lithographien auszuspinnen, dahin war leicht der Sprung gethan. Das Leben eines Stützers gab einen Roman. Nun kamen Memoiren eines Ennuyirten, eines Desavouirten, und wie dies Zeug weiter durch auffallende Titel angepriesen wurde. Am glücklichsten war in diesem Fache der schon halb wieder vergessene Bulwer."<sup>41</sup>

Julian Schmidt seems to have overstated the case in speaking of the influence of Bulwer's "Pelham" on the characters of Gutzkow's novels. He is more accurate when he speaks of Bulwer and Gutzkow as parallel phenomena. Bulwer Lytton, George Sand and the Young German writers, Schmidt said, were skeptical of the traditional ethics. The first two, he said, gave expression to the tendency, "alle bisher instinkartig aufgenommenen Voraussetzun-

<sup>41</sup> Gutzkow *Die Zeitgenossen* II pp. 286 and 287.

gen in Frage zu stellen."<sup>42</sup> This tendency had already made itself felt in German philosophy but Bulwer Lytton and George Sand communicated it to the people. The Young Germans in their "liederlichen Zeichnungen" had followed the example of the foreign authors. "Nicht allein die Probleme, die sie sich stellten, sind bis zur Unsittlichkeit verschoben, sondern auch ihre Charaktere, die unmögliche Kontraste vereinigen sollen."<sup>43</sup> Schmidt made the reservation, however: "Charakteristisch ist es für den Engländer, dass die Emancipation der Unsittlichkeit sich nicht bis auf den Ehebruch ausdehnt; in diesem Punkt versteht die englische Gesellschaft keinen Spas." <sup>44</sup> We need not doubt that Schmidt had in mind as one of the chief offenders among the Young German novels Gutzkow's "Wally," and it is presumable that in making the reservation about the English attitude toward marriage he had prominently in mind Bulwer's "Falkland." If this be the case one must agree with Schmidt's general statement and with its application to these novels in particular. It only remains to forefend the possible inference that "Falkland" influenced "Wally" in any way.

To be sure it is altogether likely that Gutzkow was familiar with Bulwer's "Falkland," when he wrote his "Wally." Bulwer succeeded Walter Scott as a best seller in Germany soon after the publication of "Pelham" (1828). "Falkland" was reviewed in the "Allgemeine Literaturzeitung" in 1830, in the "Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung" in 1831 and in the "Morgenblatt" in 1832.<sup>45</sup> It is interesting to note that the author of the review in the "Morgenblatt" was Wolfgang Menzel, who later was to protest against the immorality of Gutzkow's "Wally." Menzel commended "Falkland" highly. Falkland, he said, was neither a Werther nor a Lovelace but a combination of both. Compared with the heroines of the English novelists, those of the French seemed mere coquettes and those of the Germans silly provincial school-girls. In this connection it may be noted that "Falkland"

<sup>42</sup> Schmidt *Literaturgeschichte* III p. 273.

<sup>43</sup> *Grenzboten* 1851 II p. 123.

<sup>44</sup> *Grenzboten* 1851 II p. 124.

<sup>45</sup> Quoted from *Life of Edward Bulwer Lytton by his son* New York Harper and Bros. 1884 Vol. I pp. 427-428. The precise pages in the *Blätter* and the *Morgenblatt* are not there given.

was abused by the English critics in much the same manner as "Wally" was by Menzel and other German critics in 1835.

Gutzkow's "Wally" and Bulwer's "Falkland," however, have nothing in common with each other excepting what they share with "Werther." In all three novels there is the familiar situation of the woman placed between her husband and the man she loves. The husband in all three novels plays a thankless rôle. Albert is delicately portrayed, Sir John Mandeville is drawn with harsher lines and Wally's husband, the Sardinian ambassador, is a caricature. The heroes represent ideals of their respective times. Werther is the *Gefühlsmensch*, Falkland is Byronic and Cäsar is blasé. Differences subsist also between the heroines. Emily's ethical presuppositions are the same as Lotte's but Wally is supersophisticated, has neither tradition nor natural instinct as a guide in life and undergoes no ethical conflict. In the composite character of Wally there is a suggestion of Bettina and Rahel, an element of Charlotte Stieglitz and of an unnamed acquaintance of Gutzkow,<sup>46</sup> perhaps also of Gutzkow's one time friend, Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer;<sup>47</sup> at the basis of all is George Sand's Lelia.<sup>48</sup> Lelia's characteristics, indeed, have been imparted to Cäsar as well as Wally.

"Wally" is a work of a different class from "Werther" and "Falkland." Its object was to treat under the guise of fiction certain questions primarily of religion and secondarily of woman's position that had long been discust in exclusive circles. Gutzkow's attempt to introduce these questions to the broader public led to the protest of Menzel, followed by the decree of the Bundestag, December 17, 1835, prohibiting the works of "das junge Deutschland." It would not have occurred to Bulwer at the time he wrote that anyone could doubt the sanctity of the bond of marriage. Bulwer painted the relation of his hero and heroine

<sup>46</sup> See *Wally*. Kritische Ausgabe von Eugen Wolff Jena Costenoble 1905 p. 27 and in the same volume Anhang II *Aus der Vertheidigung gegen Menzel und Berichtigung einiger Urtheile im Publikum*. p. 225.

<sup>47</sup> See *Rückblicke auf mein Leben* p. 117 and *Wally* edition cited above.

<sup>48</sup> G. W. IV p. 242., (Walpurgis, die Zweiflerin, ist die französische Hexe Lelia im deutschem Gewande." Cf. *Rückblicke auf mein Leben* p. 14. For further discussion of this connexion see Hans Bloesch *Das junge Deutschland in seinen Beziehungen zu Frankreich* Untersuchungen zur neueren Sprach und Literaturgeschichte Berne-Francke I 1903 pp. 110-112.



as a sinful one, without even presenting the appealing side of their passion or seeking to gain sympathy for the hero, as Goethe had done in his "Werther."

In "Wahrheit und Wirklichkeit," a tract appearing simultaneously with "Wally," of which it is the defence, Gutzkow makes it clear that "Wally" does not belong to the shallow literature of "Wirklichkeit" to which the works of Bulwer, Scott, Iffland and Kotzebue belong, nor even to the literature of "Wahrscheinlichkeit," but to the highest form of literature, that of "Wahrheit," which is making its entry into Germany from France.<sup>49</sup>

A certain incalculability of action characterized the figures in the novels both of Bulwer Lytton and of Gutzkow. This fact also did not escape Julian Schmidt's comment. As usual he is more severe in his criticism of Gutzkow than of Bulwer Lytton. "Gutzkows gemischte Charaktere," he says, "gehen nicht aus der Einheit einer kräftigen Natur hervor, sondern sind Aggregate aus den verschiedenartigsten und widerstrebensten Bestandteilen"; and again, "man hat in jedem Augenblick die Empfindung, dass sie eben so gut das Gegentheil thun könnten von dem, was sie wirklich thun. . . . Sie tragen kein Gesetz der innern Notwendigkeit in sich."<sup>50</sup> Bulwer's mixt characters, Schmidt says, were the result of Bulwer's theory. In his account of Bulwer Lytton in his "Bilder aus dem geistigen Leben unserer Zeit" he quotes Bulwer Lytton once as stating: "wie der unbedeutendste, rein vergessene Vorfall Anlass geben kann zu nächtlichen Träumen, so wirkt die Kette von Gefühlen, die er erregt, ohne dass wir es merken, in unserem wirklichen Leben bestimmend fort. Das sogenannte wirkliche Leben ist viel einflussloser, als was unsere Einbildungskraft an Erinnerungen und Gespenstern in unserm Gehirn findet. Denn was ist wirkliches Leben? Wie wenig haben die Dinge, die um uns vorgehen, mit der Quelle unserer Freuden und Leiden zu schaffen? Aus dem Gefühlsleben, welches unser blöder Sinn Romantik nennt, wickelt sich wie aus dem Eingeweide der Spinnen das Gewebe, in dessen Mitte wir uns des Sonnenlichts freuen, oder in dessen Fäden wir uns wie in einer Heimat vor der Welt verbergen."<sup>51</sup> Had Julian Schmidt been

<sup>49</sup> G. W. IV pp. 360 and 361.

<sup>50</sup> *Grenzboten* 1861 IV p. 248.

<sup>51</sup> Schmidt *Bilder aus dem geistigen Leben unserer Zeit* I p. 276.

Gutzkow's advocate he could readily have quoted Gutzkow's theory as well in support of his novellistic practice in drawing so called mixt characters. In the concluding paragraph of his "Rückblicke auf mein Leben" Gutzkow wrote: "Die Erfahrung, dasz man in der Welt abhängig ist von Impulsen, über deren Kommen und Gehen man nicht gebieten kann; die Erfahrung, dasz man Sklave der Umstände ist, die unserm Leben und Streben eine Richtung geben, die wir einschlagen, obschon wir ahnen, dasz sie ein Irrweg sei; die Erfahrung endlich, dasz unser bestes Wollen und Können nicht nur durch den schroffen Widerstand feindseliger Mächte, sondern auch durch uns selbst und sei es durch die Mäszigung, die man sich da vorschreibt, wo der Arm weit lieber zum wuchtigen Schwerthieb ausholen sollte, gehemmt wird; alle diese Prüfungen sollten für die fernere Zeit nicht ausbleiben."<sup>52</sup>

It is evident that the theories of Bulwer and Gutzkow regarding human motives are slightly dissimilar. Gutzkow believed that human action could not be reduced to a science; Bulwer believed in a system of cause and effect, but held that the causes of action were hidden from ordinary eyes and could be revealed only by the poet. When given practical demonstration in novellistic work the effect produced was much the same in either instance, for independently of the author the reader was unable to anticipate the reactions of the characters. It would appear that both authors to a larger extent than they realized owed their theories to Sterne, for whom both profest a great admiration.<sup>53</sup> Sterne dwelt upon this particular type of "Gefühlsleben." He painted no moral heroes of the Richardsonian type but rather beings who were "Sklaven der Umstände" and subject to "Impulsen, über deren Kommen und Gehen man nicht gebieten kann." A passage in "Tristram Shandy," tho applied to opinions rather than feelings and actions, strongly resembles the passages by Bulwer and Gutzkow

<sup>52</sup> Gutzkow *Rückblicke auf mein Leben* p. 357.

<sup>53</sup> Gutzkow is quoted over footnote 54. For Bulwer's opinion of Sterne see *Caxtoniana* (1864) Essays IX and XXV. The thesis that Bulwer was largely influenct by Sterne is supported with abundant evidence by F. Heinrich *Laurence Sterne und Edward Bulwer* Leipzig Diss. Buttstädt 1904. It would not be difficult to find many points of resemblance between Gutzkow and Sterne; distaste for conventional standards of action and thought, tolerance, preference for characters with hobbies. Both emphasized the frivolous side of woman's nature.

quoted above. "It is curious to observe the triumph of slight incidents over the mind: what incredible weight they have in forming and governing our opinions, both of men and things—that trifles, light as air, shall waft a belief into the soul, and plant it so immovably within it—that Euclid's demonstrations, could they be brought to batter it in breach, should not all have power to overthrow it."<sup>53a</sup>

As an instance of literary parallelism one might finally cite the frequency of diplomats and politicians in the novels of Gutzkow and Bulwer Lytton. Falkland and Sir John Mandeville in "Falkland," Pelham, Lumley Ferrers in "Maltravers," and Audley Egerton in "My Novel" were statesmen. Devereux was a diplomat. Gutzkow's novels of contemporary life also deal with men of like occupation. The leading characters in "Seraphine," "Blasedow und seine Söhne," "Die Ritter vom Geiste" and others participate in politics and Wally and Cäsar move in diplomatic circles chiefly. This is partly traceable to the fact that the diplomat or statesman was the natural representative of the new ideal, the man of the world, and partly to the fact that Gutzkow's and Bulwer's interests were both divided between politics and letters. In general it may be said that Bulwer's pictures of political life are more realistic, concrete and objective than Gutzkow's. Gutzkow's characters talk politics and discuss ideal ends. Bulwer's attend more to the actual business of politics.

It has already been indicated that Gutzkow held the English novel of Fielding's time in high esteem. He referred to the English novel of the eighteenth century in defence of his "Blasedow." In 1835 he commended Sterne. "Dieser herrliche Engländer hat, was ihn selbst betrifft, immer guten Mut. Nur wenn er zu ändern tritt, gehen ihm die Thränendrüsen auf."<sup>54</sup> At the same time he spoke highly of Goldsmith's "Vicar of Wakefield," "mit seiner feinen Selbstironie und unverwüstlichen Gutmüthigkeit."<sup>55</sup> Excluded from this admiration, however, were the novels of Richardson, whose "empfindsame Clarissa die sieben Oktavbände hindurch den Verführungen der Männer wider-

<sup>53a</sup> Sterne *Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* Book IV Chap. XXIX. In *Works of Laurence Sterne* edited by George Saintsbury London 1900 Vol. II p. 121.

<sup>54</sup> G. W. XII p. 51 (*Goethe im Wendepunkt zweier Jahrhunderte*).

<sup>55</sup> G. W. XII p. 52. Cf. G. W. V p. vii.



steht."<sup>56</sup> Gutzkow recalls that in his boyhood days like most of his contemporaries he once cherisht an unalloyed enthusiasm for Walter Scott. At the Gymnasium Walter Scott's works were read beneath the desks and even in the class. "Wenn je ein Dichter sein Zeitalter ergriffen hat, so war es der 'grosze Unbekannte.' . . . Die allgemeine Reaction der europäischen Zustände, . . . die Vertiefung in die Ideen des Mittelalters erleichterten die Aufnahme dieser Arbeiten eines sinnigen Genius, gegen dessen phantasiebeschwingten Flug der gegenwärtige Gouvernantenroman Englands nur zu erbärmlich absticht."<sup>57</sup> In his maturer years Gutzkow's attitude toward Scott became more coolly critical. By the time Dickens came into prominence Gutzkow had already lost all interest in contemporary fiction.<sup>58</sup> Of Thackeray he says: "Ich gestehe, dass ich den Roman, 'Pendennis' zu lesen anfang und vor Breite und Wiederholung nicht über den ersten Band hinauskommen konnte."<sup>59</sup>

Gutzkow's chief antipathy in English literature was the before mentioned "gegenwärtige Gouvernantenroman." In an article in the "Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd" Gutzkow discusses freely the "sweet and lovely" disposition and the "Ideenlosigkeit" of the contemporary English literature. He says: "Bekanntlich ist die englische Poesie in unserm guten Tag ganz auf die Anforderungen des Hauses, der Familie, der Tugend und der Moral gestellt. Ideen und Tendenzen, die irgendwie in Widerspruch mit dem Puritanismus geraten, finden jenseits des Kanals keinen Anklang."<sup>60</sup> Gutzkow points out elsewhere that his "Uriel Acosta" has been translated into the Galatian, Hebrew, Swedish, Hungarian, Bohemian, Polish, Italian and French languages, but the only translation into English was undertaken in America. Gutzkow comments: "Die Bewegung einer Emanzipation von geistigen Fesseln fehlt in England. Die dort unter der Controlle der Gouvernante stehende Literatur würde nur ein Drama übersetzt haben, das einen Märtyrer der Orthodoxie feiert."<sup>61</sup> In his

<sup>56</sup> G. W. XI p. 338.

<sup>57</sup> G. W. I p. 223.

<sup>58</sup> G. W. XI p. 339.

<sup>59</sup> G. W. XI p. 340.

<sup>60</sup> *Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd* 1860 pp. 636 and 637.

<sup>61</sup> G. W. 2te Serie 2 p. 1.

criticism of the "Frauenroman" of England Gutzkow includes George Eliot as well as Charlotte Brontë. "Nirgends wird mehr für die Dorfgeschichte geschwärmt als in England," he said, and of George Eliot's novels specifically: "Es wird dem Leser . . . vor all den Handwerkern . . . Pächtern, Schulmeistern, Landgeistlichen, Gutsbesitzern, Müttern, Basen zuletzt ganz flau zu Muthe. Im Dorfe leben wir, im Dorfe sterben wir. Laszt euch endlich im Dorfe begraben."<sup>62</sup>

In short the prevailing characteristics of the contemporary English novel were to Gutzkow's mind tedious realism, poverty of ideas, mawkishness. We have here to inquire whether Gutzkow found these faults in Bulwer's novels. The answer is clearly that he did. We have already seen that Gutzkow in 1835 assigned the literature of realism to the third and lowest category. (Wahrheit, Wahrscheinlichkeit, Wirklichkeit). "Diese Literatur (der Wirklichkeit," he says, "erhebt sich von der untersten Stufe der Genremalerei bis zu den Romanen von Walter Scott und Bulwer, bis zu den Dramen Ifflands und Kotzebues." This literature must be a mirror of reality. "Für die schalen Gemüther ist nichts genialer, als wenn sie sich selbst gezeichnet finden, wie sie sind; ihre Tante, ihre Katze, ihr Shawl, ihre kleinen Sympathieen, ihre Schwachheiten. . . . Es gibt Kritiker und Literatoren, die sich nur für das Kopieren der Wirklichkeit enthusiasiren können. Das Wahrscheinliche ist bei ihnen schon eine Conzession. England hat von je diese Art der poetischen Darstellung bevorzugt. . . . Man will von der Literatur keine Anstrengung haben; die Literatur soll Niemanden mehr eine unruhige Nacht verursachen, sie soll schildern, porträtieren, die Leselust mit Historie und Bulwer stillen. Die Poesie ist Selbstbefruchtung. Die Wirklichkeit nährt sich von ihrem eignen bürgerlichen überquellenden Fett."<sup>63</sup>

Still more definitely does Gutzkow charge Bulwer in his "Zimmerreisen" (1835) with poverty of ideas. "Die englische Literatur leidet doch an einer entsetzlichen Breite und Monotonie. Das Genre, in welchem sie arbeitet, ist in der Regel so einfach und die Bearbeitung desselben so unersättlich; jeder literarische Charakter tritt sich selbst mit einer fürchterlichen Redseligkeit

<sup>62</sup> *Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd* 1860 p. 863.

<sup>63</sup> G. W. IV p. 360.

breit, und jeder neue Spekulant, der das Interesse des Publikums erobern will, versucht es nicht nur durch das, was noch nicht da gewesen ist, sondern durch das, was Alle bereits kennen und Alle gar so lieb, gar so gern haben. Die erste Erfindung ist gewisz immer genial und originell; aber dann nimmt der Autor ein Patent darauf und fabricirt wie Bulwer, Marryat, die Trollope ins Gelag hinein ohne mit seiner Schablone aufzuhören."<sup>64</sup>

It seems clear then that Gutzkow classified Bulwer's novels not with the admired old English novel but rather with the detested modern type written especially for women. Gutzkow himself more than once bore testimony to the fact that he wrote for men, not women. Rosalie Scheidemantel had failed to find the necessary resolution to defy her mother and marry Gutzkow, whom she undoubtedly loved. This incident had left an indelible impress upon Gutzkow's mind. "Mir erstarb," he says, "der Glaube an die Bewahrung des Frauenthums für jene Welt, der mein Leben gehörte. Sie können nicht theilnehmen, rief mein sich krümmender Schmerz, am groszen Kampfe der Zeit."<sup>65</sup> Faith in woman was not restored to him, Gutzkow says, by the example of Charlotte Stieglitz or by his own wife who remained steadfast in time of affliction. "Die Abneigung . . . beim Schreiben speziell nur der Frauen zu gedenken, denen vorzugsweise zu huldigen, . . . blieb. Sie blieb in meinem 'Blasedow und seine Söhne' fast bis zum Cynischen. . . . Nur für Männer wollte und konnte ich schreiben."<sup>65</sup> In a similar way he wrote in the preface to the 1874 edition of "Blasedow": "Gegen die Frauen, die bekanntlich so sehr zu schonen und als die Hauptinstanzen unserer schönen Literatur zu beschmeicheln sind, und es auch genugsam von den Süszlichen werden, ist das Buch fast allzu herbe. Trübe Lebenserfahrungen lieszen den Autor schon zu früh an der Richtigkeit der Kunde, dasz es auf die Tiefe gehende Frauen gebe, zweifeln. Ueberdies glaubte er, die Romane, in denen es sich lediglich um das 'Bekommen' von Dem oder Der handelte, müszten nur von den Taschenbucherzählern geschrieben werden."<sup>66</sup>

That Julian Schmidt laid too much emphasis upon chance resemblances between Bulwer Lytton and Karl Gutzkow is not

<sup>64</sup> G. W. XI p. 372.

<sup>65</sup> Gutzkow *Rückblicke auf mein Leben* p. 19.

<sup>66</sup> G. W. V pp. vii and viii.



remarkable. He was writing with a polemic intent, deploring certain tendencies obvious in both authors and hence found it convenient to place them in the same category. Investigation, however, fails to confirm the suggestion that Gutzkow's literary work was influenced by Bulwer Lytton's in any marked degree. It substitutes the hypothesis of a common ancestry in the English novel of the eighteenth century as a plausible explanation for the most striking resemblances in the novels of the two authors. The investigation at the same time raises another question, that of the sincerity of Gutzkow's criticism of Bulwer. It must be admitted that an undercurrent of jealousy is sometimes obnoxiously evident in Gutzkow's criticism of popular foreign novelists. Some of this found its way even into his collected writings.<sup>67</sup> Furthermore the author who had the monumental patience to write "*Die Ritter vom Geiste*" and who declared: "Ob bei meinen Ritttern vom Geist die Lesegeduld noch Stand hält, hängt von der Bildung des Lesers ab,"<sup>68</sup> but who himself lacks the necessary patience to read beyond the first book of "*Pendennis*," does not commend himself to the modern reader as a competent judge of the comparative tediousness of novels. In spite of these circumstances the evidence would seem to show that much of Gutzkow's criticism of Bulwer was the natural outgrowth of diversity of personal characteristic and of literary opinion.

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<sup>67</sup> G. W. XI pp. 338-344.

<sup>68</sup> Gutzkow *Ritter vom Geiste* Berlin 1878 p. xv. Preface to the sixth edition.

## STUDIES IN SCANDINAVIAN PALEOGRAPHY

Under the above caption I published in an earlier issue of this Journal<sup>1</sup> a study (I) of the varying forms of the letter *y* in the oldest Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic manuscripts, as a contribution toward the solution of certain questions of relationship between Norse and English script. I there also made an examination (II) of the charter hand in Norwegian and Icelandic MSS. before 1225, and I came to the conclusion that "the Latin script of Iceland, which was originally a pure book-hand, continued to preserve this character down to about 1225. At that time a current of influence from Norway set in, resulting in a style of writing which came to have many of the marks of the chancery hand. . . . In Norway, however, the script used in books had, in the XIIIth century, mainly the character of a chancery hand prevaillingly somewhat set in style; a pure book-hand is rarely met with."

The results of further investigations into English and Scandinavian script are here offered in the hope that they may throw some light upon the problem of the earliest history of the Latin script in southwestern Norway.<sup>2</sup> I shall examine, 1, the technique of the letters *þ* and *ƿ* in English and Norwegian writing; 2, the use of *u*, *v*, *þ*, *y* and *f* in Early West Norwegian writing. In considering the former of these questions it seemed to me desirable to summarize briefly the facts with regard to the forms of the two corresponding runes in the English inscriptions, whence *þ* and *ƿ* were taken over in the Insular of early English writing.<sup>3</sup>

## III

THE LETTERS *þ* AND *ƿ* IN EARLY ENGLISH AND SCANDINAVIAN WRITING

The runes *þ* and *ƿ* in *The English Inscriptions*. I shall base my observations on the reproductions in George Stephens' *Old*

<sup>1</sup> Vol. XIV, pp. 530-543.

<sup>2</sup> On the origins of East Norwegian script see my article "On the Earliest History of the Latin Script in Eastern Norway" in *Publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study* II, pp. 92-106. The foundation for all special investigations was laid by Professor M. Hægstad in *Vestnorske Maalføre. Innleiðing*. See review in this *Journal*, VIII, pp. 602-605.

<sup>3</sup> The usual abbreviations will be employed. See also note 6 of the article referred to above.

*Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England*, Vol. II, pp. 375-501, and Vol. III, pp. 157-222, and on those in W. Viëtor's *Die Nordhumbrischen Runensteine*.<sup>4</sup>

For the inscription on the Franks Casket there is also the excellent photograph, plate 289 in Vol. II of Series I of *The Paleographic Society*. In the case of the Scandinavian inscriptions the references will be given below.

In the English inscriptions the rune for "thorn" has only now and then a curved bi-stave. When found in this form the stave is either a bow or it is a curved stave whose lower end slants more prominently than the upper; the latter departs from the main stave in a descending stroke. Such curved forms of it may be seen on the Lancashire Cross (*ORM*, II, p. 376), where it occurs twice;<sup>5</sup> on the Cloquet Island Inscription, (*l.c.*, 480), once; and on the Bewcastle Monument, where it seems to occur twice (*l.c.*, 399). In all other instances we find, instead of the bow, two straight strokes, one cut from the main stave down to the right, the other from the first stave down to the left to the main stave, so that the three staves describe a triangle. It will be convenient to use the words "bow" and "triangle" for these two forms. We find the triangle on the following inscriptions: the Hartlepool Inscriptions (*l.c.*, pp. 392-396), three times; the Bewcastle Monument, three times; the Ruthwell Cross, (*l.c.*, p. 407), seven times, and furthermore once in which the juncture of the two lines is rounded off slightly; the Falstone Inscription (*l.c.*, p. 456), once evidently (the bistave is here high up on the main stave); the Franks Casket, six times; the Monk Wermouth Inscription (*l.c.*, p. 477), once; the Brough Stone (*ORM*, III, p. 170), once; the Thornhill Stone (*ORM*, III, p. 209), twice. There are, therefore, in all, twenty occurrences of the triangle to five of the bow.<sup>6</sup>

In English runic script, therefore, the letter "thorn" regularly had a triangular bistave. And it may be noted that it usually

<sup>4</sup> Abbreviated *ORM*. and *NR*. respectively.

<sup>5</sup> The þ in line 1 is slightly defective. The photograph, *ORM*., II, p. 376, is of a cast of the inscription "exactly engraved" on wood by Henneberg and Rosenstand, who leave it defective, but *NR*. shows it to be triangular.

<sup>6</sup> I have not here taken into account mere transcriptions in *ORM*., although the editor has evidently aimed to write bow or triangle according as one or the other appeared in the inscription. It may be noted that also in the transcriptions the bow is rare. In some of the photographs in *NR*. the types are too indistinct to be made out with certainty.



also has this form in those inscriptions which exhibit a tendency to employ curved strokes in certain other letters.

The rune for "wen," the bow-form of which varies a little more, has the same two shapes and the technique is precisely the same; there too the bow-form is relatively rare. The occurrences are as follows: the bow, or near approaches to it, is seen on the Collingham Shaft (*ORM*, II, p. 391), once; the Bewcastle Monument, twice, one distinctly round; the Ruthwell Cross, once; the Franks Casket, slightly rounded, once; and on the Thornhill Stone, once. The triangle occurs as follows: Bewcastle, seven times; Ruthwell, five times; Franks Casket, five times, the upper stroke tends here somewhat toward the horizontal position; the Brough Stone, four times; and the Whitby Bone Comb, once. There are, therefore, twenty-two instances of the triangle as against six of the bow. The preponderance of the former over the bow is about the same as in the case of "thorn."

In English runic script, therefore, the letter "wen" had regularly the form with a triangular bi-stave (in about four-fifths of the occurrences). The bi-staves of the two letters have the same form and were made in the same way; there is no other difference between the two letters, except that of the higher position of the bi-stave of the "wen," and even this difference is sometimes not carried out clearly. The superior extension of the vertical of the *þ* must be maintained if the two are to retain their distinctive character. Otherwise they would become identical in their form, precisely as did the corresponding letters in English vernacular script in its later phases when *þ* coincided with *ƿ* and *ƿ*. As far as the runes in question are concerned, however, I observe again that the shape of both *þ* and *ƿ* is identical except for the fact that in the case of "thorn" the bi-stave is cut about at the middle of the upright. It may be noted, however, that on the Franks Casket the upper stroke of the bi-stave of the *ƿ* tended toward a more nearly horizontal position, something that leads to a more slanting and slightly longer lower stroke. Possibly this represents a tendency in *ƿ* (or in both runes?).

#### *"Thorn" and "Wen" in Insular Script*

Let us turn now to the oldest examples of these letters in the Insular.<sup>7</sup> Just how early the two runes in question were adopted

<sup>7</sup> I.e., the Insular or Anglo-Saxon script of English vernacular writing. For the later mixed form when the technique comes to be mainly Carolingian

by northern English scribes for writing in the vernacular, or for native names in the otherwise Latin text, we cannot know precisely, but it probably was about 700. Of the two letters in question it was clearly  $\mathfrak{p}$  that established itself first. Thus in *Æpelheard's Decree*, date 803, *Pal. Soc.*, Vol. II, Ser. I, Plate 23,  $\mathfrak{b}$  is found only three times,<sup>8</sup> whereas  $\mathfrak{p}$  occurs fourteen times.<sup>9</sup> The spirant was, however, also otherwise represented, namely by  $\mathfrak{ð}$ ; of this type the letter in question has twenty-two instances. In the list of names in *Grant of Offa* of the year 793-4 only  $\mathfrak{ð}$  is used for the spirant, four times in all.<sup>10</sup> However,  $\mathfrak{p}$  also was otherwise represented, namely by *uu* (double *u*). In the *Grant to Headda*, date 759, the single occurrence of the sound is written *berhtuuald*,<sup>11</sup> and that for 793 writes *uermundi*, *uuigmundi* and *uuigbriht* by the side of *Coenpalh*. In *Æpelheard's decree* of 803 the writing with *uu* survives in the names *uulfsheard* twice and *uulfred*, *uuigmund*, *eaduulf* and *uuiktun*, in all six times as compared with fourteen for  $\mathfrak{p}$ .

It is  $\mathfrak{p}$ , then, that was first established; and the form the letter assumed in the script of the time was one with a short horizontal stroke and a somewhat longer descending stroke, which joins the main stave at or slightly below the base of the line of writing. This is also the form of the  $\mathfrak{b}$ ; and the two letters retain this similarity of shape down to the second half of the eleventh century. Also after that they differ but little in some MSS., wholly coinciding in the XIVth c., even as to the length of the main stave. In the *Grant from Werfrith to Wulfsið*, date 904,<sup>12</sup> the bi-stave of  $\mathfrak{p}$  has everywhere in the facsimile a horizontal upper bi-stave, whose position is along the top of the line, precisely as the  $\mathfrak{b}$  in the same MS., or as in the *Grant from Berhtwulf*,<sup>13</sup> of 848, or the *Durham Ritual* of the Xth c., (there is no  $\mathfrak{b}$  in this MS.).<sup>14</sup> Similar

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the name Anglo-Norman or Anglo-Carolingian should be used for such script as retains certain Insular types.

<sup>8</sup> *æpelheah*, line 2, of the list of names; *æpelheah*, line 9, and *æpelheard* on the back of the charter.

<sup>9</sup> *pernod* line 3, *piġ perð*, line 6, etc.

<sup>10</sup> *Signum æpelheardi*, etc.

<sup>11</sup> *L. c.*, Plate X, *Pal. Soc.*

<sup>12</sup> *L. c.*, Plate XIII.

<sup>13</sup> *L. c.*, Plate 24.

<sup>14</sup> *L. c.*, Plate 240.

is the form in the interlinear glosses of the *Lindisfarne Gospels*<sup>15</sup> (of 700, the glosses, 10th c.), and the *Gospels of MacRegol*<sup>16</sup> (about 800, glosses 10th c.), and in the *Exeter Book*, 950.<sup>17</sup>

In the longer main stave of the thorn, however, as it appears in the earliest occurrences and regularly in the later script for 500 years, a very definite differentiation was introduced. It was natural that the body of the thorn should be written in the line, and this led to a letter with a superior extension as well as an extension below the line. But the prominence of the vertical stroke above the line in its earliest form was, I think, the result of its original exclusive use in abbreviations of *þæt*, *þætte*, etc. And the long main stave, which it thus came to have, is characteristic of it to the end of the XIth century.

As compared with the corresponding runes the upper bi-stave is no longer a downward slanting stroke. However, it probably was that in its earliest use also in the script. I find only a single instance of this, however, in the facsimiles before me, namely in *þa*, line 4 of the *Salisbury Psalter*, MS. 150.<sup>18</sup> The reason for the new form undoubtedly lies in the fact, that, in writing, it was a more natural stroke. This change having been made, there followed with it the longer second stroke, especially in large script, for this stroke must at any rate reach the base of the written line; that was the only natural shape.

Now in the second half of the Xth c. the upper bistave of the *þ* begins to assume a slightly upward slanting direction. Both the old and the new form is found in the *Salisbury Psalter*. Here the former is still seen in *þe*, line 4, and *þas*, line 10; but elsewhere we have the slanting upper stroke, as in *þinre* in line 7. The reason for this change may have been in part that the upper stroke was written continuously with the last stroke of the preceding letter, in which case it would tend to take an upward direction. Such are some of the earliest occurrences of the sloping stave; See, e.g., *þefceapap*, Plate 189; cp. also *aepelheah*, Plate 23, line two of list of names. The change was also perhaps due in part to the greater prominence that was given to the lower

<sup>15</sup> *L. c.*, Plate 3.

<sup>16</sup> *L. c.*, Plate 90.

<sup>17</sup> Facsimile in Thompson's *GLP.*, Plate 146.

<sup>18</sup> *L. c.*, Plate 198.



stroke, as an upward movement of the wrist in the writing of the first stroke gave greater scope for the lower stroke. But by this change a strikingly different bistave was soon effected. If the first stroke is very short the whole right side of the letter tends to assume the appearance of a single, slightly rounded stroke, as in *þat*, line 3 in the *Salisbury Psalter*. Or again the bistave will assume the shape of a curved line which rises at first, then curves down to the main stave. The latter is the typical shape in English writing of the 11th c. and down to about 1100; side by side with it are, however, often seen letters with a broken bistave.

It may be noted, finally, that in the latter half of the Xth c. the *þ* is also found in a somewhat changed form; the top is open, there is a single, clubbed bistave. In Aelfric's *Heptateuch*, early XIth c. closed and open *þ* are found side by side.

*'Thorn' and 'Wen' in Early East Norwegian MSS.*

We find that the technique of the *þ* in East Norwegian is identical with that of the English letter. The bistave is either a broken line ascending at first, then descending, or it is a curved line which begins as an upward stroke. In *AM. 655, IX*,<sup>19</sup> the *þ* is usually open and the *þ* closed; but the latter is also sometimes open, as *þa*, B, Ir, 7.<sup>20</sup> Also the *þ* is often closed, as *þiðrr*, page B, Ir, line 14, or *þa* in line 6, quite as in English practice. It should be noted, however, that while the two letters are closely associated, and exhibit the same technique as regards the bistave, that of *þ* is generally a somewhat longer stroke, coinciding with that of the usual open *þ*, as for example in the English 10th c. MSS. spoken of above.

Quite similar are the letters *þ* and *þ* in the first hand of *AM. 315, g*, of the Frostathing Law, and also, for that matter, that of the second hand, (the second and the third leaves).<sup>21</sup> The letters are, however, less regular in the latter (the script as a whole is that of a less well-trained writer). It is to be noted, here, however, that the two letters do not seem to retain quite the same similarity of form. I shall finally mention the Letter of Earl

<sup>19</sup> Of this and subsequent ONorw. manuscripts mentioned the examination is based on photographic copies in the Illinois Scandinavian Collection unless specifically stated otherwise.

<sup>20</sup> The references are to fragment B, page and line.

<sup>21</sup> These two pages are clearly by a different hand.

Skule of 1225, facsimile 49 in *Atlas*, 1905, as an instance where the differentiation spoken of is complete.

It has been shown by Hægstad<sup>22</sup> that nw Norwegian script of even the early fragments exhibit in many ways the influence of the East Norwegian school of writing, especially as regards orthography and the adoption of the types *ƿ* and *þ*. I may point out that, also in the matter of the way of writing the *þ* and the *ƿ* and in the technique of other types the influence of the East, that is Trondhjem (or the Frostalaw), is evidenced. Fragment *AM. 315 f.* of the older Gulathing Law, date the close of the XIIth c., has the same form of *þ* and *ƿ*, the latter regularly open. The script of this hand is small and the opening between the staves of the *þ* often quite narrow. The initial stroke of the bistave of *þ* here is often a horizontal or nearly so, evidently cases of the earlier *þ* with a horizontal stroke as its first bistave. In this connection I shall next speak of *Frag. RA, I B*,<sup>23</sup> which Hægstad holds to be "utantvil fraa tidi fyre 1200"<sup>24</sup> and apparently nw. Norwegian, namely *G, k.s. 1347*, from Sunnmøre, which exhibits this form of *þ*. The date of this one-page roster of names is the last quarter of the XIIth c. The prevailing *þ* is here *þ3*, but the upper part of the stroke rises but slightly, and in some instances, as, e.g., *manapar*, l. 8,<sup>25</sup> we seem to have the form *þ2*. Finally, I shall note the fact that *þ3*, or a close approach to it, is rather the commonest form of the letter in *AM. 315, e*, a nw. Norwegian fragment of the Gulathing Law. In this MS. *ƿ* is often closed; in general the MS. exhibits a technique that is somewhat more removed from the East Norwegian method than those we have considered.

We have gone over briefly the runes *þ* and *ƿ* in English and East Norwegian script. In both the two letters are closely associated in form, just as in English runic writing they were formally very similar. In English script *þ* early took a characteristic shape, a natural normalization of the English rune *þ* with its prevailing triangular body. Now East Norw. writing took over certain

<sup>22</sup> *Vestnorske Maalføre fyre 1350.*

<sup>23</sup> *RA* (= Rigsarkiv, Christiania) in the Government Archives, Christiania.

<sup>24</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>25</sup> MS. *Manap.*

letters from the vernacular script of England; however, the *þ* could, conceivably, have been derived from the rune 'thorn' in Norway as well as in England. But the Norwegian rune had at the time in question a bowed bi-stave, not a triangular one; and I shall try to show below, that where the runic *þ* was borrowed it resulted in a wholly different form of letter in Norwegian script. The identity of form as between East Norw. and English *þ* would seem to show that *þ* was taken over with other letters from English script, and the native runic 'thorn' had no influence upon it.

*'Thorn' and 'Wen' in Southwest Norwegian Writing*

At the outset I shall say that here we seem everywhere to meet with a different tradition. We are, to be sure, much handicapped in the effort to get at the fact of the kind of script that was first used in sw. Norway; what has been preserved from there is mostly of a somewhat later date. But tradition is a tenacious thing, and it should be possible to find the answer to this question from the paleography and the orthography of the earliest documents that have been preserved. That the newly acquired art of writing in Latin letters, an acquisition which came with Christianity, was practiced as much and as skilfully in the great Gulalaw of western and southwestern Norway as it was in the great Frosdalaw of the northern part of eastern Norway we have no reason to doubt.

The oldest example of sw. Norw. writing is evidently *AM. 310 qv.*<sup>26</sup> In this MS. the *þ* differs in form from the one observed above in that its body is squarish in shape; and the latter differs in technique in that it is made in two strokes. I shall, below, speak of this *þ* as the *þ* with two bi-staves. The first stave, here the main one, is a squarish stroke which ends as a vertical; the second stave is a short horizontal line written from the long stave out to and connecting with the first bi-stave.<sup>27</sup> The lower bi-stave is generally a horizontal line, but it may sometimes join the first stave in an upward curve; in such a case the two will approach the bow-shape. In the facsimile before me (*Atlas*, 19) there are forty-six occurrences of *þ*, all written with two bi-staves and in the above form. The lower stave is, in most cases, clearly

<sup>26</sup> Groth: *Det arnamagnæanske Haandskrift 220 quarto*, 1895.

<sup>27</sup> Sometimes intersecting one or both of the other staves.



seen as beginning somewhat to the left of the long stave. The figure formed by the two bistaves will sometimes be quite square, as *þu*, line 37. However, the top is, in this as in most sw. Norw. manuscripts, somewhat curved. The distinguishing mark is the horizontal lower stroke on which the upper one rests.

Furthermore in sw. Norw. script *þ* and *ƿ* are no longer associated in their technique; the main part of the one is everywhere clearly distinct from that of the other. There is here no tradition linking the two together in the way they are written. On the other hand it is *þ* and *ƿ*, whose forms are here found to be associated: the bi-staves of the two are alike and are produced in the same way.<sup>28</sup> Of the *ƿ* in sw. Norw. script I shall, therefore, now have nothing more to say in the present discussion; I shall, however, take it up again below in connection with *v*, *u* and *y*.

Quite the same as above is the condition in both hands of *Ups. DG. 4-7* (fac., of hand 2, *Atlas*, 22);<sup>29</sup> the bi-staves form a square or an angular figure which is made in two strokes, the lower one a short horizontal one, written from left to right. There is one single instance of a one-stroke bow, namely *þangat*, line 17. Equally striking is the form in hand 1 represented in the *Dialog between Courage and Cowardice*, lines 1-13 of Leaf 6, and the *Pamphilus and Galathea*, leaves 3-5. Here the body of the letter is often perfectly square, and evidently in such cases is usually made in three strokes, as in the former *þinum*, line 4, or *þat*, line 6. Elsewhere we also meet with a roundish upper stave. Among later MSS. I shall mention only *RA. 5* of the Gulathing Law and *RA. 23*. In the latter the upper bi-stave is either merely a short vertical stroke, which is straight or inclines slightly to the left at the top; the base is a slender horizontal. It is again the southwestern form with a prominent upper stave and a horizontal base. In *RA. 5* the old form still maintains itself (date "ældre end 1300"<sup>30</sup>).

With regard to northwest Norwegian practice I shall merely say that paleographically this region represents a meeting ground

<sup>28</sup> *þ* and *ƿ* are identical except for the longer main stave of *þ*. See, e.g., *griþa*, page 1, line 9 or *ƿapn*, page 6, line 7.

<sup>29</sup> Description in Gödel's *Katalog*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>30</sup> Quoted from my copy of the handwritten catalog of the Rigsarkiv, Christiania.

of two opposing traditions, with the southwestern or the (north-) eastern dominating in varying degree in the different manuscripts. Of the three hands of the *Homiliebók* (*AM. 619 qu.*) the third stands somewhat nearer to southwestern tradition. It may be noted that *þ*, *ϥ*, and *þ* are all distinct in this hand. Also in *AM. 315, e*, southwestern things prevail, but it is a mixed script. In some cases here the two bi-staves of the *þ* form an almost perfect bow (the lower one is written from the left). Elsewhere the bi-stave is a bow of one stroke. *RA. 58 Cod.A.* exhibits the regular w. Norw. *þ* with two strokes, the upper one square or curved; the prevailing shape is a squarish letter. The similarity of *þ* and *þ* is to be noted; also the effort to join the two strokes of the bi-staves so as to form a bow. In *RA. 19a* the two strokes sometimes do not join, or again there is the bowed bi-stave (possibly sometimes in one stroke?). *P* and *þ* are much alike, *ϥ* different from both.

We may now, it seems to me, draw our conclusions from the form of the letter *þ* as we find them in southwest Norwegian. It is here of quite a different shape from that of the East, and the formal association with *ϥ* is lacking. The body of the *þ* is here a squarish figure or is rounded at the top, and it has a horizontal base written in a separate stroke; by the side of this there is the form with a bow as a bi-stave. We must look for the source of this *þ* in the *þ* of the Norwegian runic inscriptions. The runic *þ* of this period was, as we know, one which uniformly had a full round bi-stave, as regularly in the younger runes in the form in which they were used in Norway after about the year 1000.<sup>31</sup> That this should be done was indeed a natural thing. And in adopting the *þ* into the new script the scribe employs the two strokes, as best securing the bow-shaped bi-stave of the rune he was writing.

<sup>31</sup> In the inscriptions written in the older runes in Norway the *þ* may have either a triangular or bow-shape bi-stave; the former, e.g., on the Belland Stone, the By stone, the second *þ* the Reistad Stone, etc., the latter on the Bratsberg Stone, elsewhere slightly rounded. See Bugge: *Norges Indskriffter med de ældre Runer*, pp. 97, 210, 218, 376, etc. In the Danish inscriptions, however, the bi-stave is evidently regularly a round stave or a long curve, that may often join the main stave near the top. In Swedish inscriptions the bi-stave is also round. In the Norwegian inscriptions of 1000 to 1200 the bow-shaped *þ* is fixed in the form we find reproduced in the oldest MSS. discussed above. The beginning and the end of the bi-stave is horizontal or nearly so.

## IV

THE USE OF *u*, *v*, *ɥ*, *y*, AND *f* IN WEST NORWEGIAN

Before turning to the West Norwegian manuscripts it will be well to note briefly the East Norwegian practice.

*Summary of East Norw. conditions: AM. 655, IX.* The letters used are: *u*, *ɥ*, and *f*. *V* occurs as a capital; it is found only a single time as a small letter, namely in *være*, Fragn. B, Ir, line 25. The type *y*, small or capital, has a distinctive form; the shanks are divergent at the top and it is always dotted. See further Table in *JEGP*. XIV, page 535.

The letter *ɥ* is always consonantal; it is used regularly for *v* (*u*, *w*) initially (*ɥa*, *ɥaitti*) and after tautosyllabic consonant, *sɥa*, *ɥvi*, *hɥat*, etc.

The letter *u* regularly represents the vowel (*ut*, *guð*); as consonant it appears in combination with *q* in *necquarri* and *quasc*, otherwise only in *sua*, once, *æue*, once, and for medial *f* in normalized orthography as below. The vowel sound *u* is not represented in any other way.

The letter *f* for the voiced spirant appears regularly only in final position after a vowel, as *af*, *gaf*, and *grof*, and medially before a consonant. Examples: *sialfr*, *silfr*, *gefr*, *lifna*, *nafne*, *nafs* (for *nafns*), *hofðing*, and in the cases: *hafðe*, *dioflum*, *gofga*, and finally in *þarf*. The *f* is always the AS. type; its main stave is very short, the bi-staves are two parallel rising strokes which usually end in a short vertical bar.

For the sound *v* in intervocalic position (normal writing *f* as in the immediately preceding cases) the fragment regularly has *fu*. The cases are: *hafua* (various inflexional forms), *gefua*, *lofua*, *ifuir*, *lifua*, *raufluor*, *graufluor* and *hafueð*. Also medially between consonant and vowel, as *sialfluor*, *hvarfluor*, and *þurfluanda*. This spelling evidently represents the change from a traditional writing with *f* in such position to one with *u*. The latter is represented by four occurrences: *hæue* and *hæuir*, twice each.

*AM. 315, g.* The letters used are *u*, *ɥ*, *y*, and *f*. The letter *y*, which does not appear as a capital, has a distinctive form prominently bent to the left, with the main stave the right side. It is always dotted. *V* nowhere occurs. The use of *ɥ* and *u* cor-



responds closely to the above. But the writing *fu* is not found; *f* is used instead, *u* once (*riuua*=*riufa*). The *f* usually has two dots as bi-staves.

*Dipl. Norv. I, 1.* (Skule jarls brev), date 122.<sup>32</sup> The letters *u*, *ϑ*, *γ* and *f* are used; *v* is found as a numeral for 5 and in the two abbreviations *hvn*=*hværn* and *hvær*=*hværer*, and otherwise in the word *hviti*. The *γ* is not here so distinctive in form; the main stroke is the left one, but it usually differentiates itself from *ϑ* by a leftward bend and it is regularly dotted. The *ϑ* has both shanks turning to the left. The use of *u*, *ϑ* and *f* is as in *AM. 655, IX*; *ϑ* is a consonant 30 times; *u* appears in this function only in *huæriu*, *sua* (twice) and *þui*. In intervocalic position *ϑ* here takes the place of *fu*, *u* (and *f*), as *gaϑom*, *æϑenlega*, *liϑum*, *haya*. The use of *v* in *hviti* is possibly an extension of the use of *v* in abbreviations; the use of *v* in such a case as *hvær* is clearly an extension of its use in *hvn*. The traditional function of *v* was that as a numeral for 5; from this use the letter was taken over first, evidently for clearness sake, in proximity to short-staved letters (as *n* in *hvn* above).

#### *The Earliest West Norwegian Practice*

We shall consider mainly only those MSS. that belong to the southwest.

*AM. 310 qu.* Dated by Groth 1225. The letters used are *u*, *v*, *ϑ*, *γ*, and *f*. However, *ϑ* is relatively extremely rare; on the one facsimile page we have of this MS.<sup>33</sup> it occurs only twice, namely in *uþilia*, line 1, and *uþarlega* in line 25. Evidently the type is not fully established in the script of this MS., and it seems to be used more especially in the neighborhood of short-staved letters. In the two instances cited it is an open type, regular enough in its shape, the main stave is straight, but it has a sharp turn at the end, an influence from the *γ*. The letter *γ* has its bistave on the right side; the left main stave is prominently bent, wherein it usually differs from *ϑ*, and it ends in an abrupt turn to the left. As regards dotting, the page before us has ten occurrences of the dotted *γ* and two of the undotted, namely *mynda*, line 9, and *synilega*, line 19. In form the *γ* shows considerable

<sup>32</sup> *Atlas*, 1905, Plate 49.

<sup>33</sup> *Atlas*, 1905, Plate 19.

fluctuation. There is the prevailing form as above, which is open at the top, but it also occurs closed and the main stave approaches the straighter form. In the one undotted form the top is closed, hence here we have a perfect  $\nu$ , except for the bend of the main stave.

The  $\nu$  occurs practically only initially, but in this position rather frequently especially in the preposition *við*, and the various inflexional forms of the verb *vera* (6 out of 17 on the page before us). The  $\nu$  is used in letter abbreviation in  $\text{v}^a = \text{vera}$  and in symbol abbreviation in *natverþ*, *verði*, and *vera*. This is a matter I shall come back to below. As regards the use of  $u$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\rho$  and  $f$  in the MS. as a whole I shall note the following things from the very full discussion in the Introduction to Groth's diplomatic edition. Of the use of  $u$  and  $\nu$  Groth says: "Lyden  $\nu$  betegnes i fremlyd i regelen ved tegnene  $u$  eller  $\nu$  der bruges om hinanden, som det synes uden spor af forskjel, undertiden ved det saakaldte angelsaksiske  $\nu$ . I indlyd betegnes den tonende dentilabiale spirant ved  $\rho$  eller  $f$ , der bruges om hinanden."<sup>34</sup> The list of examples given then show some cases of  $\rho$  before vowel initially, after tautosyllabic consonant (rare evidently, no cases on the page in the *Atlas*). Then the fact is noted that  $\rho$  is used very often at the beginning of the second member of a compound, as *allþalldr*, whereas here  $\nu$  or  $u$  is used only now and then ("af og til").<sup>35</sup>

The lists of occurrences would indicate that to some extent the use of the long-staved  $\rho$  was a matter of choice for clearness sake. Within the limitations of their function, that is as consonants,  $\nu$  and  $\rho$  are found in a considerable proportion of all occurrences before or after  $i$ ,  $n$ ,  $u$ , or  $m$ . The list contains 20 cases of  $\rho$  before  $i$ ; these words have variant forms, but these variants (five) are all written with  $\rho$ . To be sure  $\rho$  is also found 21 times before  $a$  (of these *þaru*, 13 times) and before  $e$  19 times (of which *þera*, 8 times). But here one also finds variants in  $u$ , as *uel*, *uann*. And again clearly in such cases as *uþarlect* and *uþarscari*, the writing *uu* would have been open to misinterpretation as a form of writing  $w$  (the writing *uu* for  $\nu$  or  $u$  occurs in Groth's lists.) In this connection observe the form *vurpu*, lines 27-8 in the fac-

<sup>34</sup> *L. c.*, p. xxxi. My interpretation of the use of  $\nu$ ,  $\rho$ , and  $f$ , it will be seen, differs from that of Groth.

<sup>35</sup> *L. c.*

simile page. By reason of such writing we today may know for a certainty that the writer pronounced *vur-* and not *ur-*. Other instances of *ʋ* are: *Arnʋiþr*, *Eypindr*, *uunʋiggs*, and after initial *u-*, *uʋigr*, *uʋilia*, *uʋin*, *uʋitandi*, *uʋitzku*; in fact the privative *u-* is regularly followed by *ʋ* or *v* (*uʋinir*, *uʋinum*).

The use of *ʋ* is principally perhaps a practical matter. The letter is limited in its use, it is evidently only getting a fixed place in the script of this MS., but there are a great many cases where it can be used with advantage, lending clearness to the script and it becomes an important aid to the reading of what has been written; so we find the writer adopting it sometimes initially, but rather often medially in the ways indicated above.

Now as regards intervocalic position, or otherwise medially in position normally represented by *f* (i.e. after *l* and *r*). The author's citation of examples contain 176 of *ʋ* and 102 of *f* (*yfir* everywhere?) for the intervocalic position, and 34 of *ʋ* and 19 of *f* in other medial position. In final position it is always *f*. Now here we seem to find several principles or considerations operating. The word *lifa* is always written *liʋa*, 13 times (cp. also *munchliʋinu*), *liʋi*, 3 times and *liʋir*, once; no cases of *liua*, etc. In other cases it is evidently an individual habit or possibly a scribal fashion in a particular region, in a particular school of writing, which governs the writing of certain words and names. Thus the word *hafa* is written *hapa* 86 times as compared with *hafa*, 16 times. In fact if one eliminates the verb *hafa* from the list of words with intervocalic *ʋ* or *f* there will remain 90 cases of *ʋ*, and 86 of *f*; the preponderance of *ʋ* disappears.

Now how is this to be explained? There is no evidence of a much-practiced abbreviation *haʋ*, which might have led to the regular writing of *ʋ* in this word also where it is written out in full. And yet the reason evidently lies somewhere here. We noticed above that the writing of *ʋ* before *a* occurs 21 times (there were 20 of *ʋ* before *i*). Now of these 21 thirteen were of *paru*, and nearly half of the cases where *ʋ* was written before *e* were cases of the word *pera* (8 of 19). It is not difficult to see the influence which is operating here: *vera* was very commonly abbreviated, in which case *v* not *u* was used; this led to a practice of not writing *u* initially in this word even when written full. One would then usually write *vera* of course; but *ʋ* and *v* were regularly interchangeable substitutes for *u* in ways discussed



above. Also, the frequent abbreviation *vera* had the further effect of associating *v* and *a* in other words, too, aided there by practical considerations (as *liva*, etc.). So we find the writing *gepa* 13 times but *gefa* only 5, and similarly in other words in smaller or larger proportion. In this way the regular writing of *hapa* came about.

Our scribe preferably writes *-pa* or *-va* then. However, if the vowel that follows is *o* or *u* he has a decided leaning for *f*; in fact here *v* or *p* are practically never used. Thus he always writes *gafugr*, *gofugr* (19 times), and *hafuð*, *hofuð* (33 times), *diofull* always (10 times). Now it may not be easy to discover all the motives that have influenced the writer in these cases. In the case of a following *a* the writing *fa* may have been given up partly for practical reasons,—the upper bi-stave of the *f* often tends to run into the upper part of the main stave of the *a*; but this consideration did not enter in the cases of *fu*. At any rate he writes *f* in these words 62 times, *p* once. Cp. again *hapa* as above (86 times, *hafa* 16); but on the other hand regularly *hafum*, *hofum*.

The word *yfir* is always written with *f* it would seem. Here again the reason is apparently a somewhat similar one; the two long and somewhat similar looking letters in juxtaposition is avoided. Since he knows that a dotless *y*, formally very much like *p*, is often used (he also uses it himself) *ypir* was less clear than *yfir* (and perhaps he thought the latter was a more pleasing form too). The name *Sigvaldi* might also have been written *Sigualdi* or *Sigpaldi*. However, he always writes *Sigvalldi*, 53 times in all; (*Sigvalldi* occurs once in a superscription). The preference of *va* or *pa* over *ua* is thus again exhibited, and our scribe's almost exclusive use of *v* (or *p*) before *a* in medial position.

I shall now pass on to a brief examination of *Upps. DG. 47*, leaves 1-2, date about 1235. There is a facsimile of six lines in Munch's *Olaf Tryggvessøns Saga*, 1853. The types used are *u*, *v*, *p*, *y* and *f*. The *p* is open twice and closed twice; the *y* is open twice and closed once. The clear distinction is the dotting of the *y*, except for this fact the two letters seem not to be distinguished formally, less so than in *AM. 310, qu*. The *v* is narrow at the base and the left shank turns to the left. Its right stave once runs slightly below the right one; we thus for the first time

meet with a *v* with a short 'tail,' which gives the letter something of the appearance of a short *y*. The fragment of text in question consists of two leaves, printed in Munch's edition pp. 64-71. This print, inadequate for our purpose (no indication of the dotting of *y*, use of *ϑ* or where abbreviations are used) shows, at any rate, that while the vowel *u* is regularly written *u*, capital *V* functions for vowel in names, (*Vlfr*), and as the second letter at the beginning of new paragraphs in *Nv* (by the side of *Nu*) and furthermore in the word *vinum*, p. 66. The letter *u* is regularly employed as a consonant initially and after tautosyllabic *h*, *g*, *s*, *t*, and *k*, but otherwise rarely. The letters *v* or *ϑ* are regularly used next to *i*, *u*, *n* and *m*; in fact the printed text shows no exception to this, *v* (in the text standing for *v* or *ϑ*) occurs 57 times, *u* none in such position; e.g., *við*, *vita*, *vilia*, *vinir*, *hevir*, *yvir*, etc. Thus in this hand the use of the letters in question leads to a system of orthography which is very different, indeed, from that of the East as represented in the Trondhjem form. I may finally mention that capital *V* is vocalic in *Vþyrmir*, otherwise *v* is always a consonant.

Although *AM.15 e*, is linguistically nw. Norwegian and paleographically a mixed script, belonging to a zone where both styles of writing have met and mingled, some w.Nw. features in it should be mentioned. This exceedingly interesting fragment may be assumed to antedate somewhat the two MSS. discussed, but probably by only a decade or two. Here *u* is regularly a vowel; otherwise it is used only after tautosyllabic consonant (cp. above). But *v* is also used as a vowel, as before *n* or *m* in *vm*, *vmaga*, and *vnnit*, but also in *vt*, *vtan* and *vþp*. The consonantal function of *u* initially has been supplanted entirely by *v* (43 times) and *ϑ* (15 times) before all vowels. Medially *v* is found only in *æve*; *f* retains its place in medial position (*hafa*, *stefna*) and of course in such cases as *þarf*. The proportion is 41 occurrences of *f* to 4 of *ϑ* (*geva*, twice, *grava* and *grævet*). As regards the use of *ƿ* or *f* it is to be noted that Latin *f* is practically limited to initial place (24 times), being found only twice medially and not at all finally. AS *f* on the other hand is always used finally (34 times), nearly always medially (53 times), and shares with *f* about equally the initial position. Now how does this practice come about? By the practical necessity of using the low *f* in abbreviations; such a growth for the letter *ƿ* was of course contingent therefore upon

the scope of the use of abbreviating in the particular period or in the particular kind of writing. In the fragment under discussion *fara* is abbreviated five times, always with the low *f*; *firi*, three times, and *hefer*, five times, otherwise also *grafner*, once, and *fram*, once,—in all fifteen cases therefore. (Note also that both occurrences of *grafet* above are abbreviated *ga<sup>w</sup>vet*).

In the above examination I have not included *AM. 619, qu. Norsk Homiliebók*, which is dated about 1200, and the script of which is not sw. Norwegian. The writing in this case has so many features that are characteristic of Trondhjem and that part of the Northwest that came under its influence that it seemed doubtful to me as to what extent we may assume that the scribe has followed the original in the matter of the *u*, *v*, or *ɥ*. For consonantal *u* Hand III regularly writes *ɥ*, (except in cases as *hu-*, *gu-*, *su-*, etc.), in which practice he introduces the *ɥ* of his own script for the *u* of the original. To what extent *ɥ* may actually have appeared in his original is quite uncertain.

#### CONCLUSION

The many conflicting tendencies in the form and the use of the letters discussed no doubt have their root in the lack of a tradition for some of these letters. In the form of the letters and in the manner of writing them the departure from the eastern (i.e. Trondhjem) system is very striking; the explanation of this must lie mainly in the different origin of the letters that were not a part of Latin (i.e. Anglo-Latin) writing in the period of borrowing. And there are clearly certain special factors operating in the Southwest to give this different form to some of these letters. And again the general instability in the forms of *y* and *ɥ* and in the scope of *v* and *ɥ* would indicate that there were various schools of writing and styles of script in the XIIth century in the region in question.

The facts that stand out clearly are the wide scope of the *u* and the definite function of *f* in medial and final position; the *u* is, as in Latin script, both a vowel and a consonant, but *f* stands for the voiced spirant finally, in intervocalic position and otherwise medially as in Anglo-Saxon<sup>36</sup> writing. Another fact that comes fairly clearly to view in early sw. Norw. writing is that Latin *f* and Anglo-Saxon *f* are both used side by side. But in

<sup>36</sup> That there was runic tradition here also is perfectly clear.



these features we already have a union of two systems. In the main it is Latin, but one of the two types of *f* is Anglo-Saxon, and the use of *f* for *v* represents likewise an AS influence in part. There was therefore borrowed in sw. Norway, as its earliest writing, the Latin script which was of course used pure for Latin writing, but which for vernacular use employed *f* for *v* in the way it was employed in AS practice. But while the use of *f* represented no pressing need (one could have written *halu* [half] or *haua* [hafa]). In another direction there was a real need, namely in the writing of the dental spirant. To meet this need Norwegian writing in this early period did not, however, resort to the Insular. The technique of the sw. Norw. *þ* can leave little doubt that it was taken over from the runic alphabet; and it was made to do service for both the voiceless and the voiced spirant, just as the runic *þ* was so used. This consideration explains the absence of *ð* in some sw. Norw. documents, and the double function of the *þ*, a matter in which it differs, from that of East Norw. and from Insular script after about 950. Beyond this there may have been no further departures from the Latin writing when, e.g., the Norwegian laws were first put to writing.<sup>37</sup>

It is likely that for a time they managed with this script,—that inadequate as the Latin vowels were for the needs of the Norwegian vowel system, they made it serve as best they could. Hægstad holds this opinion, and one cannot deny that there seem to be here and there sporadic survivals of this practice. Possibly the case in *RA* 23a<sup>38</sup> of a dotted *u* may be regarded as such a survival; modified by the dot above by which otherwise *v* or *ʋ* became a *y*. It must be noted, however, that some of the cases in Wadstein's *Fornnorska Homiliebokens*, *Ljudlära*, p. 78, to which Hægstad refers, are evidently dittographs, as those cited in §, 12, e) a), and possibly also some in *β* [cp. also some under *f*]). However other occurrences of *u* for the *y*-sound seem clear; and all in all the evidence seems rather to be therefore that in later times (here as late as 1200) one still made use of this old way of writing *y* in sw. Norway.

Now the Insular *f* need not of course, have been in use at all at the beginning when the AS use of *f* was adopted. It was a

<sup>37</sup> See *Norges Historie fremstillet for det norske Folk*. I, ved Alexander Bugge, pp. 378-386.

<sup>38</sup> Fragment of the Gulathing Law.

script which employed the Latin *f* for *v* in, e.g., intervocalic position just as it is so used, e.g., in the interlinear gloss of the Gospel of MacRegol, (*ofer, heofon*, etc.). When was the AS *f* first used? We have seen above that it differs markedly from that of the east Trondhjem. In the southwest the lower bistave, as we saw, is consistently a horizontal bar and not infrequently rather prominent. The upper bistave is a curve ending in a downward bend. In both respects, we have before us precisely the 10th and 11 c. Insular *f*.

But in sw. Norway the *f* often, especially in particular MSS., takes a form which still more resembles the Latin *f*, becomes an *f*-like *f* which stands low in the line; the upper bistave of it joins the top of the main stave, and both bistaves are horizontal. Now the fact that the two bars here run parallel might suggest an influence from the runic *ƿ* in sw. Norway; however, the *f*-like shape of it leads one to look elsewhere for the reason. And we find it, it seems to me, in the corresponding hybrid *f* of the vernacular bookhand of England of about 1100-1125. In the *Textus Roffensis*,<sup>39</sup> dated "before 1125," we have such a mixed *f* which stands high in the line, while the main stave extends somewhat below the line. Elsewhere we find somewhat similar forms standing low in the line, however, as the *f*. The insular has here in the main given way to a script, the technique of which is Carolingian, but some of the letters are those of the Insular, pure as *ƿ*, or mixed as the high *f*. Herein, it seems to me, is the reason for the specific form of the sw. Norw. *f*. And if this is correct and the AS was incorporated into the script about 1100, it is likely that such other AS letters as were borrowed also came in at this time. Among these is the *ȝ*.

There is very little that is consistent and definite about the sw. Norw. *ȝ*; and yet there is one thing that seems to characterize it throughout, namely that the main stave is the left stroke. Now this might suggest an original confusion with AS *ƿ*, especially in view of the further fact that *ȝ* is also undotted sometimes. However, the latter feature becomes especially noticeable at a later time, so that perhaps the reason for the confusion of form lies originally in the main elsewhere.

<sup>39</sup> Facsimile GLP. Plate 201.

Now if the above suggested date for the adoption of the *ƿ* is correct and we turn to the *y* of vernacular English script of that time we find at once that, while to be sure, it has its bistave on the left side, the shanks of the letter are generally a perfect *v*. That the inferior extension is a continuation of the right side is generally easily seen; however, the lower part is often a very slender stroke, a fact that somewhat accentuates the *y*-like shape of the body of the letter. This might, in the borrowed script, have led to conceiving the latter as a *v* with a lower stroke; and it might easily also have led to a method of writing *y* with the lower stroke as a continuation of either shank, or of writing it down from the juncture of the two. It might then easily come to have a form closely resembling that of *V*. Now the *ƿ* must also have come into use from this time on, but evidently not to the extent that *ƿ* and *y* did; not until about 1200 does *ƿ* seem to become more general in its use in sw. Norway. And when it does it seems quite commonly to be thought of as differing from the *y* mainly in the absence of the dot. But it is possible that a dotless *y* was in use early. The dotless *y* might originally have arisen from the conception of the *y* as a modification of the *v*, and the dot as the relatively less important thing.

Now turning finally to the *v*. The minuscule *v* was not a regular part of either Latin or AS script in England in the XIth century. It was used as a capital (for *V* or *U*) and it was employed for the numeral 5, and somewhat in abbreviations. And in these ways *v* was no doubt used in Norwegian writing from the first. But *v* does not seem to have extended its scope beyond this until after 1200, as far as we can tell. After that we find it rapidly gaining a fixed place. (perhaps the scope of it in, e.g., *AM 310, qu.*, would suggest an earlier date than 1200, that it must have come somewhat into use already in the XIIth century). The later general use of *v* could have grown up from its use in abbreviations without any external new influence,—the frequent writing of a *v* often undoubtedly led to writing *vera*, as *v* led to *ver*, etc. That *v* usually had the form with both shanks turning to the left, just as the *v* of abbreviations may perhaps be regarded as strongly indicating that in the main the general use of *v* was a native development. But the *v* of sw. Norw. script would seem to show an external connection, namely that of the charter hand. I have elsewhere shown that W. Norw. writing of the 12th c. was mainly



a somewhat set charter hand. The influence of the charter hand shows itself also in the letter *v*. It often has, e.g., both staves converging, as regularly in the charters. Furthermore the *v* comes to replace the *u* as a consonant (see above), and also often as a vowel. This practice is so characteristic of the charters that I cannot help thinking that the same practice in Norwegian writing came in as part of the same current of influence. And this influence therefore led in part to the increasing use of the letter *v*. It may be noted here also that it was with the charter hand that the *w* and the long *f* and the long *r* came into Norwegian script.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> See *Journal of Eng. and Gmc. Phil.*, XIV, pp. 538-42.

### THE AUTHORSHIP OF "A YORKSHIRE TRAGEDY"

Critical discussion of the gruesome little drama called "A Yorkshire Tragedy" has chiefly been concerned with the question as to whether its contemporary attribution to Shakespeare is to be believed. Although it was not only published but entered in the Stationer's Register as Shakespeare's during his lifetime, there is a consensus of opinion that (with the possible exception of a few lines) it is not his. No evidence as to who actually was its author has hitherto been forthcoming. I propose here to put in a claim for George Wilkins, the author of 'The Miseries of Enforced Marriage.' I am not convinced that Wilkins was the sole author of the 'Tragedy,' for it contains one or two passages (and especially the magnificent prose speech of the Husband in the fourth scene) that would seem to be beyond the power of the hand that wrote 'The Miseries.' But it nevertheless possesses so many features in common with his acknowledged work, that it seems to me evident that he had at least the chief hand in its composition.

The first page of the text of the first quarto edition bears the heading "All's One, or One of the four Plaies in one, called A Yorkshire Tragedy." There were then three other dramatic pieces performed with this play, and it seems reasonable to assume that they were concerned with the same theme, the history of Walter Calverley of Calverley in Yorkshire, the murderer of his two young children and would-be murderer of his wife, who was executed at York in 1605. Apparently none of the three other dramas has survived. But there nevertheless is an extant play dealing with some of the earlier incidents of the life of this same Walter Calverley, and that play is 'The Miseries of Enforced Marriage,' of which Wilkins was the author. It would therefore not be strange if he should be found to have had a hand in another play dealing with the later and concluding episodes of Calverley's career.

Before proceeding to a detailed examination of 'A Yorkshire Tragedy' for indications of Wilkins's hand, we have first to consider what material is available for the purpose of comparison.

First and foremost, of course, is 'The Miseries of Enforced Marriage,' for it is the only play of Wilkins's sole and acknowledged authorship. Two other independent works of his exist, both in prose. One of these is a tract entitled 'The Three Miseries of Barbary; Plague, Famine, Civil War' published in 1603, and the other a novel founded on the play of Pericles called 'The Painful Adventures of Pericles Prince of Tyre' published in 1608.

The 'Miseries of Enforced Marriage' was printed in 1607, the year immediately preceding the appearance of 'A Yorkshire Tragedy.' In this same year also appeared 'The Travels of the Three English Brothers' written, as the title-page informs us, by Wilkins, Day and Rowley in collaboration. The results of the independent investigations of Messrs. Fleay and Boyle agree in attributing to Wilkins the following portions of 'The Travels':<sup>1</sup>

Scene ii (Bullen pp. 14-27) from Enter Messenger to			Enter Sophy's Niece.
"	vi	(40-46)	" Enter Chorus to Alarum.
"	viii	(50-53)	" Enter Turk to Enter
			Sir A. Sherley.
"	xiii,	part of (82-88)	" Enter Sir A. Sherley.
To these Mr. Boyle adds:			
Scene	x	(64-75)	from Enter Sophy to Enter
			Jailor.
	xii	(78-82)	" Enter the Great Turk
			to Enter Robert Sherley.

In the following year, 1608—i. e. the year in which 'A Yorkshire Tragedy' was published—appeared two plays, "Humour out of Breath" and "Law-Tricks," whose title-pages bear the name of John Day alone. But Day himself admits in his preface to the former play that it was not 'all of one man's getting,' and it is accordingly not surprising to find that the other, "Law-Tricks," shows strong evidence of Wilkins's collaboration. Its dialogue shows several striking correspondences not only with "The Miseries" but with the play of "Pericles" about to be mentioned, and there are also certain grammatical and other peculiarities common to all three plays. The indications of Wilkins's hand in 'Law-Tricks' seem to be confined to Act I, Sc. ii, Act II, Sc. i. and Act IV, Sc. i.

<sup>1</sup> The scene-divisions are Mr. Boyle's, there being none such in the play as originally printed or in Mr. Bullen's reprint.



Lastly the first two Acts of 'Pericles'—Shakespeare's 'Pericles'—have also been attributed to the same author on similar internal evidence, which in this case is strongly supported by a comparison of their phraseology with that of Wilkins's novel on the same subject to which reference has already been made.

For the purpose, therefore, of the following examination of the 'Tragedy,' although I shall chiefly rely upon 'The Miseries' for my comparisons, occasional passages will also be quoted from these three other plays, in one of which Wilkins's collaboration is certain, while in the others it is strongly suggested by internal evidence.<sup>2</sup>

It is first to be observed that 'A Yorkshire Tragedy' and 'The Miseries' closely resemble one another in the method of their composition. We find in both rhymed lines and blank verse intermingled and also prose speeches interspersed with the verse. An analysis of the metre of these two plays shows the same proportion of end-stopped lines—about 94%—while the percentage of rhyme in the 'Tragedy,' though smaller than in 'The Miseries' corresponds very closely with Pericles I and II. I give below the figures for the three plays:—

*A Yorkshire Tragedy*

Total Number of verse lines	482
End-stopped lines	453 = 94%
Rhyme lines	112 = 23%

*The Miseries of Enforced Marriage*

Total Number of verse lines	1345
End-stopped lines	1261 = 93.9%
Rhyme lines	496 = 37%

*Pericles I and II (excluding Gower Chorus)*

Total Number of verse lines	817
End-stopped lines	725 = 88.75%
Rhyme lines	198 = 24%

<sup>2</sup> In the following citations, references for 'A Yorkshire Tragedy' are to scene and line of Mr. Tucker Brooke's edition of that play in 'The Shakespeare Apocrypha,' for 'The Miseries' to the pages of Vol. ix of Hazlitt's 'Dodsley' for 'The Travels' and 'Law-Tricks' to the pages of Mr. Bullen's reprint of Day's Plays (preceded in the case of the former play by a Roman numeral indicating the number of the Scene according to Mr. Boyle's arrangement) and for 'Pericles' to Act, Scene and Line according to the 'Arden' Shakespeare.



In 'Pericles'

A man . . . entreats you pity him. (II. i. 64)

Wilkins, as Mr. Boyle has noted, is fond of repeating the same word in the second line of a couplet. There is an instance of this repetition in the 'Tragedy':—

Nobly descended! Those whom men call mad  
Endanger others; but he's more than mad. (II. 113-4)

Compare in 'The Miseries':—

Weds you where he thinks fit; but if yourself  
Have of some violent humour match'd yourself. (p. 487)  
The land I can endow you with's my Love  
The riches I possess for you is Love. (p. 548)

Your portions I'll see paid and I will love you  
You three I'll live withal, my soul shall love you!  
(p. 575)

In 'The Travels':—

*Rob.* He was my prisoner, I had charge of him.  
*Hal.* But now my prisoner, whoe'er conquered him.  
(II. 19)

In 'Pericles' (all in the same speech):—

And what was first but fear it might be done  
Grows elder now, and cares it be not done. (I.ii. 14-15)  
Nor boots it me to say I honour him  
If he suspect I may dishonour him. (I.ii. 20-21)  
And what may make him blush in being known  
He'll stop the course by which it might be known.  
(I.ii. 22-23)

He shows also a curious partiality for lines ending with polysyllabic words in *-tion*. There are five such lines in the 'Tragedy.' Where they are of regular decasyllabic metre it is to be noticed that the *-tion* is clearly pronounced as a dissyllable. Only the decasyllabic lines are here quoted:

From the 'Tragedy':—

. . . thy lands and credit  
Lie now / both sick / of a / con-sump / ti-on.  
(II. 141-2)

Like a / man mad / in ex / e-cu / ti-on. (VII. 31)

Two bro / thers one / in bond / lies o- / ver-thrown  
This on / a dead / lier ex / e-cu / ti-on. (X. 78-9)



## From 'The Miseries':—

Heap sor- / row u- / pon sor- / row; tell / me, are  
My bro / thers gone / to ex- / e-cu / ti-on. (p. 560)

A hea- / vy doom / whose ex / e-cu / ti-on's (570)  
And must / we stand / at your / dis-cre / ti-on? (485)

If you / rebel / 'gainst these / in-junc / ti-ons. (487)  
You know / your cues / and have / in-struc / ti-ons.  
(539)

All means, all maintenance by this is gone  
And all / shall end / by his / de-struc / ti-on. (553)

Evils the which are 'gainst another done  
Re-pen / tance makes / no sat- / is-fac / ti-on. (556)

Say, who are you, or you? are you not one  
That scarce / can make / a fit / dis-tinc / ti-on. (557)

Which tells you that he knows he did you wrong,  
Was griev'd / for't and / for sat- / is-fac / ti-on. (575)

## And from "The Travels":—

Upon your lives I charge it quickly done  
Our self / will see / the ex / e-cu / ti-on. (XII. 79)  
We charge / you see / the ex / e-cu / ti-on. (XIII. 87)  
Should know / no o- / ther ed / u-ca / ti-on. (XIII. 88)

Turning now to the vocabulary of the "Tragedy," one notices the frequent idiomatic use of the word "tricks":—

What tricks hast thou brought from London. (I. 29)  
Bastards, begot in tricks. (II. 70)  
Have you got tricks? are you in cunning with me?  
(II. 179)

What man would have been . . . zany to a  
Swine to show tricks in the mire? (IV. 77)

This seems to have been a favourite word of Wilkins's. At any rate he twice uses it in 'The Miseries':—

. . . hast thou found a trick for him? (p. 490)  
I'll teach you tricks for this. (564)

The evidence of Wilkins's hand in 'Law-Tricks' may well lead us to suspect that it was he who was responsible for its very peculiar title. In this play also, we have:—

Touch no mans function, there are jerks and tricks  
Spurn not the law for, if you do, it kicks. (II. 23)

Note in 'The Miseries' the use of the word 'dust,' meaning 'money':—

But come, down with your *dust*, our morning's  
purchase. (p. 531)

It is the earliest example of this slang term in the N. E. D. We find it again in the 'Tragedy':—

. . . shall I want *dust*, and like a slave  
Wear nothing in my pockets but my hands. (II. 98-9)

It is in the phrase 'down with your dust' (as in 'The Miseries') that the word is usually found. It is not so in this instance, but in another part of the play we have

Why, when? the money? where is't, pour't down,  
*Down with it, down with ill* (III. 38-9)

Still more significant is the use of the words 'this voice' (i. e., expression of opinion) in the following couplets:—

This voice into all places will be hurl'd:  
Thou and the devil have deceived the world.  
(*'Tragedy'* II. 156-7)

To further which take this sad voice from me:  
Never was act played more unnaturally. (IX. 27-8)

and in 'The Miseries':—

The world informs against you with this voice:  
If such sins reign, what mortals can rejoice? (570)

The next point is a small one, but it is just one of those small points that suggests a writer's individuality. Note the constant recurrence of the prefatory "why," in the opening prose speeches of the 'Tragedy':

*Oliver.* Sirrah Ralph, my young mistress is in such a pitiful, passionate humour for the long absence of her love—

*Ralph.* Why, can you blame her? Why, apples hanging longer on the tree then when they are ripe, etc. . . .

.....  
*Ralph.* My young mistress keeps such a puling for her love.

*Sam.* Why, the more fool she; ay, the more ninny-hammer she.

*Oliver.* Why, Sam, Why?

*Sam.* Why, he's married to another long ago.

*Ambo.* Ifaith, ye jest.

*Sam.* Why, did ye not know that till now? Why, he's married, beats his wife, and has one or two children by her.

And compare the opening of the 'Miseries':—

*Ilford.* I tell thee, Wentloe, thou art not worthy to wear gilt spurs, clean linen, and good clothes.

*Wentloe.* Why, for God's sake.

*Ilford.* By this hand thou art not a man fit to table at an ordinary.

*Wentloe.* Why, then I am free from cheaters etc.

*Ilford.* Why, dost thou think there is any Christians in the world.

.....  
*Clown.* What am I better for thy question

*Ilford.* Why, nothing.

*Clown.* Why, then of nothing comes nothing. (pp. 470-1)

I will now proceed to examine the 'Tragedy' scene by scene for other indications of Wilkins's authorship.

In Scene I, Sam returns from London, and Ralph enquires:

What's the news from London, sirrah? (I. 42-3)

so, Clare, in 'The Miseries' on the return of the Clown, her servant; p. 498:

Return'd so soon from London, what's the news?

and again, p. 481:

What news from London, butler?

Immediately after this question Ralph tells his companion that their mistress has been 'puling' for her absent lover, and Sam replies:

Why, the more fool she. (I. 45)

In 'The Miseries' John Scarborow tells Katherine that his brother William, kneeling by the coffin of his forsaken mistress Clare, has vow'd 'never to embrace her (Katherine's) bed,' and Thomas Scarborow replies:

The more fool he. (p. 508)

Sam has brought some 'potting-sticks' with him from London, 'anything' he observes 'is good that comes from London.'

*Oliver.* Ay, far fetcht you know.

*Sam.* But speak in your conscience, 'ifaith have we not as good poting-sticks; i' th' country as need to be put i' th' fire? . . . The mind of a thing's all, and as thou said'st e'en now, far fetcht is the best things for ladies.

*Oliver.* Ay, and for waiting gentlewomen too. (I. 77-84)

"Far-fetch'd and dear-bought is good for ladies" was at this time a familiar proverbial phrase. There seems no particular reason for its introduction here. It is brought into 'Law-Tricks'



again in a similar indirect and allusive—and equally pointless—fashion:

*Polymes.*

. . . but Horatio

What shall we eat that's costly and that's rare?

*Horatio.* A roasted phoenix were excellent good for that lady.

*Emilia.* And why for that lady?

*Horatio.* Far fetch'd and dear bought is good for you know who.

*Emilia.* For ladies?

*Horatio.* Ay, for ladies. (Act IV. Sc. i. p. 52)

In Scene ii, the Husband observes:

If marriage be honourable, then cuckolds are

Honourable, for they cannot be made without marriage.

(II. 43-5)

While in 'The Miseries' Ilford asks Scarborough:

And when do you commence into the cuckold's order?

(i.e. get married.)

(472)

And again:—

*Ilford.* (to Scarborough) . . . by that thou hast been married but three weeks

. . . thou would'st be a man monstrous—a cuckold, a cuckold.

*Bartley.* And why is a cuckold monstrous, knight?

*Ilford.* Why, because a man is made a beast by being married. (474-5)

The husband's next words are:

Fool, what meant I to marry to get beggars. (II. 45-6)

Compare 'The Miseries':—

*Scarborough.*

[I have]

Undone my brothers, made them thieves for bread

And begot pretty children to live beggars. (p. 558)

Scene II 11.66-7:—

[*Wife to Husband*]. Though I myself be *out of your respect*

Think of the state of these three lovely boys

You have been father to.

Compare 'The Miseries':—

Some husbands are disrespectful of their wives .

During the time that they are issueless

But none with infants bless'd can nourish hate

But love the mother for the children's sake. (p. 523)

And, for the expression 'out of your respect,' compare also:

knowing you to be a man virtuous and dearer *in*

*my respect.* ('Miseries' p. 537)

[So shall]

The cause be heard, he had *in chief respect.*

('Travels' II. p. 25)

Thirty [persons] of chiefest note *in our respect.*

(*Ibid.* XII. p. 78)

Scene II. 111-117. Three Gentlemen enter and expostulate with the Husband for his vile language towards his wife and children. The 1st Gentleman thus addresses him:—

Still do these loathsome thoughts jar on your tongue?  
Your self to stain the honour of your wife  
Nobly descended! Those whom men call mad  
Endanger others, but he's more than mad  
That wounds himself, whose own works do proclaim  
Scandals unjust, to soil his better name  
It is not fit: I pray forsake it.

In precisely similar circumstances and in much the same words does the Butler in 'The Miseries' reprove Scarborough:

Ay 'tis I will tell 'tis ungently done  
Thus to defame your wife, abuse your children  
Wrong them, you wrong yourself, are they not yours?

Compare also John Scarborough's speech, on interrupting the duel between his two brothers:

. . . which of you both hath strength within his arm  
To wound his own breast? who's so desperate  
To damn himself by killing of himself  
Are you not both one flesh?

Scene II, 140-144. No sooner have the three Gentlemen left than another appears upon the scene and uses his endeavours to persuade the Husband of the evil of his ways:

Thou'rt fond and peevish  
An unclean rioter; thy lands and credit  
Lie now both sick of a consumption.  
I am sorry for thee: that man spends with shame  
That with his riches does consume his name.

Compare the words in which John Scarborough addresses his brother in 'The Miseries':

'Tis not your riot that we hear you use  
With such as waste their goods, as tire the world  
With a continual spending, nor that you keep  
The company of a most leprous rout  
Consumes your body's wealth, infects your name. (p. 519)

This Gentleman, too, reproves the Husband for his conduct to his wife, whereupon the husband immediately turns upon him and accuses him of improper intimacy with her:

Nay then, I know thee.  
Thou art her *champion*, thou, her private friend.  
The party you wot on. (II. 162-4)

Scarborow, in 'The Miseries' makes just the same accusation against the Butler, when he intervenes to protect Katherine from her husband's brutality:

So now your *champion's* gone, minx. . . . I'll  
teach you tricks for this: have you a companion? (p. 564.)

Mr. Boyle has noted that it is a peculiarity of Wilkins's messengers to be always in haste. He quotes: 'The Miseries,' p. 559:

*Enter Butler*

*Butler.* Where are you, Sir?

*Scar.* Why star'st thou? *What's thy haste?*

'The Travels' II. p. 14.

*Enter Messenger*

*Mess.* My liege—

*Sophy.* What makes these slaves so bold to trouble me?

Well, sir, *your sweating message.*

Sc. X. p. 74:—

*Enter Messenger*

*Sophy.* Your *sweating news.*

Sc. XII, p. 80:—

*Enter Messenger*

*The Great Turk.* The *hasty news?*

Not only does the Servant in the 'Tragedy' enter in haste, but he is greeted with this very exclamation:

*Enter a Servant very hastily*

*Husband.* What the devil? how not? *thy hasty news?* (III. 77-8)

In the Husband's fine prose speech (IV 76-7) we have:—  
Had not drunkenness been forbidden, what man would have been fool to a  
beast, and *zany* to a swine, to show tricks in the mire?

Compare 'The Miseries':—

*Lord Falconbridge.* Your kinsman lives—

*Sir William.* Like to a swine.

*Lord F.* A perfect Epythite, he feeds on draff,

And wallows in the mire, to make men laugh. (p. 527)

Here is precisely the same idea—a strange coincidence indeed if we are to assume that it occurred independently to two different minds!



Wilkins repeatedly rhymes upon the same words. In the concluding (metrical) portion of the Husband's speech, he introduces a couplet from Nash's 'Pierce Pennilesse:'

Divines and dying man may talk of hell  
But in my heart her several torments dwell.

and three lines later he again rhymes upon 'dwell' and 'hell.'

So also in 'The Travels' X. 75:—

*Calimath.* Oh I am vext: damnation and black hell  
Author my actions; in my passions dwell.

End of Scene IV. The husband seizes his eldest child and strikes at him with his dagger, exclaiming:

My eldest beggar! thou shalt not live to ask an usurer bread, to cry at a great man's gate or follow, 'Good your honour,' by a coach. (V. 123-6)

Compare Scarborow's speech in 'The Miseries,' p. 558:—

I have  
Undone my brothers, made them thieves for bread  
And begot pretty children to live beggars.  
O conscience! how thou art stung to think upon't!  
My brothers unto shame must yield their blood:  
My babes at other's stirrups beg their food.

In Scene V the Husband struggles with the maid for the possession of one of the younger children, and throws her down the stairs, with the observation

The surest way to charm a woman's tongue  
Is break her neck. (V. 12-13)

Compare the Butler's remark in 'The Miseries':—

Women's tongues are like sieves, they will  
hold nothing they have power to vent. (p. 524)

In his endeavours to stab his youngest child in its mother's arms, he wounds her. Then enters a servant who tries to overpower and disarm his frantic master, and the following dialogue ensues:

*Husband.* Com'st thou between my fury to question me?

*Servant.* Were you the devil, I would hold you, sir.

*Hus.* Hold me? presumption! I'll undo thee for't.

*Ser.* 'Sblood, you have undone us all, sir.

*Hus.* Tug at thy master!

*Ser.* Tug at a monster!

*Husband.* O villain! now I'll tug thee, now I'll tear thee &c. (V. 38-51)

Note the word 'tug' for it is unusual, and compare the scene in 'The Miseries' where Ilford is arrested:—

*Sergeant.* Nay, never strive, we can hold you.

*Ilford.* Ay me, and the devil too, and he fall into your clutches. Let go your tugging. (p. 512)

Hazlitt's reading 'Ay me, and the devil too' is that of the second quarto of 1611. The first (the edition of 1607) has 'Ay me, and any man else.' The alteration though it throws no light upon the authorship of the 'Tragedy' seems at any rate to have been suggested by that play *Scene vii*.

On recovering from the swoon into which she has fallen as a result of the injuries inflicted upon her by her husband, the Wife exclaims:

Why do I now recover? Why half live?  
To see my children bleed before mine eyes  
*A sight able to kill a mother's breast*  
*Without an executioner.* (ll. 21-24)

A passage from Wilkins's prose narrative 'The Three Miseries of Barbary' here affords a parallel:

. . . with none to keep him company but his own  
thoughts which were ten thousand executioners. (Sig. B2)

In Scene VIII we have:—

*Cry within* Follow, follow, follow!

—doubtless the usual shout where there was a 'hue and cry' after a criminal, for the Husband exclaims 'Ha! I hear sounds of men, like hue and cry.' But it is at least somewhat remarkable that we have this hue and cry again not only in 'The Miseries' Act. IV., where Sir John Harcop and his men are pursuing the Butler and Scarborough's two brothers, who have robbed Sir John of his purse:—

*A noise within crying* Follow, follow, follow!

And again:—

*Within.* Follow, follow, follow! (p. 529)

but also in the Wilkins part of 'The Travels,'—

*Enter Turk*

*1st Turk.* Follow, follow, follow! (Sc. vi p. 45)

Note finally, in Scene IX, the Magistrate's reply to the nonchalant excuse for his conduct made by the husband that, as he had

gambled away all his fortune, he 'thought it the charitablest deed he could do to cozen beggary and knock his house o' th' head':

Oh, in cooler blood you will repent it! (IX. 21)

And compare Lord Falconbridge's answer to Scarborough's impudent threat, 'The Miseries' p. 526:—

Your sober blood will teach you otherwise.

To conclude, the connexions between 'A Yorkshire Tragedy' and 'The Miseries of Enforced Marriage' are so numerous and so striking that it does not seem to me possible to account for them except on the supposition that they are the work of the same writer. These connexions are not such as can satisfactorily be explained by the similarity of the subject-matter of these plays, nor, so far as phraseological resemblances are concerned, are they attributable to any known printed source of either.<sup>3</sup> If the evidence of the parallel passages stood alone it would scarcely justify us in attributing the 'Tragedy' to Wilkins, but this evidence is confirmed not only by the metrical characteristics of the play but by its peculiarities of grammar and vocabulary.

As against all this evidence all that can be urged is that the play contains one incomparable speech—

Oh, thou confused man! thy pleasant sins have undone thee, thy damnation hath beggar'd thee! That heaven should say we must not sin, and yet made women! gives our senses way to find pleasure, which being found confounds us, etc.

—a speech of such intense and overpowering tragic force as would seem to be beyond the capacity of a writer of Wilkins's calibre. But it is in this very speech that we find the passage

Had not drunkenness been forbidden, what man would have been . . . zany to a swine to show tricks in the mire.

so closely paralleled in 'The Miseries.' And that the hand responsible for it, if not Wilkins's, is apparent elsewhere in the play is pretty evident if we compare the very next words:

What is there in three dice to make a man . . . with the gentleman's palsy in the hand shake out his posterity thieves and beggars, with the words used by the Wife in the preceding scene:—

I see how ruin with a palsy hand

Begins to shake the ancient seat to dust. (II. 98-9)

<sup>3</sup> It may be remarked that the 'Tragedy' unlike 'The Miseries' seems to be founded upon the prose account of the Calverley crime contained in 'A book entitled Two unnatural Murthers,' published in 1605, the language of which it frequently follows very closely.



In the light of the evidence here submitted it is, I repeat, impossible to avoid the conclusion that 'A Yorkshire Tragedy' is substantially Wilkins's work. That it has received some few finishing touches from an abler pen is possible. It is now generally admitted that Shakespeare was associated with Wilkins in the composition of 'Pericles'. If in this one speech, and perhaps occasionally elsewhere, we seem to be conscious of the presence of a mightier hand than that of the author of 'The Miseries of Enforced Marriage,' what more likely than that hand is Shakespeare's,—that it was he who added to Wilkins's play the few magic touches that have dazzled the judgment of so many of its critics.

If, however, 'The Miseries' and the 'Tragedy' are both by Wilkins, there yet remains another question to be considered. What relation, if any, did 'The Miseries' bear to the 'Four Plays in One' and what consequently is its relation to the 'Tragedy.'

Now it is first to be observed that the 'Tragedy' is plainly not complete in itself. The first scene has no connexion whatever with the rest of the play. It has nothing to do with Calverley's wife but harks back to the "young mistress" (the Clare Harcop of 'The Miseries') to whom he had previously been betrothed and whom he had forsaken. Is not this in itself sufficient proof that the proper construction to be put upon the title "All's One, or one of the Four Plays in One called 'A Yorkshire Tragedy' " is that the 'Tragedy' was one of four plays all dealing with the history of Walter Calverley, the reference to the "young mistress" being a reference to a character appearing in one of the three other plays?

Chronologically, as Fleay has noted, the proper place of this first scene is in Act II of 'The Miseries.' 'The Miseries' could not, in its present form, have been one of these four plays. Its length alone is sufficient to preclude such a supposition. But may it not represent a combination of the three other plays, or of parts of them, altered and rewritten to form a homogeneous whole, a drama complete in itself? Even as it now stands it contains two entirely independent plots, the tragedy of the betrothal, betrayal and death of Scarborough's (Calverley's) forsaken mistress, and the comedy of Ilford's unwitting marriage with the penniless sister of the man whom he had himself brought to ruin.

It is further to be remarked that 'The Miseries' was undoubtedly originally designed as a tragedy. The Stationers Register entry, indeed, (July 31, 1607) actually describes it as such, and its whole tone and spirit are so essentially tragic that the abrupt happy ending is utterly ineffective and unconvincing. It looks like a hurried alteration due to a prohibition of the representation of such painful recent events connected with an influential family. When "A Yorkshire Tragedy," in which the circumstances of the crime are exactly reproduced, is published in the following year, it is to be noted that, excepting the Christian names of the servants in the irrelevant first scene, no names are given to any of the characters. Does not the obviously unmediated conclusion of 'The Miseries' and the subsequent appearance of 'A Yorkshire Tragedy' with its nameless *dramatis personae* suggest that in the 'Tragedy' we have the original tragic ending of 'The Miseries?'

On this supposition I imagine that what happened was as follows:

That performances of the "Four Plays in One" were inhibited as being offensive to the susceptibilities of Calverley's relations.

That in order to render his work acceptable to the authorities, Wilkins disguised its reference to Calverley by introducing throughout a large admixture of romance, giving fictitious names to the personages of the story, discarding the final scenes dealing with the circumstances of the crime and converting his tragedy into a 'comedy' by substituting the brief scene of reconciliation with which it now closes, using only such of the material of the three short plays formerly introductory of the final tragedy as were adaptable to his purpose.

That subsequently in the following year, the prohibition of the representation of the actual facts of the crime having been withdrawn, the discarded portion of 'The Miseries' was entered in the Register and separately published as 'A Yorkshire Tragedy,' with the names of the characters suppressed.

It is curious that although Fleay<sup>4</sup> first put forward this suggestion that the 'Tragedy' is really the original conclusion of 'The Miseries' as it stood before it was altered into the extant

<sup>4</sup> 'Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama' Vol. II pp. 206-8.

drama of 1607, 'as it is *now played* by the King's Majesty's Servants,' the natural corollary that the 'Tragedy' is Wilkins's play does not seem to have presented itself to his mind. His sole suggestion in this direction is the observation that "it must not be forgotten that immediately after this" (the appearance of the 'Tragedy') "Shakespeare altered Wilkins's play of *Pericles*, *possibly in retaliation for his altering the Shakespeare part of the Yorkshire play*." But if "A Yorkshire Tragedy" is really the original conclusion of 'The Miseries,' how should it be Shakespeare's? Surely such a suggestion necessarily implies that Wilkins must have been its author and Shakespeare—if his hand appears in it at all—the reviser.

The external evidence of Shakespeare's authorship need not preclude us from accepting ~~this~~ hypothesis that the play was written by Wilkins and only slightly revised by Shakespeare, nor need it indeed prevent us from accepting it as Wilkins's unaided work, when it is remembered that the person responsible both for the entry in the Stationer's Register and the publication of the play as Shakespeare's was Thomas Pavier. It was Thomas Pavier also who entered in the Register 'The First Part of Sir John Oldcastle' and subsequently published it as Shakespeare's during the dramatist's lifetime, whereas Henslowe's diary affords conclusive proof that this was the joint production of Munday, Drayton, Wilson and Hathway.

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## SHAKESPEARE AND ITALIAN GEOGRAPHY

It has been suggested in defence of Shakespeare's knowledge of Italian geography that when Valentine travelled by boat from Verona to Milan his water trip was not upon the sea but upon the rivers of upper Italy (See note in R. W. Bond's ed. of *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (1. 1. 53, 54), Bobbs-Merrill Co., Publishers). However, the route that he might have taken on this river trip has not been indicated. The Camden Society's publication of the British Museum copy (believed to be unique) of *The Pylgrymage of Syr R. Guylforde, Knight, to the Holy Land, A. D. 1506*, enables us to follow Valentine from Verona to Milan by a combined river and canal route.

Sir Richard Guylforde's chaplain, the writer of this tract, gives us a detailed account of their journey from England to Venice, where his party together with other pilgrims were to set sail for Jaffa. The first part of their journey which led them through France by way of Normandy, Paris, and Lyon to the boundary of western Italy does not concern us here. Entering Italy from Lyon the party continued to travel by horse as far as Alessandria, an Italian city about midway between Genoa and Milan. There their trip by boat began:

(p. 5.) Saterdaye to Alexandrya, and there Sondag all daye, . . . (our friends) also stuffed us with vitaylle, brede, and wyne *in our barge*: there we lefte our horses and toke the water of Tannar. Mondaye the .xi. daye of Maij we toke shyppe there, and aboute .x. myle thens the sayde Tannar brought us into the Poo, by syde Bassynyana, whiche stondesth uppon the Poo. The same daye we passyd Pauya, and lay that nyght at Seint Jacobo, a vyllage.

Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday they continued their trip down the Po, until they had passed Ferrara on Thursday night.

(p. 6.) Frydaye somewhat byfore noone we lefte all the Poo and toke our course by a lytell ryver that commeth to the same, called the Fosse, *made and cutte out by hande, whiche brought us overthwart into another ryver, called Latyze* [i.e. the Adige], *that commeth from Verone and Trent*; and yet within a whyle we traversed out of that ryver into an other lytell ryver, whiche brought us thawarte agen into Latyze which Latyze broughte us into Chose upon the see, called in Latyne Claudium, where we lay all night, .xxv. myle frome Venys.

Valentine's course so far as it coincided with Sir Guylforde's river trip reversed the direction of travel. "The lytell ryver

that commeth to the same (the Po), called the Fosse, made and cutte out by hande, which brought us overthawart into another ryver, called Latyze [the Adige], that commeth from Verone and Trent," made it possible for Valentine's "barge" bound from Verona for Milan to gain the Po. Once on the Po Valentine would have continued westward as far as the Lambro, a tributary of the Po, upon which the remaining distance, or most of the remaining distance to Milan, might have been covered.

The opinion, one time generally held, that Shakespeare was astray in his Italian geography when he sent Valentine by boat from Verona to Milan, can no longer be entertained. Shakespeare's knowledge of the practice in sixteenth century Italy of travelling considerable distances by inland water routes<sup>1</sup> was, as we see, accurate; and was gained in all probability, not from visiting Italy himself, but from the accounts of English travellers, who, as in the case of Sir Richard Guylforde, had used the rivers and canals of northern Italy as the most convenient means in that country of travelling from one city to another.

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<sup>1</sup> It will be noticed that it was by the use of canals, such as the one described here as "made and cut out by hande," that trips by boat in upper Italy were made possible in the sixteenth century that now by this means could not be accomplished.

## CADENCE IN ENGLISH PROSE

In his suggestive pamphlet upon prose rhythm in English,<sup>1</sup> published in 1913, Mr. Albert Clark applied the four cursus forms of mediaeval Latin, and their two variants, to English prose. His purpose was to show the presence of Latin cadences in English prose style. Having successfully demonstrated these, he stopped without making any attempt to consider the non-classical cadences. In this paper I purpose to make a beginning on the classification of these non-classical cadences, and, putting the classical and non-classical together, to make a tentative system of cadences in English prose rhythm.

Where are cadences to be found? This is a question which can be asked with great propriety, for it has not as yet been definitely settled. The most obvious place to find a cadence is at the close of a sentence; for there the reader pauses for an instant and the voice falls. A short sentence without any pauses in it would therefore have only one cadence. But when longer sentences are considered the fixing of cadences is somewhat more difficult. A sentence which is divided into two co-ordinate clauses will have two cadences, one at the end of each clause. This process of subdivision can be carried still further, for the clauses may be divided again and again within themselves, if they are long enough to require it. Each section of a sentence which ends with a pause and therefore a cadence, is called a *clausula*. The following sentence from Bacon will show simplicity in *clausulae* division:

"Read not to contradict and confute, / nor to believe and take for granted,  
/ not to talk and find discourse, / but to weigh and consider. /"

These *clausulae*, or sentence divisions, are clearly defined and the pauses at the points indicated by (/) are obvious. The divisions naturally occur at the places of punctuation, which is very generally the case in English prose style. Let me give another example of comparatively simple and clear *clausulae* division. The following sentences are from Burke's essay, *On the Sublime and Beautiful*.

<sup>1</sup> Albert C. Clark—*Prose Rhythm in English*. Oxford: 1913.



"To make everything very terrible, / obscurity seems in general to be necessary. / When we know the full extent of any danger, / when we can accustom our eyes to it, / a great deal of apprehension vanishes. / Every one will be sensible of this, / who considers how greatly night adds to our dread, in all cases of danger, / and how much notions of ghosts and goblins, / of which none can form clear ideas, / affect minds which give credit to the popular tales concerning such sorts of beings. /"

Cadences, however, do not always occur at every point of punctuation; they may occur between points of punctuation and after a series of short phrases, such as a series of nouns. In this last case there would be only one cadence and that at the close of the enumeration of nouns. At times even punctuation cannot be trusted, particularly in writing of a period earlier than the nineteenth century. To place a cadence after every point of punctuation in the following quotation from Samuel Johnson's *Rasselas*, would, indeed, be unreasonable.

"Ye, who listen, with credulity, to the whispers of fancy, / and pursue, with eagerness the phantoms of hope; / who expect, that age will perform the promises of youth, / and that the deficiencies of the present day will be supplied by the morrow; / attend to the history of Rasselas, prince of Abissinia. /"

This division of sentences into clausulae with cadences at their close along lines of punctuation is simple enough; for the reader naturally pauses at those places. But at times the reader will meet sections of sentences or even whole sentences which have no punctuation and which, nevertheless, he cannot pronounce, (by reason of their length,) without pausing to renew his breath. Such pauses of their own accord produce cadences and must be reckoned with in a consideration of the cadences of a passage. The moot point is, where shall the reader pause to get his breath. This frequently depends upon the way the reader feels the sentence can be broken without destroying the sense. At times there is a more or less natural opportunity to pause after the subject and its modifiers have been passed and the reading of the verb and its group of modifiers has not yet begun. This sentence from Macaulay is an admirable illustration of the point in question.

"That these suspicions were not without foundation / is proved by the dying speeches of some penitent robbers of that age, / who appeared to have received from the inn-keepers / services much resembling those which Farquhar's Boniface rendered to Gibbet. /"

I have placed the end of the first clausula after "foundation" because it is the dividing point between the subject and the predi-

cate and the easiest place to stop. In the second case I have placed the end of the clausula after "inn-keepers" because the extreme length of the clause necessitates a break and the weakest place in the clause is there.

The last reason for a cadence is the pausing by the reader in the midst of a clause or sentence for rhetorical effect. Concerning the position of these cadences nothing definite can be said; for they depend wholly upon the reader's interpretation of the sentence. The possibility, however, of their presence must be noted.

The next problem which arises after that of determining the position, is that of the composition of the cadence itself. In constructing the definition of a cadence I have aimed to make it follow exactly the characteristics of the *cursus* as used in English. A cadence consists of a stress group with two primary stresses with or without a varying arrangement of secondary stresses and non-stressed syllables. The first syllable of the cadence must be one of primary stress and the last syllable of the cadence must coincide with the last syllable of the clausula. There are no restrictions as to the length of the cadence; but I have found none over nine syllables long. The construction of a cadence will probably be understood most easily by examples.

"With his gaily decorated weapons, / Südermann will fight, / not against flesh and blood alone, / but against spiritual adversaries, / such as doubt and fear. /"

The pause at "weapons" produces a cadence; the stress on "de" is the second primary stress from the end of the clausula and hence is the beginning of the cadence. The cadence covers all the syllables from "de" to the end of the clausula. The last cadence is almost the simplest one possible; for it has only one unstressed syllable in it. The rule is, Find where the clausula ends, count back to the second primary stress from the end, and you have the kind and extent of the cadence there.

As the above sentence illustrates, there are a number of different cadences in English. My purpose has been to collect as many of them as I could and arrange them in a table. I began with the six forms (1-4) which Mr. Clark has demonstrated are present in English prose style. I have left the numbering of those six forms as he gave it in order that the so-called classical

element might the more easily be recognized. The collection of these forms has resulted in the following table:

## Classical forms. (Mr. Clark)

1	voces testantur	— — — — —	servants departed
1 <sup>2</sup>	esse videre	— — — — —	canopy of heaven
2	mea curatio	— — — — —	perfect felicity
2 <sup>2</sup>	missae celebratio	— — — — —	summits and declivities
3	gaudia pervenire	— — — — —	glorious undertaking
4	spiritum pertimescere	— — — — —	bountiful liberality

## Non-classical forms

5	--	roe-deer
6	---	heart trembles
7	---	over all
8	---	low estimate
9	---	rich with roses
10	---	heavenly host
11	---	fighting images
12	---	monument to man
13	---	ample cemetery
14	---	infirmities of a man
15	---	visible conservatories
16	---	proprietarys of these bones
17	---	antique literature
18	---	department of literature
19	---	vehemently gesticulating
20	---	negation of conceivability
21	---	well as spirituality
22	---	diuturnity unto his relicks
23	---	poetic imaginativeness

The method of establishing this table of endings has been purely exploratory. The aim has been to investigate a number of authors, nearly all of the nineteenth century, and to tabulate the forms found there. The writings examined cover sections from novels, literary essays, works on philosophy, economics, history, biography, religion, and science. The more representative men of the century, such as are found in Craik's *English Prose*, were taken as the basis of this investigation. The total number of cadences examined was about five thousand. I stopped because the last two thousand five hundred cadences which I examined, produced no new forms, although the literature was just as much varied as that which I had examined before. This does not prove that the table is complete; it merely gives it a reasonable basis upon which to rest, and shows that any other forms which may be found upon further investigation are very uncommon.



A few illustrations will probably help in the understanding of the use of these endings. The first illustration is the same as that used before in this paper from Samuel Johnson. The number which follows the cadence is the number of the form on the preceding table.

"Ye, who listen, with credulity, to the whispers of fancy, (1) and pursue, with eagerness the phantoms of hope; (10) who expect, that age will perform the promises of youth, (12) and that the deficiencies of the present day will be supplied by the morrow; (1) attend to the history of Rasselas, prince of Abissinia. (2)"

Take the opening paragraph of the fifth chapter of *Urn Burial*, that magnificent symphony of rhythm, and note the variety of the cadences.

"Now since these dead bones have already outlasted the living ones of Methuselah, (2) and in a yard under ground, and thin walls of clay, (7) outworn all the strong and specious buildings above it; (1) and quietly rested under the drums and trappings of three conquests: (6) what prince can promise such diuturnity unto his relicks, (22) or might gladly say, (7)

*Sic ego componi versus in ossa velim?*

Time, which antiquates antiquities, (11) and hath an art to make dust of all things, (10) hath yet spared these minor monuments. (11)"

A few sentences from Macaulay will give additional illustration of the method of applying these cadences to the masters of English prose. The following is a short selection from the third chapter of his *History of England*.

"Whatever might be the way in which a journey was performed, (12) the travellers, unless they were numerous and well armed, (14) ran considerable risk of being stopped and plundered. (9) The mounted highwayman, known to our generation only from books, (10) was to be found on every main road. (5) The waste tracts which lay on the great routes near London (9) were especially haunted by plunderers of this class. (14)"

Thus we have twenty-five cadences which are found in modern literature. The question still remains as to which of them are more rhythmical and which are less. Concerning this we have a little to offer now but must wait for further investigations for more definite conclusions. On the basis of usage alone certain of these cadences seem to be of little importance. The following

table gives the list of the cadences with the percentage of usage in about five thousand occurrences.

No.	Form	Percentage
7	--	.1724
9	---	.116
10	----	.109
5	--	.1085
1	----	.0973
6	---	.064
1 <sup>2</sup>	-----	.0559
12	-----	.535
11	-----	.0513
2	-----	.0443
3	-----	.0265
2 <sup>2</sup>	-----	.0239
8	---	.0206
14	-----	.0127
4	-----	.0111
22	-----	.00526
18	-----	.0046
13	-----	.0037
15	-----	.0035
17	-----	.00329
16	-----	.00307
19	-----	.000109
21	-----	.00006
20	-----	.00002
23	-----	.00002

This table gives only the relative importance of the cadence; for it is not based upon a sufficient number of cadences to make it absolute. In some respects, however, it is absolute. No amount of future investigation is likely to bring the last few cadences up to the head of the list. The forms which are at the top of the table reached those positions soon after the tabulating of the forms commenced and they have not changed. This of course does not prove that the first cadences are more rhythmical and the others less so. The internal content of the cadences, especially in regard to their meaning, and their relation to the prevailing and preceding rhythm of the clausula in which they are situated, have a great effect upon their rhythm value. This cannot be determined by any detached study of the cadences themselves. I might say, however, that if the prevailing rhythm of English style, according to Saintsbury, seems to be trochaic, the best cadences

theoretically ought to be those which naturally complete a trochaic clausula. But as to which these are I am not prepared to say at this time.

For the present, then, we have been forced to be satisfied with an attempt to gather together all the cadences, and find out their relative relation, numerically, to each other. The determinations as to which of them are more rhythmical must come later when we have developed more certain methods of measuring the rhythm of a cadence.

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## REVIEWS AND NOTES

*THE SOUNDS AND HISTORY OF THE GERMAN LANGUAGE.* By E. Prokosch, Professor of Germanic Languages in the University of Texas. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1916. v+212.

The title is, perhaps, a little more comprehensive than the book. Should not a history of the German language include the development of syntactical, as well as phonological and morphological forms? But this was not in the plan of the author.

Of the two parts of the book, "Part, I, German Phonetics," is, in my judgment, by far the more deserving of appreciation and praise. It shows the author as possessed of thorough training, a delicate ear, keen appreciation of the characteristic weaknesses and needs of American students and, on the whole, good pedagogic sense. I would recommend it heartily to the teachers of German in this country for careful study.

I am less well pleased with the second, and larger part, the "History of the German Language."

The author of this book is known through a number of articles in learned journals as a scholar of breadth and daring. If this were the proper place and occasion, I should be glad to pay him my compliments on these qualities. Independence, and even daring, is to be admired in an article or a book written for the expert: it stimulates and furnishes food for thought even if it only calls forth our opposition; and Prokosch, in his articles, does in no feeble way support his views, and theories.

But these qualities and inclinations, professedly curbed, are, in my judgment, still far too little curbed, in an "Introduction to the Phonetics and History of the German Language that is simple enough to be intelligible to students without linguistic erudition," and here they lay our author open to criticism.

An introduction to a subject in which, for some time, the student has to make all further progress under the guidance of scholars holding different views, should hardly promulgate ideas by no means universally accepted, least of all promulgate them with a definiteness and assurance that leave little room for doubt in the mind of the beginner. In itself, I think, there is no more wholesome mental attitude for any prospective scientist, surely none for a prospective philologist, than that of doubt and inquiry, and the average undergraduate is all too much inclined to take printed statements on faith.

The tendency to present "heterodox" or revolutionary views, and to present them with too great finality, are, in my judgment, the outstanding failings of a book which, on every page, gives proof of its author's learning and thoroughness. Perhaps also in the matter of organizing the material with a view to greater perspicuity and clearness a second edition might make some improvement possible. It would lead beyond the scope of this review, and would probably serve but little purpose to enumerate any larger number of instances in which I should consider greater modesty of statement in place. One of them is the assumption that the home of the Indo-Europeans was along the Baltic coast, perhaps in the present Prussian province of Brandenburg. There is probably as much ground for placing it there, as in any other place, but it is still but a theory, on which I should hardly venture to base the whole development of the two sound shifts. With it goes an assurance as to the relative time of the various migrations for which the reader should be glad to have some historical proof adduced. I think it is still better to say, with Behaghel, that of the attempts at *explaining* the processes of these shifts, the second as well as the first, so far none have led to a satisfactory result. The author himself half apologizes, half exults, over this phase of his book, with a wholly justifiable exultation of the discoverer. For in his introduction he expressly states that he has felt himself compelled to deviate from commonly accepted philological dogma and "to follow a more independent course in characterizing the German tongue as a direct and nearly unbroken development of the Indo-European parent language, evolved by the continuous action of a homogeneous set of phonetic and psychological tendencies." "Leaving aside the scientific aspect of my theory—he continues—this system, through its consistent linking of phonetics and historical grammar, cannot fail to make the study of both more useful to the student than an independent treatment of these branches of linguistic science could be." But it seems to me a "theory" should first be scientifically so well established that it finds all but universal acceptance before an integral part of an Introduction to the subject is confidently based on it. I should perhaps find less fault with this, if I were not of the opinion that too many philologists operate on principles not sufficiently warranted. In particular the assumption that all or most sound changes can be *explained* from so-called phonetic tendencies seems to me precarious. We have no means of knowing "phonetic tendencies" except as we arrive at them from successive stages of a given dialect. Where we have access to the outward history of a dialect, and can know, in particular, that it has not been exposed to outward disturbing influences, perhaps, but only perhaps, it is safe to postulate given phonetic tendencies, as it certainly is, under similar circumstances, to state syntactic leanings. But in case of languages whose outward history is

wholly inaccessible, there must be little assurance in assigning causes for any given change, except in rare instances. Thus all philologists are tolerably agreed as to the underlying cause of Quantitative Gradation. Similar certainty of our author as to the processes involved in the changes known as Verner's Law, is unwarranted.<sup>1</sup> When we are so wholly at a loss to account for divergencies in more modern dialects, how can we have much assurance when dealing with ages so far remote? What, for example, explains the presence of nasalization in the English of the Middle West of the U. S.? And, after all, what have we explained when we speak of a phonetic tendency? What is it? An inborn inclination in a given set of people to speak one way rather than another? There is no psychological consideration calling for *progress* in a given direction, is there? Why not rather say, in most cases, changes of such and such a nature took place: what occasioned them, we do not know: *ignoramus et ignorabimus*, with Du Bois-Reymond. When no positive knowledge is possible, does it not seem strange, e.g., that "the Germanic phonetic tendencies happen to be diametrically opposite to both the Celtic and the Slavic tendencies, the former going in the direction of strengthened, both of the latter in the direction of weakened articulation," when we remember that the Celtic and Slavic languages as well as the Germanic are Indo-European? Why should, of all the emigrating Indo-European peoples, the Germanic be the only ones to preserve the old phonetic tendencies, and why should these tendencies, among them only, "lead to a remarkably uniform development along definite lines"? Did not the portion of the Germanic people among whom this development was the more complete, i.e., the High German portion, also emigrate from the old home and come in contact with Celtic tribes? And how do we know just what were the phonetic tendencies of the Indo-Europeans, before they had separated into widely different tribes; how do we know that they were just the ones continued among the Germanic branch? What is there, in the other Indo-European languages, to confirm the Germanic tendency as essentially Pre-Indo-European? Here at least, out of the mouth of two or three witnesses the truth must be established.

Also in the treatment of Gradation the author shows more than customary assurance. For psychological reasons, we are told, but not what psychological reasons,<sup>2</sup> front vowels are generally pronounced with a greater tension of the vocal chords than the back vowels. And then: "In general, we can say that the vowel

<sup>1</sup> Incidentally, I have been unable to find any corroboration of the statement on page 114, that this law was first discovered by Sievers.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly also the change from I.E. to Germanic stress is ascribed to psychological causes.



*e* (at least in the roots of words) still stands out rather clearly as denoting a stronger present interest of the speaker (being used especially in the present tense of verbs) while *o* indicates comparative indifference and is, therefore, pre-eminently used in verbal nouns." (p. 106) Aside from the fact that time contrasts grew out of the distinctions between Aspects (or Modality, p. 154) it does not seem apparent why a present tense and a verb should necessarily involve a greater present interest than a past tense or a verbal noun. Why not rather say, again, and still be in good company, the cause of Qualitative Gradation we do not know.

Again, in the explanation of Mutation it is stated all too positively, (in spite of the author's article in the I. F., xxx) that "the general phonetic tendencies of the Germanic languages do not admit of any change of consonants under the influence of either following or preceding vowels," although it is refreshing to learn here, as in a few other instances, that the cause of mutation is not definitely known.

If I have in these, as in a goodly number of other places, covered the margins of my copy with question marks, it is indicative, not of a lack of interest on my part, nor of a lack of suggestiveness on the part of the author, but rather of the contrary. BUT—who is going to put in the question marks for the reader to whom this book is professedly addressed?

TOBIAS DIEKHOF.

*Ann Arbor, Mich., April, 1917.*

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**GOTTFRIED KELLER AS A DEMOCRATIC IDEALIST.**

By Edward Franklin Hauch, Ph.D. N. Y., Columbia University Press. 1916. (Diss.)

Gottfried Keller's life (1819-1890) spans eight decades of the 19th century, a period which witnessed more political ferment and upheaval than perhaps any similar period in recorded history. For this reason alone it would have been of interest to examine the political views of any broad-minded man of letters who saw these things in the making. But Keller's peculiar situation enhances this intrinsic interest not a little: a citizen of a small but ardently independent and democratic state, he could view with some aloofness the changing scenes on the stage of Europe, yet apply to his judgment of them the democratic ideas and ideals which his own land took for its own. And more than this, although a Swiss by birth and conviction, he was enrolled in that greater Germany of the mind and the spirit that testifies so eloquently to the power and influence of German thought in 19th century Europe. Hence the ties which kept him in close touch not only with the particu-

larly interesting trends of German political theory, but also with the development of philosophic thought, nowhere more vital than in Germany. On all these counts, we should welcome such a study as that of Dr. Hauch, whose "main purpose is to show more clearly the development of Keller's democratic thinking, and to define and outline his own peculiar type of democratic idealism in its various aspects, as reflected and revealed in his life and especially in his writings . . . what appears to me to be of chief significance in his contribution to nineteenth century literature and thought is his uncompromisingly democratic attitude of mind in all things, coupled with an indestructible idealism in his outlook upon life. On the one hand he had a clear and catholic vision for things as they are; on the other, he had the power of extracting from the crude facts of life their poetic and vital significance. This phase of Keller's thought as revealed in his writings, has not been worked out with any degree of completeness heretofore. In so far as the present work does this, it can claim to be an original contribution to the literature of literary research." (pp. 4-5).

In many respects Dr. Hauch's work shows admirable qualities. The general plan is well conceived. An introduction defines the democratic tendencies in nineteenth century German literature, outlines briefly Keller's relation to these, and sketches his life. Four chapters then take up Keller's 1) early works and political thought, 2) romanticism, realism, and religion, 3) educational ideals, 4) artistic ideals. A brief conclusion brings the study to a close, followed by a good (uncritical) bibliography, a list of four translation sources, and a four-column index which would be more serviceable if it included subjects as well as names. Contemporary history and criticism are well applied, and the general mechanics of such a study are all in place. Furthermore, Dr. Hauch displays a commendable insight into the essence of Keller's thought, and the book contains a substantial number of excellent observations, rightly seized and felicitously expressed.

Nevertheless, I must confess that close study of these pages left me with a decided feeling of disappointment: so promising a beginning should have been crowned by a more satisfying work.

In the first place, the study begins with a certain vagueness of aim which is never wholly cleared up. Both "democracy" and "idealism" have not merely the inherent indefiniteness which attaches to all abstract concepts: both of them are also much-abused catch-words, which have been bandied about by writers of the most diverse cast of thought. It would then have been a welcome guide to the reader if the author had set out by indicating the sense in which he wishes us to understand these terms. As a matter of fact, he almost everywhere contents himself with the mere statement that Keller's principles are democratic and idealistic.

Occasionally, to be sure, he does say something about democracy, although seldom in a place where the casual reader would look for it—and the index does not help; but in such cases he does not always seem wholly orthodox on the subject, or else he misleads by ineptness of expression. Thus in the passage just quoted, the words “he had the power of extracting . . .” evidently refer to Keller’s “indestructible idealism”; are we then to assume that his “clear and catholic vision for things as they are” exemplifies his democracy? Still more questionable (since the former passage is open to a reasonable interpretation) is the following: “This is democracy of the most radical kind applied to the problems of the inner life: in the last analysis, each must be his own priest and his own judge.” (p. 53) If this be indeed democracy, my schooling has been in vain. Once, however, to do him justice, Dr. Hauch does tell us at least what Keller’s democratic ideal was, in a passage tucked away near the end of Chapter II. “To this travesty of democratic thinking, Keller would oppose his own ideal a guarantee to all of the opportunity to work out their own individual destiny in private well-being and in harmony with the interests of the community at large . . . opportunity for everyone, privilege and abuse of power for no one.” (p. 38)

This admirably clear and judicious statement indicates that Dr. Hauch was equally capable of defining “idealism,” had he so chosen. But he has not done so, unless various allusions to optimism and the sketching of Keller’s “Ideals,” religious, educational, and artistic, are supposed to cover the ground. But to my thinking, idealism and optimism are by no means identical, and if the possession of “ideals” constitutes an idealist, then every thinking man is one. The failure to grapple with the problem of idealism is the more regrettable that Dr. Hauch devotes much space to an exposition of Keller’s realism. Now, philosophically speaking, these things cannot very well co-exist in one mind. Yet there is no contradiction in Gottfried Keller, for it is not philosophical, but literary realism with which we have to do—a very different bird; and the “idealism” that bulks so large here is neither strictly philosophical nor strictly literary, I should say, but something between the two, an idealism of life. Yet Dr. Hauch lets us make these discoveries for ourselves, and indeed his own theory appears to be not beyond cavil. Listen to his remarks on realism (p. 59): “Mere verisimilitude, however, is not necessarily all there is to realism. There are certain incidents and characters in the works of Keller which at first sight look like the inventions of fancy, but which are found to have a solid foundation in actual fact.” Does Dr. Hauch really think that a writer who takes his characters from actual life is *eo ipso* a “realist”?

A similar vagueness of thought permeates the entire treatise and vitiates much that might otherwise be excellent. Thus,



Dr. Hauch finds considerable traces of Romanticism in Keller's work, but this he could hardly incorporate under his title; so he is at pains to explain to us (p. 1) that the Romanticists' overthrow of the canons of style and technic was an outcropping of democratic tendencies—a questionable theory, to say the least. But when he takes up Keller's Romanticism, he finds no formlessness to record, merely willingness to use typically Romantic subjects. Now such subjects, he has already pointed out, evince an attitude "of aristocratic aloofness from the world of everyday affairs" (p. 1). Again, he tells us that propagandism is one of the three main tendencies of the 19th century represented in Keller's writings, and his characterization of it is as follows (p. 2): "What Max Koch says of Heine is undoubtedly true, more or less, of much of the propaganda carried on by these writers (of Young Germany): 'Not the truth, only the effect, is what counts; not to convince is the object, but to cast off with irresistible ridicule every conviction as disturbing and burdensome.' " Must not every reader of these words expect to find Keller aiming not at truth but at effects, not trying to convince but to ridicule? Yet nothing could be less characteristic of Keller, whom we presently see, a man of radical convictions and of ardent political sympathies, merely giving vigorous expression to the faith that is in him.

Not merely does Dr. Hauch fail to be consistent, as in these examples: he fails to keep his main purpose in view. Thus Chapters III and IV, excellent as is much of their matter, are almost wholly detached from the rest of the treatise, so that as they stand, the title could not be legitimately more than e.g. "The Ideals of Gottfried Keller." For while the author discusses at length and ably Keller's educational and artistic ideals, he persistently neglects to relate them either to his democracy or his idealism. The result is a total lack of organization in the second half of the book. Similarly, the extended analysis of *Green Henry* (pp. 59 ff.) is left without bearing on the subject in hand. Yet all these matters might easily have been made to illuminate the author's thesis, and so not merely lose nothing of their present importance, but actually gain for themselves a deeper significance in the process.

Finally, to have done with this matter of vagueness, the very brief conclusion is the most unsatisfactory passage in the book. It neither sums up nor clarifies: it merely rambles along the path Dr. Hauch has elected to follow, until it suddenly stops short with a bump, like a switch-engine striking a stray freight-car. I quote the final paragraph verbatim: "In his choice of material Keller is, in the main, a realist. He is furthermore a realist in the convincing consistency with which he proceeds to develop the problem before him. The solution grows naturally out of the material presented. In all his works he reveals a conception of

life in which are combined and blended a sobered and enlightened democracy with sane and sound idealism."

Dr. Hauch is to be commended for his practice of giving liberal quotations from Keller in English translation: when such examples are not translated, any hope of reaching the general public is frustrated at the outset—at least for German theses! As to the translations, he says, very modestly: "my main purpose has been to convey the content as accurately as possible." For the most part this aim has been realized, and though the reader may regret the sacrifice of the feminine endings, every translator knows how greatly his task is increased by the effort to retain them. Only in two places I find Dr. Hauch not quite achieving his purpose. On p. 49 he translates as follows:

If e'en on earth the Poet is endow'd  
With prescience that 'tis not the soul that dies,  
If at his touch from out the earthly shroud  
He causes all things radiantly to rise,

What Keller wrote is this:

Wenn ein Poet ein Stück vom ew'gen Leben  
Im Herzen trägt schon hier als Morgengabe,  
Wenn in Verklärung alle Dinge schweben,  
Die er berührt mit seinem Zauberstabe,

Again (p. 15) for Keller's line

Der schlanke, der blanke, der schwere Kuirassier!

Dr. Hauch writes

The long, the strong, the glittering cuirassier!

He might have preserved both metre and sense by rendering

In splendor, the slender, the heavy cuirassier!

And will English readers generally understand the phrase (p. 29): "do not let us quarrel about Caesar's beard"?

I have noted a few misprints: idiosyncracies (p. 6), misbrauchten (p. 10), Hoffman (pp. 11, 42, and index), Vegeance (p. 23) information (p. 73). On p. 73 *stanze* (the stanze of the Vatican) should be italicized. On p. 59, there is a use of *inner* which is growing annoyingly frequent in critical works that lean heavily on German sources: "a record of inner and outer experiences."

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ANNA OWENA HOYERS; a poetess of the seventeenth century, by Adah Blanche Roe. Bryn Mawr College Monographs. Monograph series, Vol. XIX. Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, 1915. (8 vo. pp. 131).

In her dissertation Miss Roe has made it her task to rescue from oblivion the name of a woman who lived at a time when "after an almost complete silence of five hundred years, since

the time of the pious Ava, women began again to play an important part in the creation of German literature." In our present day and generation when women are so eager to emphasize their contribution to the world's civilisation and to prove that this is after all not a man's world, we can readily understand and appreciate Miss Roe's efforts in endeavoring to unearth the name of this "poetess." But the reviewer doubts whether Miss Roe's selection of Anna Owena Hoyers (1584-1655) as a woman who has contributed to the creation of German literature in the seventeenth century was a happy one. He even doubts whether German literature would be much poorer if Miss Roe does not keep her promise to present us with a new edition of the works of Anna Owena Hoyers as complement and illustration of her thesis. The reviewer would indeed be the last man to refuse to give Frau Hoyers her due. She was a strong, earnest, deeply religious personality, who showed "a fearless obstinacy, against which state and church alike were powerless." The literary value of her verses—and with one exception she wrote nothing but verses—is, however, negligible. Of lyrical feeling, as Miss Roe herself admits, she has given little sign. In fact she has written no love lyrics of any kind. Her style is not in any way literary. She was not in the least affected by the literary movements of the time. The note pervading all her writings is essentially didactic, and the only source for her work, apart from the conditions around her, is the Bible, the phraseology of which is the most characteristic element of her style.

As a contribution to German mystical literature her writings are of little value. Miss Roe is indeed right in defending Anna Owena Hoyers against the accusation of being a sectary, a mystic. It is true that she was a great admirer of David Joris, and that her writings show his influence as well as that of Schwenckfeld, Valentin Weigel, the Rosicrucians, Anabaptists, and other mystical sects whose part she took against the Lutheran church, but her sympathy with them was due not to the philosophical, but to the practical aspects of their doctrines. The theological, doctrinal side of the mystic cult did not appeal to her at all. We find in her writings no ecstasy nor excessive feeling of any kind. "The lofty, mysterious, solemn grandeur of the mystical teaching of the union of the Infinite with the finite, of the indwelling of God in mortal man passed her by," her biographer admits. Miss Roe goes even as far as to say that Anna Owena Hoyers was "quite without the power to conceive or express a great thought." The most pronouncedly pietistic tendencies in her writings are the renunciation of all worldly ambition and the complete effacement of self, but she understood and utilised these lofty ideas in an intensely practical manner.

Her writings are of no greater interest to the historian of church dogma. Her opposition to the Lutheran church was not



the result of a great conflict of soul over questions of creed, as one would naturally expect. Her motive power, as Miss Roe well points out, was merely a true piety of soul, which prompted her to attack the depravities of the church and its ministers. But she remained in the established church and urged others to attend services regularly. She remains in fact within her womanly sphere, confining her interest to her home, her children, and the church. With perhaps one exception—the poem in which she attacks the English rebels in 1649—her writings reveal no interest in the political affairs of her time.

In one respect, however, her works are of value. They portray the depraved life of the Lutheran clergy in the seventeenth century. Her dramatic dialog “*De Denische Derp-Pape*” (written in Low German), which as far as form and subject matter are concerned, is perhaps her best work, deals with this subject, and is a very bitter satire against the clergy of her time. One who is studying the subject of the *moers* of the clergy of the seventeenth century will find good material in the works of Anna Owena Hoyers.

Whatever the contribution of this verse-writer to German literature may be, Miss Roe’s monograph is at any rate a sympathetic and interesting account of the life and works of an interesting woman of the seventeenth century.

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*THE SEMANTIC DEVELOPMENT OF WORDS FOR  
“WALK, RUN” IN THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES.*  
By Roscoe Myrl Ihrig. (Linguistic Studies in Germanic,  
No. IV,) edited by Francis A. Wood, Chicago, University  
of Chicago Press, 1916. x + 168 pp.

*A STUDY OF VERBS COMPOUNDED WITH AUS, EIN,  
ETC. AS CONTRASTED WITH THOSE COMPOUNDED  
WITH HERAUS, HINAUS, HEREIN, HINEIN, ETC.*  
By Charles Reining. (Leland Stanford Junior University  
Publications). Stanford University, 1916. 142 pp.

There has been of late a tendency in some quarters to point with overemphasized petulance to the circumstance that the study of semantic functions has resolved itself mainly into a large-scaled exploitation of available historical and etymological dictionaries. The professional semanticist is visualized in his work-shop, as sitting by the side of his rotary book-rack and feverishly fingering the leaves of a host of lexical tomes, standard and dialect, old, middle, and new. Such a view could with ease find support in the evidence furnished by the dissertations of

Dr. Reining and of Dr. Ihrig. The former declares (p. 16), "The material upon which this investigation is based has been largely drawn from dictionaries," and cites Adelung, Campe, Grimm, Graff, Lexer, Paul and Sanders. Dr. Ihrig admits (Preface) "The sources of the words are listed in the Bibliography," and lists therein all the approved paraphernalia of Germanic lexicography."

It is worth our while to set at rest all such "conscientious" objections by at least indicating their utter superficiality in the light of the gradual development of Semasiology. The principle that the history of word-meanings mirrors forth the history of civilizations, and that psychology and Kulturgeschichte must base their findings to a significant extent upon semantics, is a comparatively new point of view in linguistics,—at least on the side of practical application. With the attention of the last quarter of a century directed largely upon the problems of phonology and of morphology, semasiology, as Riesig called the science, existed solely as a foster-child of Grammar. When we recollect that such eminent philologists as Schleicher and his disciple, Johannes Schmidt, were once the avowed enemies of etymology, as such, we come nearer to the point of view of recognizing that the ground for the science of meanings is just now being prepared—Raoul de la Grasserie could write a decade ago, "La Sémantique est une des parties les moins connues de la linguistique"—and that the major part of the work must consist in what would appear to be arid catalogization but which, in reality, is the upbuilding of the treasure-house of minute information from which the synoptic semanticist of the future can draw his generalizations along broader and more generous outlines than his meticulous predecessors.

This much understood, we turn to the detailed consideration of the present works. Dr. Reining's is a study of five separable prefixes "aus," "ein," "ab," "auf," and "an." The purpose is to ascertain the difference between the verbs compounded with the simple forms of these adverbial particles and the identical verbs combined with the forms augmented by demonstrative \**hi*, "heraus," "hinaus," etc. The investigation was born of Paul's complaint (*Ueber die Aufgaben der wissenschaftlichen Lexicographie*, of which, however, no date or page of citation is given) as to the lack of data on the verbs compounded with the particles in question. Dr. Reining has acquitted himself of his task in a praiseworthy manner, and his summary of clear-cut conclusions at the end of each of the five chapters illuminates the spread of the double prefixes from a number of interesting viewpoints.

In the older Germanic languages the required idea was expressed by the simple particle, originally an adverb of direction. Old High German itself has very few double forms; in fact, from the 8th to the end of the 15th centuries, verbs compounded with

the lengthened prefix are isolated neologisms. In Luther, however, we find the form completely naturalized, and since his time the double prefix has steadily gained ground at the expense of the simple vocable. Today, the latter has no power of combination, for the process of functional deterioration, brought about by the competition of the double form, has been completed. The author has found that one of the chief factors operating toward such a weakening of the particles was the specializing semantic change which they underwent in the Middle High German classical period. The emphasis was shifted from a general to a special activity denoted by the verb.

A concrete example will illustrate his methods: "Auf" was originally an adverb, denoting "direction upward," *Otfried*, V, 1, 19. "thes krúces horn thâr obana, thaz *zeigôt uf* in himila"; under the influence of the acquired prepositional function, the adverb developed a secondary meaning, "upon," *Exodus*, 12th C. "die *sazzeten uf* in houbet die helme." Two opposing streams of specialization originate from these now distinct sources. The resulting semantic changes, started in the M.H.G. period, may be exemplified in the following early instances, *Titirel*, 128, 1, "an *prîse uf* muoz *stîgen* and *Nibelungen*. 1745, 3, "ir helde, ir sult mir s'*uf* *geben* (die Waffen). In this competition the old force of the adverb becomes lost and the originally demonstrative "hin" and "her" are added to restore the erst-while function of "auf." (Material of Chapter IV.)—In general, the author supplements the material drawn from the dictionaries, wherever the latter prove inadequate, gives, at every semantic stage under discussion, quotations in chronological order, from Otfried and Tatian onward as far as Rosegger and Wilbrandt, and succeeds in presenting the pleasing series of pictures of which his material is eminently capable.

Dr. Ihrig has not only to cope with a dissimilar material but also to arrange the latter in accordance with a totally different point of view. The task which he set himself was the collection of primary meanings contributory to the concept of "walking" and "running." It is not—to define its scope by elimination—an etymological search for cognate roots. The author does not, for instance, take the Germanic root *weg-* and connect it with Latin *vehere*, Greek *ὄχος*, Sanskrit *vāhati*, in order to disclose the Indo-Germanic \**uegh-*. Nor does he place the word in a family of kindred words, *bewegen*, *Wagen*, *Wage*, *wägen*, *Gewicht*, etc., as Liebich has done in his genetic compilation of word-groups on the basis of Heyne's *Wörterbuch*, 1899 and Bergmann on the basis of Weigand's, 1912. It is, furthermore, not a contribution to historical lexicography, since there is no tracing, in the chronological succession of their development, of the series of connotations which have become attached to given forms and words. It



is, on the contrary, the tracing of a given meaning to its available forms, a comparison of the different ways of expressing the same idea.

A humble example occurs to us, the concept of Potato. Off-hand, and there may be more, five expressions present themselves for the idea in German, *Patate*, *Kartoffel*, *Erdapfel*, *Bodebirn* and *Grumbirn*. Dr. Ihrig's work would consist in taking each of these terms and in grouping them off with their etymological cognates into five divisions under the head of Potato. Any older meaning that any given word may have had is, consequently, disregarded. Accordingly, in his dissertation Germanic words, related in meanings that adumbrate the ultimate semantic stage of "walking and running,"—"sememe" is the ugly term for it, corresponding to "morpheme"—are grouped together in their varied dialectal forms under such captions as "Swing, Sway, Rock," "Mix up, Confuse, Jumble," "Slide, Glide," "Pull, Haul," etc. It will be easily seen that whilst this is not a work occupied with the tracing of successive stages of meanings but rather given to the detailed elaboration of a gigantic snapshot of semantic conditions, the task is none the less an arduous one. Sixty-nine primary meanings are listed in the description of the attitude and manner of the walker and even the accompanying gestures are brought under the author's scrutiny,—in all the branches of the Germanic family. It is a very industrious work and commands our admiration not only for its own sake but also for the imposing testimony it adduces for the basic similarity of word-coining and nomenclature in the varied branches and periods of the Germanic languages.

There are only a few general remarks, and even these we admit to be captions, which we wish to make on Dr. Ihrig's scholarly monograph. The first one concerns the title of the book, and thus may be applied to other works of similar nature as well. Within the limits established for himself Dr. Ihrig has, we grant, collected all the discoverable material; but, whereas the meanings thus placed in juxtaposition necessarily result in a picture of *semantic* relations, the absence of critical citations and of any discussion of the semantic stages involved, would tend against its being named a picture of semantic *development*. Such a work might rather be termed an essay at Comparative Semantics,—a study in the partial coalescence of meanings, a chart of the intersecting circles of connotations.

Again, it would have undoubtedly been more advisable from the variable viewpoint of synonymics, and more charitable to the paucilingual reader of the material, if the author had paused here and there to translate the definitions which he has adduced from the sources. Might we suggest for future investigations of this kind a consistent English basis, instead of such diversified

equivalents, as appear on p. 85, "ME. *stumren, stumlen, stumblen* stumble, NE. *stumble* slip or trip in moving the feet, EFris. *stum-meln* schwach, schwankend hin und her schwanken und stossen, stossend und stockend gehen, stolpern, Dan. dial. *stumle* støde med fødderne, ON. *stumra* stolpern, Lith. *stumtiù* stosse, schiebe (Wood, *Hesp. Ergänz.* I. 60)."

The works of Drs. Ihrig and Reining form a clear, substantial and welcome addition to our rapidly increasing stock of semantic studies. The province of the semanticist is practically unlimited. Not only as to the material but to the manner of treatment as well. Family life, home, clothing, alimentation, religion, war, state institutions, the varied realms of Nature, trade, arts, sciences, education, may all be drawn upon for all periods and all races, with such different points of view as the rise and specialization, disappearance and recrudescence of meanings; transition from the sensuous to the abstract; their importance from the cultural side; the individual semantic coinage of authors and purists, etc. One aspect of semasiology, especially, should be a profitable and interesting field for investigation,—the loan-translation, in the realm of which F. Mauthner has been doing pioneer service. Approximately one fourth of the German vocabulary rests on such translations as *versichern*=*assekurieren*, *Vollmacht*=*plenipotencia*, *Stelldichein*=*rendez-vous*, *empfindsam*=*sentimental*, *Zwieback*=*biscuit*. This phenomenon has long ago been recognized in the idiom of the church, school, state and jurisprudence, and has been thoroly exploited. Such imitative translations, however, in the field of the older Germanic dialects, both among themselves and in relation to the other Indo-Germanic languages, still await the detailed as well as comprehensive treatment due to them at the hands of some skilled semanticist. There seems to be ample ground for belief that important results for the degree of relationship between the various Indo-Germanic languages might be brought forth by the intensive application of the science of semantic inter-loans,—and the width, breadth and depth of these relationships is still uncertain enough to warrant an experimentation with the new criterion.

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**WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, HIS LIFE, WORKS, AND INFLUENCE.** By George McLean Harper. In two volumes. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

These two volumes represent a labor of love, and the industry of years, bestowed upon Wordsworth by Professor George McLean Harper, of Princeton University, whose name henceforth will

be inseparably linked with the object of his devotion. They contain significant revelations concerning the private life of the poet; they aim to interpret his literary work in relation to the inner and outer aspects of his career and his times; they include much comment, freely uttered by their author, that subsequent students of the poet will wish to reckon with; and they offer for our inspection a number of Wordsworthian documents not hitherto printed, together with more accurate copies of a few letters, or extracts, previously published. All in all, Professor Harper, as the saying goes, has made an important contribution to his subject.

One principal revelation there is that our author has to give regarding Wordsworth's life; and most persons doubtless will be inclined to think that more should have been said of it than Professor Harper has found himself able, or perhaps ready, to divulge, or else that the matter should have been withheld from the reading public until adequate light could be thrown on the moral side of the case. Professor Harper does not make this side clear; for on the one hand he tries, by an appeal to Wordsworth's immaturity and temporary philosophical beliefs, and to the standards of the period, to soften our judgment of an episode we should else deem culpable, and on the other he suggests that the relations of the poet with Annette are set forth in the story of Vaudracour and Julia—which would give us an incident more in keeping with what we already know of Wordsworth's life and sentiments. The actual evidence presented (not massed, but some of it in one, some in the other volume), would hardly suffice to establish the identity of Caroline before the law as a daughter of Annette and the poet—she might, as Dorothy's 'niece,' be the daughter of any brother of Dorothy. Yet there is no reason to doubt that in *Vaudracour and Julia*, originally a part of the autobiographical *Prelude*, Wordsworth is to some extent writing autobiography. It was his habit to merge details from several sources in one picture, and we need not pause to explain the difficulty raised by what he said in later years to Miss Fenwick about the origin of these lines.

As to the general interpretation of Wordsworth's poetry and prose in connection with his life and times, it may be noted that Professor Harper lays stress on the interest shown by the poet in the French Revolution, and on the influence he received from Rousseau, from Godwin, from his sister Dorothy, from Coleridge. We wish there were an adequate account of the effect produced upon him by the philosophy of David Hartley, whether learned at first or at second hand; but Hartley's name does not appear in the Index.

Of the intercalary comments by Professor Harper, one must admit that they give a more personal and subjective tone to his book than we are wont to expect in strict biography. Legouis,



Hutchinson, Dykes Campbell, Dowden, and even Knight, are more objective in dealing with Wordsworth, or with Wordsworth and Coleridge. The lack of objectivity is exemplified in the liberal display of opinion respecting what Wordsworth probably did or did not do or believe in circumstances where we have little or nothing to guide us. In particular, one may think these volumes over-bold in suggesting dates of composition for poems thus far undated. And what shall we say of a statement like this (1.213 n): 'Dorothy Wordsworth, I have been told, was acquainted with the Priestley family, and visited them'? The source of information may satisfy the writer, but will a footnote like that content the reader? We should in general like more notes, and a more generous use of specific references to the authorities for various statements.

The personal comments may be taken to include some of the particular explanations and criticisms of poems and passages in Wordsworth. There is some excellent criticism. Most of what Professor Harper says of *The Excursion*, of *The White Doe of Rylstone*, and of *Peter Bell* is very good. But the criticism is quite uneven. Conventional estimates of generally overpraised efforts like the *Ode*, *Intimations of Immortality*, are intermingled with abrupt and severe condemnations, such as the one passed upon all but a part of Wordsworth's *Vernal Ode*. The scathing censure of *Waterfowl*, beginning with the line,

Mark how the feathered tenants of the flood,  
is altogether surprising. Among the *obiter dicta*, we have expressions of opinion by the author on many of Wordsworth's contemporaries. Professor Harper has a particular animus against Edmund Burke, whom he actually compares unfavorably (1.259) with Thomas Paine.

As for the new documents here first published, the ones of most importance are letters relating to Annette and Caroline; but aside from these, Professor Harper has gone to the original manuscript of Dorothy Wordsworth's Journals, and has pieced out Knight's *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, correcting Knight's dates now and then, and now and then his transcriptions.

The book is well printed; that is, the English fount of type possesses a certain distinction. There are, however, not a few dropped points. Thus in the first volume, page 67, we miss quotation-marks in the fourth line from the top, and a period in the tenth line and a comma in the second line from the bottom. Actual misprints are not numerous. The worst is in volume two, page 179, where the same four lines are repeated in a quotation. Among other slight defects we may note a misquotation (1.50); the last line on the page should read:

The bond of union between life and joy.  
'Mantains' (2.247) is not pretty.

Having said so much, chiefly in praise, of an important book, I shall now exercise the reviewer's privilege of making a few more specific or more general strictures.

First, then, the author would seem to indulge over-frequently in sweeping generalizations. Thus he opens with the statement that 'Wordsworth is more widely read and more often quoted than any other English poet except Shakespeare and Milton.' If this refers to the present time, one may venture to think that Browning is more widely read, at least in this country. If the statement is not narrowly restricted in point of time, it may fairly be thought that Pope has been more frequently quoted. Again we read (1.310): 'The story of Dorothy Wordsworth is the tenderest, the purest, the most sacred page in the annals of poetry.' What of Dante's Beatrice? Or again, one is astonished to learn (1.406) that Wordsworth's Preface to *Lyrical Ballads* is 'his supreme work in prose,' and that it ranks among critical treatises with Sidney's *Defense of Poesy*. The sentiment is shortly repeated (1.424): 'It is certainly, with the possible exception of Sidney's *Defence of Poesie*, the most eloquent, as it is without rival the most weighty, treatise on the subject in our language.' In so far as Shelley's treatise echoes Plato, is it not equally solid, and is it not more eloquent? One may entertain a favorable notion of Wordsworth as a critic without needless exaggeration. After reading the remarks on the Advertisement—it is not a 'Preface' (1.423)—of 1798, and these on the Preface of 1800, we are prepared, it may be, for the less enthusiastic treatment of Wordsworth's *Guide to the Lakes* (2.190-191), but not for what is said of *The Convention of Cintra* (2.177): 'His style is as heroic as his theme. It has a volume and weight unequalled even by Burke, and matched only by Milton.' Or take the following (2.147): '*The Prelude* is the greatest long poem in our language after *Paradise Lost*.' What of *Paradise Regained*, *The Faerie Queene*, *Beowulf*? *The Excursion* (1.182) 'is the most profound and sensitive comment literature has made upon the most tremendous social upheaval of modern times.' What of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh books (on the French Revolution) of *The Prelude*? Wordsworth (1.24) had 'a power, probably unmatched in modern times, of composing many lines of poetry without the employment of writing.' Bayard Taylor is said to have had a marvellous capacity for retaining what he composed, corrections and all, until he wished to make a fair copy for the printer. The list may close with a description of Coleridge as (2.130) 'the most contagious mind then existing,' and (2.126) 'the greatest speculative genius our race ever produced.'

As the passages on the Preface of 1800 might suggest, there is a good deal of repetition in the work. Some is inevitable, but not all; for example, a characterization of Southey (2.103), which echoes an earlier one (2.78), and makes the reader feel a lack of

co-ordination even in the parts of the same chapter. Occasionally we are aware of a discrepancy, as when the author, speaking of *An Evening Walk*, remarks (1.191): 'Perhaps it may seem presumptuous to pick out the lines which I think likely to have caught the eye of Coleridge'—and does not mention the line which, as we subsequently discover (1.303), gave Coleridge the expression 'green radiance' in the *Lines Written at Shurton Bars*.

Occasionally Professor Harper's knowledge of the text is at fault. For instance, he says of *Memorials of a Tour on the Continent* (2.327): 'It is strange that one of the best sonnets in the book, *Author's Voyage Down the Rhine (Thirty Years Ago)*, was never reprinted by Wordsworth'; the inference perhaps being that the poet after all was not a safe critic. But the truth is, as I once pointed out in *Notes and Queries* (Sept. 17, 1910), that Wordsworth remodelled the lines, and used the new version in *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* (Part III, No. XII), though the fact escaped the notice of his editors, including Dowden, Hutchinson, Knight, and Nowell Smith.

The author properly brings out the gradual development in Wordsworth of a fuller sympathy with the Christian religion and the English Church, but he doubtless accentuates the difference between the poet's earlier and later years. Thus he says (1.196): 'I think it has never been remarked that the poem [*Descriptive Sketches*] contains a distinct confession of religious unbelief.' But if we consult the first edition of this poem, it appears that Wordsworth merely deplores his inability to share the local faith in the wonder-working image of the Virgin at Einsiedeln. Professor Harper, in fact, prints (1.93) an utterance of Wordsworth betraying the religious feelings of the poet at the very time when he was gathering the impressions embodied in *Descriptive Sketches*: 'Among the more awful scenes of the Alps, I had not a thought of man, or a single created being; my whole soul was turned to Him who produced the terrible majesty before me.' The date is September, 1790.

Professor Harper does not take Wordsworth's seeming infirmities too lightly. He readily thinks of the poet as a second Milton—many have done that. But he is appalled to learn of Wordsworth's presumption in fancying that he could write, if he chose, like Shakespeare (1.269). Why not? Is Shakespeare's style harder to imitate? When he tried, Wordsworth showed no slight capacity for imitating other poets—witness his Spenserian stanzas in the manner of Thomson's *Castle of Indolence*. And is it always possible to distinguish Shakespeare's style from that of his collaborators, Middleton, for example? How many doubtful plays have, at one time or another, been attributed to Shakespeare?

One more point. The volumes before us do not always reveal an adequate discrimination in respect to contemporary opinions of Wordsworth in his later years. Professor Harper's own opinion, unfortunately, is that the poet became stiff, egotistical, conven-



tional, and unplastic; and he rather agrees with those who judge the manners of the bard of Rydal Mount with some harshness. Yet he calls the judgment of Mill (2.355), passed in 1831, 'most important.' Now Mill speaks of the extensive range of Wordsworth's thoughts and 'the largeness and expansiveness of his feelings'; the characteristic dwelt upon is 'the direct antithesis of what the Germans . . . call one-sidedness.' A few pages later (2.360) we read the opinion of Lockhart that in a meeting with Jeffrey 'Wordsworth played the part of a man of the world to perfection.' 'I have had three or four breakfasts for him,' says Henry Taylor, 'and he is as agreeable in society as he is admirable in the powers of talking, so perfectly courteous and well-bred and simple in his manners.'<sup>1</sup>

On the whole, it is to be feared that a rigorously critical attitude has not been maintained throughout, and that in preparing the work for the press not quite enough effort was put forth to prune away redundancies and harmonize discrepancies. It is disconcerting to read in a note on page 324 of the second volume that 'even so late as 1821 *The Prelude* was still subject to revision,' and then on page 407 to find indubitable evidence that in 1839 the poet was working at the same task.

But let us have done with strictures. If Professor Harper's method is not always ideally critical, nor his sympathy with Wordsworth always strong enough to endure the strain that comes from following the poet into the details of his every-day life; and if he has not constructed all his opinions about Wordsworth from the bottom up, nevertheless he has written a notable book, with much devotion, and with a frankness and sincerity of feeling that will win many readers to him and his poet.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Elizabeth Wedgwood's account of the meeting, in *Emma Darwin, A Century of Family Letters*, edited by Henrietta Litchfield (1. 235-236): 'Fanny [Mackintosh] had a grand dinner yesterday . . . There was a party in the evening, too, which was made memorable by bringing Wordsworth and Jeffrey together. When Sir James [Mackintosh] proposed to Mr. Wordsworth to introduce them to one another, he did not agree to it. "We are fire and water," he said, "and if we meet we shall only hiss—besides he has been doing his utmost to destroy me." "But he has not succeeded," Sir James said, "and he really is one of your greatest admirers"; and upon that he took Mr. Wordsworth by the shoulders and turned him round to Jeffrey, and left them together. They immediately began talking, and Sir James came very proud to tell us what he had done, and to fetch us to see them; and Mr. Wordsworth looked very happy and complacent. Mr. Lockhart said it was the best thing he ever saw done. The two enemies liked one another's company so much that, when the rest of the party broke up at past eleven, they remained talking together with Sir James, discussing poets, orators, and novelists, till one o'clock, with Mr. Sheil listening with all his ears, and Mr. Empson and Fanny and Uncle Baugh as audience. I, alas! was obliged to carry my head to bed. Sir James enjoyed his two hours' talk very much.' She adds: 'Fanny has just been reading a little of one of Jeffrey's reviews of Wordsworth, and W. really showed no small degree of placability in his good fellowship with him last night.'

*JOHN MILTON: TOPICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.* By Elbert N. S. Thompson. New Haven. Yale University Press. 1916. 8vo, pp. xi, 104. Price, \$1.15, net.

By publishing this little manual, largely compiled for his own use while writing his *Essays on Milton*, Professor Thompson has performed a distinctly valuable service to students of Milton and the period in which he lived. Since the appearance of Anderson's bibliography appended to *Garnett's Life*, in 1890, there has been published nothing of a bibliographical nature save the brief but useful lists of H. H. Child in the *Cambridge Modern History* and G. A. Brown in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*. Such a book, then, was much needed.

The order of topics in general follows the chronology of Milton's life. Under each heading the articles are arranged in chronological order; and thus is shown the historical development of the literature relating to Milton.

The bibliography is "frankly selective rather than complete," and the selection is excellent. We shall note here a few additional titles, some of which may possibly have been overlooked.

In the list of chief collected editions we miss that of W. A. Wright, Cambridge, 1903 (rev. by R. Ackermann in *Engl. Stud.* xix. 378).

Among the *L'Allegro* entries we miss W. H. Browne's note in *MLN.* iii. 235; also G. C. Moore Smith's notes in *MLQ.* vii. 159. Under *Arcades* may be added a reply to Osgood in *Atlantic* xc. 719 f.

Under *Comus* we miss the critical reprint by L. S. Livingston in the New York *Bibliographer* i., appendix, 1902; Cook's note on l. 598 in *MLN.* xxiv. 55 f.; P. Cunningham, ed., *The Device to Entertain Queen Elizabeth at Harefield, 1602*, in *Shakesp. Soc. Papers*, 1845, ii. 65-75; O. F. Emerson, Milton's 'Star That Bids the Shepherd Fold,' *Western Reserve Univ. Bulletin*, 1910, xiii. 32-48; Hales on l. 232, *Folia litt.*, pp. 231-8; J. M. Hart, Milton and Shakspeare, *Nation* lxxix. 9; J. A. Nicklin, *The Ludlow Masque*, *Macmillan's*, 1904, xci. 97-101; H. Spencer, *A Greek Source for Comus* 30, *MLN.* xxiii. 30.

Concerning Milton's *History of Britain*, see Gilbert's note on a British *Icarus* in *MLN.* xxvi. 127 f.

Concerning *Lycidas* see J. Bonar in *Nation* xcii. 139; W. H. Ward, M. D., and G. H. Powell on l. 130 in *Athen.*, Apr. 14—May 5, 1906, pp. 451 f., 515, 547; H. L. in same, June 30, 1900, p. 815.

To the items on *Paradise Lost* may be added the note in *Nation* lxxxvii. 311; J. Baudisch, *Schulcommentar zu Milton's Paradise Lost*, Wien, 1887; Benham's note on i. 351-5 in *MLN.* xxiv. 64; F. Blumenthal, *Byron's Cain and Its Relation to P. L. and Gess-*

ner's Death of Abel, Oldenburg, 1891 (rev. by P. Lange in *Anglia Bei.* iii. 90); A. S. Cook on iii. 1-8 in *Mod. Phil.* vi. 469 f.; K. Elze on iv. 530 in *Anglia* i. 348 f.; J. P. Fruit, *Materiam superabat opus*, *MLN.* v. 78 f. (see also J. H. Smith, p. 126); A. H. Gilbert, *Milton's China*, *MLN.* xxvi. 199 f.; also Gilbert's note in same, pp. 127 f.; E. E. Hale, Jr., *Certain Miltonic Conceptions*, same, viii. 25-7; J. M. Hart, *Milton and Shakspeare*, *Nation* lxxix. 9; K. Hillebrand, *De sacro apud Christianos carmine epico seu Dantis, Miltonis, Klopstockii poetarum collatio*, Paris, 1861; Laura E. Lockwood on vii. 15-20 in *MLN.* xxviii. 126 f.; C. E. L. Looten, *Étude sur le poète néerlandais Vondel*, Paris, 1889; F. A. March, on the metre, *Proc. Am. Phil. Assn.* xx. xiii-xvii; J. W. Pearce on vv. 600 f. in *MLN.* xxii. 151; E. G. Sandras, in his *De carminibus Anglosaxonicis Cædmoni adjudicatis disquisitio*, Paris, 1859; Schirmacher, *Milton's verlornes Paradies*, Progr., Königsberg, 1855; F. C. Schwalbach, *Commentar zum 1. Buche von Milton's Paradise Lost*, Progr., Harburg, 1890 (rev. by P. Lange in *Anglia Bei.* ii. 212 f.; by O. Glöde in *Engl. Stud.* xvii. 162-4); R. Sprenger, *Anklänge an Milton in Goethe's Faust*, *Engl. Stud.* xviii. 304-6; B. Zumbini, in his *Studi di Letterature Straniere*, Firenze, 1893 (rev. by L. F. Mott in *MLN.* x. 55 f.).

On *Paradise Regained* add J. L[awrence] on ii. 309 in *Mod. Lang. Quart.* ii. 50.

On *Il Penseroso* see R. D. Havens, *The Literature of Melancholy*, *MLN.* xxiv. 226 f.

On *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* see G. L. Kittredge, *Milton*, and Roger Williams, *MLN.* xxv. 159.

On the Reason of Church Government see P. Shorey, *A Few Parallels from the Classics*, *Mod. Phil.* v. 143 f.

On *Samson Agonistes* add R. Bridges, *Athen.*, July 18, 1903, pp. 93 f.; H. B. Hinckley, *Theories of Vision in English Poetry*, *MLN.* xxiv. 125; F. Tupper, Jr., on ll. 1, 65 f., same xxii. 47; E. Weekley on l. 373, *Mod. Lang. Rev.* iii. 373 f.; H. T. Wolff, *On S. A. both as a Drama and an Illustration of Life*, Berlin, 1871.

On *Sonnet viii.* 13 see G. C. Moore Smith, *Mod. Lang. Quart.* vii. 159.

On the *Tractate on Education* add F. N. Scott, *Simple, Sensuous, and Passionate*, *MLN.* v. 230 f., and Henneman's comment, vi. 124; and Zelle's *Remarks and Translation*, Progr., Coeslin, 1858.

To the references on Metre may be added: R. Bridges, *Miltonic Elision*, *Athen.*, Jan. 16-30, 1904, pp. 83 f., 113 f., 147 f.; the second edition of Bridges and Stone's *Prosody*, 1901; W. H. Browne, *Milton's Iambic Trimeter*, *Nation* lxxiv. 406; B. A. P. van Dam and C. Stoffel, on synizesis, in their *Chapters on English Printing, Prosody, and Pronunciation*, Heidelberg, 1902, pp.



114-206; W. Thomas's reply to Omond, *Mod. Lang. Rev.* v. 107-11, and Omond's rejoinder, p. 112.

To the General Criticism we may add the following: H. Ahn, John Milton's Leben und poetische Werke, Progr., Eupen, 1862; L. Cooper, Dryden and Shelley on M., *MLN.* xxiii. 93; Herbert E. Cory, Spenser, the School of the Fletchers, and Milton, Univ. of California *Publ. in Mod. Phil.* ii. 311-73 (rev. in *Athen.*, July 27, 1912, p. 85); H. Fernow, Milton's Letters of State, Progr., Hamburg, 1903; T. W. Haight, M. and Du Bartas, *Nation* xcii. 59; J. R. Harris, Early Editions of the Centones and Traces of Their Use by Milton, in his Homeric Centones and the Acts of Pilate, London, 1898, pp. 19-33; O. Kuhns, Dante's Influence on Milton (see p. 68) reprinted in his Dante and the English Poets from Chaucer to Tennyson, New York, 1904, pp. 79-104; M. S. Leather, Pope as a Student of M., *Engl. Stud.* xxv. 398-410; A. H. Mabley, Milton's Latin Poems, *Western Reserve Univ. Bulletin*, n.s. ii. 2. 49-72 (1899); J. W. Mackail, in his Springs of Helicon, pp. 137-204 (1909); F. A. March, Studies in the Vocabularies of the English Poets, *Proc. Am. Phil. Assn.* xxi. xxx f. (1890); Meredith's verses, *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, 1908, pp. 354 f.; T. Paur, Vergleichende Bemerkungen über Dante, M. und Klopstock, Progr., Neisse, 1847; I. Schmidt, Milton's Jugendjahre und Jugendwerke, *Sammlung wissensch. Vorträge*, N. F. xi. 99-134 (1896); E. M. Thompson, The Tercentenary of M., *Athen.*, May 30, 1908, p. 671; Sir A. W. Ward, on same, *Proc. Brit. Acad.* iii. 213-25; J. E. Wells, J. Thomson and M., *MLN.* xxiv. 60 f.

No attempt has been made by Professor Thompson to handle the bibliography of foreign translations of Milton. Such a list would of course be of great service in indicating the extent of Milton's influence on the Continent.

Two typographical errors have been noted: P. 16, l. 6, Miss Lockwood's article appeared in *MLN.* xxv. 201-5. P. 68, last line, Hales's art. in *Mod. Phil.* ends at p. 144.

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*THE RISE OF ENGLISH LITERARY PROSE.* By George Philip Krapp. Professor of English in Columbia University. New York. Oxford University Press. 1915.

Professor Krapp's book is an informing one and will be appreciated by students who are seeking a definite and systematic analysis of the records of English prose between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. Its analysis of the field is cross-sectional. Aside from the introductory chapters on the prose of the fourteenth century and on Wyclif, and the concluding chapter

on Bacon, it traces the subject matter along six lines of cleavage, as follows: "Controversy and Free Speech," "The Pulpit," "Bible and Prayer Book," "The Courtly Writers," "History and Antiquity," "The Modernists." The advantage of such a plan for displaying the historical development of literary types is obvious. This particular material has never been systematized to the same extent. Some of Professor Krapp's sections do correspond pretty closely to certain chapters in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*—that on the Pulpit almost exactly to the twelfth chapter of the fourth volume, that on History and Antiquity to the fifteenth chapter of the third volume. But the substance of the other chapters would have to be pieced together from three or four different places in the *Cambridge History*. Professor Krapp's classification supplies a unifying idea with which to hold together the diverse production of a literature which has not yet become aware of literary tradition. His aim—and this is the guiding motive and distinguishing feature of the book—is to describe how the English language worked out a medium of artistic expression suitable to the various spheres and interests of prose. He is concerned with "the effort of the English people to find for itself the golden means of expression between ephemeral colloquial discourse and the special and often highly conventionalized forms of poetic expression." The record of this effort begins appropriately enough in the fourteenth century, but the closing limit is placed in the first quarter of the seventeenth century somewhat arbitrarily, though Professor Krapp seeks to justify his procedure in principle.

The critical qualities of this book are of a high order. Its judgments are throughout sane and balanced. Professor Krapp arrives at his opinions independently. He has read everything that he writes about—the dull and the attractive alike—and he registers his opinions calmly and fairly. The result is often a juster estimate of many books which the average literary historian overlooks or dismisses with a slighting reference because they no longer interest the generation for which the critic writes. An illustration of this virtue of historical sympathy is to be found in what he says about the popularity of the Spaniard Guevara among the Elizabethans: "The modern reader may sniff at the moral platitudes it contains, but a neatly dressed sentiment was as interesting in the sixteenth century as a cleverly turned situation in the plot of a novel today" (p. 315). It is true that Professor Krapp does not escape the temptation to give undue emphasis to less important figures so as sometimes to produce a blurring of the relief, but in the main his estimates are not only adequate but well proportioned. The author gives proof of his scholarly industry as well as his critical discrimination in establishing that the latter part of Hall's Chronicle is the work of another writer

than Hall, probably Richard Grafton.<sup>1</sup> In the expository style of his book Professor Krapp follows the soundest principles. He takes no information for granted and writes in a free, straightforward manner, without effort and without the kind of allusiveness for which a book like this offers many opportunities. His method contributes greatly to the general usefulness of the volume.

I have said that the purpose of the book is to trace the formation of English prose style. The expressive power of any language is of course principally conditioned by the scope of its vocabulary. It is fundamentally a matter of the discovery of words and their adaptation by repeated experiments to the expression of the widest possible range of ideas and sentiments, in as many shadings as human thought can sustain. Conscious stylists have commonly centered their attention on the search for the right word, "le mot juste," and the theorist also has sought in his analysis to ascertain the characteristic features of vocabulary which constitute the essence of a given style. When it comes to a more or less philological discussion of the development of English literary expression during the sixteenth century, the expansion of the word-treasure is naturally the most conspicuous feature. Professor Krapp's classification of his material is made to bring out in an interesting way the relation between certain types of subject matter and certain characteristic vocabularies. He describes the direct, popular style which prevailed in preaching and controversial writing before the end of the sixteenth century, and its antithesis in the ornate, far-fetched diction of the courtly writers; and he traces the conflict of these two elements throughout the century. Questions of diction greatly agitated the scholars and men of letters from the time of the celebrated Cambridge group—Cheke, Ascham, and Wilson—until Bacon and Ben Jonson disposed of them with lordly gesture. These questions are familiar to the student through a variety of sources, but to them Professor Krapp allows more detailed discussion than is to be found in any handbook, and he sets forth their significance more clearly than is usual.

After vocabulary, syntax is the most important consideration in the analysis of prose, and with syntax are bound up the very delicate and elusive questions of rhythm. Certain syntactic features of Elizabethan prose have always been familiar matter for comment,—the Euphuistic sentence-patterns, the Chinese-box construction of the sentences in Sidney's *Arcadia*, and the constant striving toward the periodic or Ciceronian which in Hooker attains as close to perfection as is possible in English.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The detailed evidence for this assertion has been presented by Professor Krapp in the *Modern Language Notes* for March, 1916.

<sup>2</sup> The supremacy of Hooker from this point of view we are ready to maintain in spite of Professor Krapp's opinion that "not before the prose of Milton



Professor Krapp's description of all these phenomena is very good, and he has made some observations of his own in the analysis of Biblical and liturgical prose (particularly the latter) that are admirably instructive. But on this point something remains to be said. The indebtedness of the English sentence to its foreign models is such, that it would perhaps be no exaggeration to assert that English writers learned to construct sentences precisely as they learned to construct sonnets, that they learned to manage the fall of a phrase in the same way as they learned to manage a caesura in a line of blank verse. If the imitation was less conscious, it was hardly less real.

That English did not learn to construct sentences independently is almost subject to demonstration. Follow the course of Anglo-Saxon from the formless accumulation of clauses in the Chronicle through the halting translations of Alfred's time till you get to the scholarly Aelfric composing his smooth and well-shaped sentences in transparent adherence to his Latin models. The tradition of English prose is broken at the Conquest, and in the centuries following there are only sporadic efforts at vernacular prose by scholars to whom Latin is as a native tongue—sometimes moderately successful, like Wyclif's, sometimes naïve in their absurdity, like Thomas Usk's *Testament of Love*, sometimes painful in their Latin contortion, like Reginald Pecock's *Repressor*. Before the Renaissance, before the advent of Ciceronianism, before the passionate and intelligent appreciation of the rhetorical art of the ancients was diffused among scholars, imitation of Latin was merely mechanical, and from the artistic point of view almost a total failure. It is no accident that it is a member of the first group of great English humanists who composed the first work in English distinguished for the artistic regularity of its prose, the *Life of Richard III*; for whoever may have been the original author of the *Life*, there is no doubt that we owe the English version to Sir Thomas More.

I repeat then that we owe the form of our sentences, and not only that, but the cadence of our phrases, to the literatures to which the writers of prose in the sixteenth century went to school. I think it is not fanciful to perceive in the prose of that time the notes characteristic of several distinct Latin styles—the Senecan as well as the Ciceronian—and in addition the movements characteristic of French, of Italian, and of Hebrew. All these models undergo a certain modification to bring them into harmony with the native idiom, but nevertheless they preserve some of their essential distinctions. If the sentences in the Book of Common Prayer have a different cadence from those of the Psalms in the

Authorized Version, it is because in one case the translators succeeded in reproducing the periodic movement and rounded rhythms of the Latin, while in the other they caught the more vigorous pulsations of the simple Hebrew phrases. I think that the rhythmic qualities of Malory's prose are directly attributable to his French exemplars and that the difference between the prose of Sidney's *Apologie for Poetry* and that of his *Arcadia* is conditioned according to the presence in his consciousness of a model of Latin or of Italian prose.

It is in this direction that Professor Krapp's treatment of sixteenth century prose will bear elaboration. To take into account more fully the syntactic and rhythmic elements would lead to a more systematic discrimination and a more accurate appraisal of the humanistic and courtly writers—Caxton, Cheke, Ascham, Wilson, Berners, North, Lyly, Sidney—grouped in the sixth chapter of his book. At least three tendencies may be distinguished among the writers here associated, and these tendencies are represented roughly by the currents of stylistic influence flowing into England from the classics, from French literature, and from Italian. Professor Krapp's discussion recognizes only the influence of the classics in this group of writers, and even this element insufficiently. We cannot assent to the statement that Sir John Cheke's one considerable English work, the *Hurt of Sedition*, is written in a "simple, unmannered style" (p. 292). The treatise may be opened almost at random for examples of antithesis and balance and other devices and ornaments which are eloquent of Cheke's respect for the artificial rhetoric of antiquity and of his effort to domesticate it in the vernacular. These two passages are fairly typical of the tone of Cheke's prose:

"Reioise, that we haue bene neither partners of your doings, nor conspirers of your counsels . . . By beholding the filth of your fault, we might iustlie for offense abhorre you like rebels, whom else by nature we loue like Englishmen. And so for ourselves, we haue great cause to thanke God, by whose religion and holie word dailie taught us, we learne not onelie to feare him trulie, but also to obeie our king faithfullie, and to serve in our vocation like subiects honostlie. And as for you, we haue suerlie iust cause to lament you as brethren, and yet iuster cause to rise against you as enimies, and most iust cause to overthrow you as rebels. In the which dooing ye have first faulted grievously against God, next offended unnaturalie our souereigne lord, thirdlie troubled miserablie the whole common-wealth, undoone cruellie manie an honest man, and brought in an utter miserie both to us the king's subiects, and to your selues being false rebels. And yet ye pretend that partlie for God's cause, and partlie for the common-wealth's sake ye doo arise, when as your selues cannot denie; but ye that seeke in word God's cause, doo break in deed God's commandments; and ye that seeke the common-

wealth, haue destroyed the commonwealth: and so ye marre that ye would make, and brake that ye would amend because ye neither seeke anie thing rightlie, nor would anie thing orderlie," *Holinshead's Chronicle*, ed. 1808. III, 987-988.

"But what counsell taketh place, where sturdinesse is lawe and churlish answers be counted wisdom? Who can persuade where treason is above reason, and might ruleth right, and it is had for lawfull whatsoever is lustfull, and commotioners are better than commissioners, and common wo is named common-wealth? Haue ye not broken his lawes, disobeied his counsell, rebelled against him? And what is the common-wealth worth, when the law which is indifferent for all men, shall be wilfullie and spitefullie broken of head-strong men, that seeke against laws to order lawes; that there may take place not what consent of wise men hath appointed, but what the lust of rebels hath determined? What unthriftinesse is in ill seruants, wickednes in unnatural children, sturdinesse in unrulie subiects, crueltie in fierce enimies, wildnes in beastlie minds, pride in disdainful harts; that floweth now in you, which haue fled from housed conspiracies, to incamped robberies, and are better contented to suffer famine, cold, trauell to glut your lusts than to liue in quietnesse to saue the common-wealth, and thinke more libertie in wilfullnesse, than wisdom in dutifulnesse, and so run headlong not to the mischief of others but to the destruction of your selues and undo by follie that ye intend by mischief, neither seeing how to remedie that ye iudge faultie nor willing to saue your selues from miserie: which stif-neckednesse cannot doo, but honestie of obedience must frame." *Ibid.* 991-992.

No more does it satisfy us to have Sidney's *Apologie for Poetry* characterized as "familiar and unmannered" (p. 364). It is not the occasional artificialities that betray the classical inspiration of this essay, but the combination of a stately grace of movement with regularity of sentence structure; these qualities are responsible for the suggestions of the Dialogue of Plato and the Ciceronian cadences of which Professor Krapp makes mention.

The striking difference in syntactic style between the *Apologie for Poetry* and the *Arcadia* brings into relief a second important factor in Elizabethan prose. According to Professor Krapp the synthetic sentence-structure of the *Arcadia* was deliberately cultivated by Sidney as appropriate to the large scale on which the work was planned. If this is meant to imply that Sidney was the originator of this loosely complicated style of sentence composition, then it leaves out of account certain well known translations from the Italian, such as Fenton's *Bandello* and Sir Thomas Hoby's version of Castiglione's *Courtier*. The latter book, by the way, is too fine a piece of prose to deserve to be completely overlooked in Professor Krapp's history. Both Fenton and Hoby show unmis-



takably in their sentence-structure the influence of their Italian originals. Italian prose, beginning with Boccaccio, in imitation of the periodic structure of Latin, had domesticated the involved type of sentence and had endowed it with considerable grace and fluency. The form of these sentences in Italian is not absolutely periodic but is marked by an elaborate serpentine movement, sometimes coiling toward the head, as periodic sentences do, but often winding laxly along and terminating with the tail at a considerable distance from the mouth. In its English adaptation the tendency to looseness is greater than in Italian. But even in its English form it is susceptible of a great variety of cadences and responds to the divers requirements of prose more adaptably than either the stiff movement which the age commonly associated with its classical models or than the more primitive sentence-structure which is characteristic of the contemporary prose of the other European languages. When restrained within bounds, as it normally is in Hoby's *Courtier*, this many-folded sentence, in its appeal to the mind and ear, leaves nothing to be desired. With less artistic control, as it is commonly handled by Fenton, it is likely to lose itself in the sands. Of the movement of Hoby's prose the following passage near the beginning of the second book offers a favorable illustration:

"Therefore the sweete flowers of delite vade away in that season out of oure heartes, as the leaves fall from the trees after harvest, and in steade of open and cleere thoughtes there entreth cloudy and troublous heavinesse accompanied with a thousand heart grieffes: so that not only the bloude, but the mind is also feble, neither for the former pleasures receyveth it anye thyng elles but a fast memorye and the print of the beloved time of tender age, which whan we have upon us, the heaven, the earth, and ech thing to our seeming rejoiceth and laugheth alwayes about our eyes, and in thought (as in a savoury and plesant gardein) florisheth the sweete spring time of mirth, so that peradventure it were not unprofitable, when now in the colde season, the Son of our lief (taking away from us our delites) beginneth to drawe toward the Weste, to lose in like case therewithal the mindfulnessse of them, and to find out (as Themistocles sayth) an art to teach us to forget: for the sences of our bodye are so deceyvable, that they beguile many times also the judgment of the mind. Therefore (me thinke) olde men be like unto them, that saylinge in a vessell out of a haven, behoulde the ground with their eyes, and the vessell to ther seeminge standeth styll and the shore goeth: and yet is it cleane contrarye, for the haven, and likewise the time and pleasures continue still in their astate, and we with the vessell of mortalitie flying away, go one after an other through the tempestuous sea that swalloweth up and devoureth al thinges, neither is it granted us at any time to come on shore again, but alwaies beaten with contrary windes, at the end we break our

vessell at some rocke. Because therefore the minde of old age is without order subject to many pleasures, it can not taste them: and even as to them that be sycke of a feaver whan by corrupt vapours they have lost theyr taste, all wines appear moste bitter, though they be precious and delicate in dede: so unto olde men for there unaptness (wherein notwithstanding desier fayleth them not) pleasures seeme without taste and colde, much differing from those they remember they have proved in foretyme, although the pleasures in themselves be the selfe same." ed. Raleigh (Tudor Translations), p. 104.

Almost any page of Fenton's *Bandello* will supply a sentence profuse in relative clauses and participial phrases. But we need not seek further than the beginning of the first Discourse for an illustration:

"In the Recewles or comentories of Tuskan, I find special remembraunce of a mortall grudge betwene ii of the moste noble houses in Syenna, called Salimbino and Montanino: whereof, as bothe the one and other were of semblable reputation for honour and height of estate, so were they of equall rule and authoritie in the government of their publike weale. Whose parentes, albeit, and predecessours, were of singler commendation, by the vertue of mutuall societie whiche appeared so entyer and indissoluble betwene them by manye discentes, that the writers in that age douted not to terme theym no lesse true myrroers and patterns of perfect frendship than either Horestes or Pylladas, which the Romain oratour makes so famous by peculiar commendation: yet, according to the opinion of Aristotle, as children commonly do rather excede their fathers in vice then resemble them in vertue, so the posteretyes of these noble houses, in place to persever in the vertue of their parentes or treade in the steppes of their aunciente amitye, in the verie entrey of their flourishing time, when al men were in expectacion of verteous frutes like to their fathers, withe hope to confirme the league of their long frendshippe, they embrased sinister occasions of civil mutines, grounding great quarrels upon slender or smal substance, with a disposition and equall desyre the one to pursewe the other wyth suche fatal hate and unnaturall tyranny, that as the one was almost brought even to the brinke of utter desolation of his house and revenue, so the other (triumphing, albeit, in the conquest of his enemye) escaped not only without perentory perill of himselfe, and losse of a number of his deare kinsmen and companions of race, but also was enjoyned to so hard a penance that he lyved alwayes after in the continuall grudge and desdaine of the people: the viewe of whose malice, preferring a wonderful remorse of conscience, with remembrance of the fowlenes of the facte passed, pursuwed hym with alarms of unnaturall and frettinge disquiet of minde, even untill the last separation of his soule and body." ed. R. L. Douglas (Tudor Translations) I, 20.

The resemblance between this style of sentence structure and that of Sidney's *Arcadia* scarcely requires to be insisted on. Is it far-fetched to suppose that it was a familiarity with the models of Italian prose that was responsible for the form of the sentences in Sidney's romance, whether or not the earlier English translations from the Italian contributed to the result?

Distinctly different in structure and rhythm from the prose just described, is the prose which was written by Lord Berners and Sir Thomas North. Professor Krapp's estimate of the intrinsic virtues of style in these writers is comparatively low. Concerning Berners's translation of Froissart he says that it followed the "simple, unmannered style" of the original, that "stylistically there is little that is distinctive or significant in the book. It follows in the main the tradition of the later medieval prose romance, and though the writing is more virile than that of Malory, it is of the same kind, only cruder and less evenly maintained" (p. 317). Of North he says that he translated the formal sentences of Amyot in an easier and more colloquial vein. "His sentences are prevailingly long, though shorter than Amyot's, and variously membered, but they are not put together in regular periods. They are very loosely constructed, sometimes without regard for strict grammatical coherence, though not without a feeling for cadence which saves them from the amorphous, sprawling structure of the medieval style. The rhythm of the prose of the translation is loose, but not naïve" (p. 323). The association in the first of these quotations of Berners with Malory, and the analysis of North's prose in the second, both suggest a real connection between these writers. In spite of the fact that their originals wrote strikingly different French styles, there is a strong resemblance in the style of the translations of Berners and North. What is the cause of this similarity? It is that there had developed in England a traditional style of courtly prose having its origin in French courtly prose. This style is deficient in a feeling for the sentence, its syntax is irregular, but it has a sense for the intonation of the phrase, for a pleasant and regular cadence obtained by the distribution of accents in the phrase, and a kind of antiphonal correspondence of accents in successive phrases. It is this pronounced balancing of stresses which is the element of cohesion between the otherwise loosely jointed members of a sentence in Malory or Berners. It makes for a style which is to be appreciated by the ear more than by the eye. Its essential trait has been admirably described by Mr. W. P. Ker. "The grammar of Lord Berners," he says in his introductory remarks on that writer in the Tudor translations, "pays attention to the right spacing of phrases according to their weighty syllables: when this is assured, there is less need for the grammatical complication of clauses in their right order and degree; the easy constructions of the old style leave it free to the author to tune his



syllables to his own mind. The grammatical patterns of the classical schools has little attraction for him when he is taken up with the other device, of free enunciation, with no broken, confused or jarring sounds to break the tenor of it." (p. 21). In illustration of these characteristics we may quote the same passage which Mr. Ker uses in his introduction:

"Than tydinges came to Aymergot Marcell, where he was purchasyng of frendes to have reysed the siege before the fortresse of Vandoys, that it was gyven up. Whan he herde therof he demaunded how it fortuneted: it was shewed hym howe it was by reason of a skrymysshe, and by the issuing out of his uncle Guyot du Sall unadvysedly. Ah, that olde traytour, quod Aymergot; by saynte Marcell, if I had hym here nowe, I shulde sle hym with myne owne handes; he hath dishonoured me and all my companyons. At my departyng I straitely enjoyned hym that for no maner of assaute or skrymysshe made by the Frenchmen he shulde in no wyse open the barryers, and he hath done the contrary: this damage is nat to be recovered, nor I wote nat whether to go. They of Caluset and they of Donsac wyll kepe the peace, and my companyons be spredde abrode lyke men dyscomfyted; they dare never assebmle agayne together; and though I had them togyther, yet I wote nat whyder to bring them. Thus, all thyng consydred, I am in a harde parte, for I have gretly displeased the French kynge, the duke of Berrey, and the lordes of Auvergne, and all the people of the countrey, for I have made them warre the peace duryng: I had trusted to have won, but I am now in a great adventure to lese, nor I wote nat to whom to resort to axe counsaile. I wolde nowe that I and my goodes with my wyfe were in Englande; there I shulde be in surety; but howe shulde I get thyder and cary all my stufe with me? I shulde be robbed twenty tymes or I coulde gette to the see, for all the passages in Poictou, in Rochell, in France, in Normandy and in Picardy are straitely kept, it wyll be hard to scape fro takyng; and if I be taken, I shall be sent to the Frenche kynge, and so I shall be loste and all myne. I thynke the surest way for me were to drawe to Burdeaulx, and lytell and lytell to get my good thyder, and to abyde there tyll the warre renewe agayne, for I have good hoope that after this treuce warre shall be open agayne bytwene Englande and Fraunce. Thus Aymergot Marcell debated the matter for hymselfe; he was hevy and sorrowfull, and wyste nat what waye to take, outhur to recover some fortresse in Auvergne, or els to go to Burdeaux, and to send for his wife thider, and for his goodes lytell and lytell secretly. If he hadde done so, he had taken the surest waye; but he dyde contrary, and therby lost all, lyfe and godes. Thus fortune payeth the people whan she hath sette them on the highest parte of her whele, for sodainly she reverseth them on the lowest parte, ensample by this Aymergotte. It was sayde he was well worthe a

hundred thousande frankes, and all was lost on a daye; wherefore I may well saye that fortune hath played her pagiaunt with hym, as she hath done with many mo, and shall do." p. xxii-xxiii.

That this is not the native tone of medieval English prose may be ascertained from a comparison with the best vernacular literature—the prose of Wyclif or of Tyndale. Whatever virtues of direct simplicity and natural vigor these may have, a marked sense of cadence is not among their distinctions. But this sense does appear in Sir John Maundeville and in Malory, in Berners and in North, in a way to establish a bond of kinship among them, and in the first three at least there can be no doubt of the influence of the French models. By what subtle, half or wholly unconscious process, this quality was adapted and acclimated in England, the psychologist may explain.<sup>3</sup> It can scarcely have been done with the deliberateness of the Renaissance imitation of Latin periods. The fact itself, in the absence of conscious contemporary theorizing, is not absolutely demonstrable. But the family resemblance between these works of French inspiration is a feature worthy the attention of the literary historian. It suggests that a good deal of light might be shed on the development of Elizabethan prose by a careful study of the translations of the period in relation to their originals.

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<sup>3</sup> A remark of St. Evremont's is worthy of notice in this connection. In praising the translations of d' Ablancourt he says: "Every word is there measured for the exactness of periods, without the stile's appearing less natural; and yet a syllable more or less would ruin, I know, any Harmony, which is as agreeable to the ear as that of verse. But, in my opinion, he holds the obligation of these advantages to the discourse of the ancients, which rules his own; for as soon as he returns from their genius to his own, as in his Prefaces and Letters, he loseth the best part of all these beauties: And he who is an admirable author, whilst he is animated with the spirit of the Greeks and Latins, becomes but a moderate writer, when he is not supported, but by himself. 'Tis that which happens with the greatest part of our Translators." *Essays*, London, 1692, p. 174.

# ÜBER NEUBILDUNGEN BEI ALTNORDISCHEM FRJÓSA UND KJÓSA

Die Umbildung des Präteritums der 2. Ablautsreihe nach dem Muster der reduplizierenden Klasse bei altn. *frjósa*, *kjósa* bleibt noch immer ungenügend erklärt. Ursprünglich gingen diese beiden Verba regelrecht nach der 2. Ablautsreihe. Später aber traten im Prät. nach dem Muster der reduplizierenden Verba mit anlautendem (= reduplizierendem) *s* oder *r* in der Stammsilbe (so z.B. *sá*, *sera*, *sórum*, *sáinn*; *gróa*, *grera*, *grórum*, *gróinn*) Analogieformen ein; also

		<i>frjósa</i>	
	<i>fraus</i>	* <i>fruRum</i>	* <i>froRinn</i>
	<i>fraus</i>	<i>frusom</i> (mit anal. <i>s</i> )	<i>frosenn</i> (mit anal. <i>s</i> )
aisl. alt	<i>fróra</i>	<i>frórum</i>	<i>frórenn</i>
aisl.	<i>frera</i>	<i>frerom</i>	<i>frerenn</i>
und		<i>kjósa</i>	
	<i>kaus</i>	* <i>kuRum</i>	* <i>koRinn</i>
	<i>kaus</i>	<i>kusom</i> (mit anal. <i>s</i> )	<i>kosenn</i> (mit anal. <i>s</i> )
aisl. alt	<i>kóra</i>	<i>kórom</i> , <i>kurom</i>	<i>kórenn</i> , <i>korenn</i>
aisl.	<i>kera</i>	<i>kerom</i>	<i>kerenn</i>

Auf Grund des lautgerechten *r* (aus \**R*) im Prät plu. (\**furum*, \**kurum*) steht es fest, dass die Umbildung nach den Formen der Reduplikationsklasse mit anlautendem (=reduplizierendem) *s* oder *r* in der Stammsilbe vom Prät. plu. ausgegangen ist, dass daher die neuen schwachen Formen des Prät. sg. den Pluralformen nachgebildet sind;<sup>1</sup> also z.B. *kórom* : *kóra* nach *sórum* : *sóra*, *sera*, wonach auch *kera* sg. und mit gegenseitigem Ausgleich auch *kerom* in Plu.

Nach der herkömmlichen Ansicht sollen die Pluralformen, wonach die Singularformen umgebildet sind, lautgesetzlich entwickelt sein. Wenn diese Annahme richtig ist, so lassen sich die schwachen Formen des Sg. ohne weiteres erklären.

Die Pluralformen *frórom*, *kórom* lassen sich nach Noreen, Heusler, Holthausen u.a. (Wimmer gibt überhaupt keine Erklärung dafür) so erklären, dass das ursprüngliche *ũ* der Stammsilbe

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Noreen, *Allisl. Grammatik*<sup>3</sup>, Halle, 1903, §478, Anm. 1; Heusler, *Allisl. Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg, 1913, §307, 4; Holthausen, *Allisl. Elementarbuch*, Weimar, 1895, §235; Wimmer, *Altn. Grammatik*, Halle, 1871, §156, u.a.



(\**fruRum*, \**kuRum*) durch das unmittelbar folgende neue *r* (also durch *R*—'Trübung') zuerst zu *ø* gebrochen (bei Holthausen 'getrübt,' bei Heusler 'gesenkt'), und dann weiter gleichfalls durch das neue zitternde *r*(*R*) zu *φ* (also durch *R*—Umlaut) palatalisiert oder 'umgelautet' worden sei.

Noreen (*Altisl. Grammatik*,<sup>3</sup> §68, 3) scheint diese Brechung ('Trübung') des *ū* zu *ø* vor neuem *r* ohne weiteres anzunehmen, denn er setzt die Formen *frøro*, *køro* dem Part. prät. *frørenn*, *kørenn* samt einer Menge Substantiva und Infinitiva mit -*ør*- in der Stammsilbe gleich, wo ein \**ǣ* (bezw. \**ø*) der Endsilbe die Brechung *ū* zu *ø* bewirkt haben muss. Hingegen bemerkt er<sup>2</sup> (§108, 1, 2), dass beim Schwund eines Nasals oder eines *h* die Brechung *ū* zu *ø* nicht stattfand, wenn ein *ī* oder *ǣ* in der gleich folgenden Silbe zur Zeit des Schwundes gestanden hatte. Demnach sieht man also nicht recht ein, warum ein *ū* vor neuem *r*, falls ein *u* in der gleich folgenden Silbe stand, Brechung zu *ø* erleiden sollte, wie z.B. \**kuRum* > \**koRum* > *kørom* (vgl. Heusler, §60, *Der R—Umlaut*). Es liegt viel näher anzunehmen, 1) dass sich das *ū* der Stammsilbe durch die Wirkung des *u* der Endsilbe lautgerecht hielt, 2) dass deshalb das *φ* in *kørom* nicht auf ein früheres \**ǣ* zurückzuführen, sondern einfach durch Analogiewirkung zu erklären ist. Wenn *sukku* : *sokkinn* lautgerecht ist, wie es Noreen (§108, 1) annimmt, indem es beim Schwund des Nasals auf den Vokal der Endsilbe ankam, ob sich das *ū* des Stammes hielt oder zu *ø* gebrochen wurde (also \**sunkum* > *sukku*, aber \**sunkanR* = got. *sugqans* > *sokkinn*), weshalb sollte man denn nicht \**kurum* : *kørin* (aus \* *koRanR*) dem *sukku* : *sokkinn* gleich stellen?

Um das *φ* in *kørum*, *frørum* auf lautgerechtem Wege zu erklären, muss man ein für das *φ* früher stehendes \**ǣ* voraussetzen, denn der *R*—Umlaut von *u* ist nicht *φ*, sondern *y*. Im Nord.-Westgerm. fand lautgerecht beim Part. prät. infolge des *a* der Endsilbe Brechung des alten *ū* (got. *ū*) vor neuem *r* (got. *s*) zu *ø*

<sup>2</sup> Noreen<sup>3</sup> §108, *u* wird vorliterarisch zu *o* (bei dehnung zu *ó*) in folgenden Fällen:

1. Wenn unmittelbar nach dem vokal ein nasal geschwunden ist—jedoch nicht wenn in der folgenden silbe ein *ī* oder *ǣ* zur zeit des nasalschwundes stand.

2. Vor (später geschwundenem) *h*, ausser wenn in der folgenden silbe ein *ī* oder *ǣ* zur zeit des überganges stand.

statt; daher nord. \**kuRanR* (got. *kusans*) > \**koRinn* und dann weiter mit R-Umlaut (d.h. Palatalisierung) des *ø* zu *ø* > *kþrinn* (ebenso *frþrinn*). Hier liegt dem für das *ø* früher stehenden \**ø* der *a*—Umlaut zu grunde, wie die Verba ohne neues *r* in der Stammsilbe lehren; so z.B.

<i>driupa</i>	<i>draup</i>	<i>drupum</i>	<i>dropinn</i>
<i>brióta</i>	<i>braut</i>	<i>brutum</i>	<i>brotinn</i>

im Prät. plu. dagegen hielt sich das *ü* der Stammsilbe im Einklang mit dem *u* der Endung. Man darf daher mit Sicherheit behaupten, dass das *ø* in *frþro*, *kþro* nichts für die 'Trübung' des *ü* zu *ø* beweist. Diese Behauptung steht ja im Einklang mit der Annahme, dass altes *ü*, *ý*, wenn es auch schon im Urgerm. vor *r* und vor *h* zu *ø*, *ě* gebrochen war, doch im Nord.—Westgerm. wieder zu *ü*, *í* (d.h. *neuem* oder *nord.—westgerm.* *ü*, *í*) umgewandelt wurde, wenn ein *i* oder ein *u* in der gleich folgenden Silbe stand oder gestanden hatte; z.B. ahd. *fihu* aus \**fēhu* (got. *fathu*) und altn. *durum* Dat. plu. aus \**dōrum* (got. *daúr*). Dass *í* und *ü* schon im Urgerm. vor *r* und *h* zu *ě* und *ø* gebrochen wurde, hat L. F. Löffler in seiner jetzt fast in Vergessenheit geratenen Abhandlung, "Bidrag till läran om i-ömljudet" (*Nord. Tidskr. för filol. og pædag.*, Ny række. II, 1875-76) schon erkannt.<sup>3</sup>

Wenn nun das Nordische in bezug auf die Umwandlung des alten *ü* zu *ø* vor *altem r* und *h* auf gleichem Fusse mit dem Westgerm. stand, so liegt der Schluss nahe, dass das Nordische in bezug auf die Umwandlung des alten *ü* zu *ø* vor *neuem r* gleichfalls auf gleichem Fusse mit dem Westgerm. stand, denn im Ostgerm. kam das neue *r* nicht vor. Man beachte, dass im Westgerm. bei der 2. Ablautsreihe das *ü* der Stammsilbe selbst vor neuem *r*

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Professor Collitz Rezension von Axel Kock's Schrift, *Umlaut und Brechung im Altschwedischen*, (*M.L.Ns.*, S. 40-44, Jan. 1917). Hier hebt Professor Collitz hervor, dass im Nord.—Westgerm. *ä* (bezw. *ø*), *í* und *ü* in Endsilben stets *doppelte* Wirkung ausübten. Er sagt nämlich (S. 44): "Daher z.B. Westgerm. (ahd.) *biris* für got. *batris* (d.i. *bēris*) und Westg. *neman* für got. *niman*, neben Westgerm. (ahd.) *nimis*=got. *nimis* und Westgerm. *beran* für=got. *batran* (d.i. *bēran*). Bei *nimis* und *beran* lag im Westgermanischen kein Grund zur Änderung vor, da das Gleichgewicht, hier schon im Gotischen vorhanden war, wohl aber bei got. *niman* und *batris* (= *bēris*), wo Stammvokal und Endung im Gotischen (wie im Ugermanischen) auf ungleicher Stufe standen."

Dasselbe gilt natürlich von einem *u* der Stammsilbe.

sich hielt, wenn ein *u* der Endsilbe folgte (d.h. im *Prät. plu.*), dagegen in *ö* verwandelt wurde vor einem ursprünglichen \**ū* der Endung (d.h. im *Part. prät.*, vgl. got. *kusans*); so z.B. neben

Nord.	<i>kjósa</i>	* <i>kaus</i>	<i>kþrum</i>	<i>kþrinn</i>
Angs.	<i>céosan</i>	<i>céas</i>	<i>curon</i>	<i>coren</i>
Alts.	<i>keosan</i>	<i>kôs</i>	<i>kurun</i>	<i>gikoran</i>
Ahd.	<i>kiosan</i>	<i>kôs</i>	<i>kurum</i>	<i>gikoran</i>

und neben

Nord.	<i>friósa</i>	* <i>fraus</i>	<i>frþrum</i>	<i>frþrinn</i>
Angs.	<i>fréosan</i>	<i>fréas</i>	<i>fruron</i>	<i>froren</i>
Alts.	<i>far-leosan</i>	<i>-lôs</i>	<i>-lurun</i>	<i>-loran</i>
Ahd.	<i>friosan</i>	<i>frôs</i>	<i>frurum</i>	<i>gifroren</i>

Wenn also das neue *r* im Nord. auch die Kraft hätte, das alte *ū* zu *ö* umzuwandeln (d.h. *R*- 'Trübung'), so könnte sich diese Kraft jedoch nicht geltend machen, wenn ein *u* der Endsilbe folgte. Wenn das *u* der Endsilbe ein *altes* (d.h. *gemeingerm.*) *ö* vor altem *r* im Nord.—Westgerm. wieder in *ū* (d.h. *neues* oder *nord.*—*westgerm.* *ū*) umwandelte, und wenn weiter das Westgerm. keine Spur von der Brechung des alten *ū* zu *ö* vor neuem *r* gegen ein *u* der Endung aufzuweisen hat, so liegt kein zwingender Grund vor, im Nord. die Brechung des *ū* zu *ö* vor neuem *r* gegen ein *u* der Endung anzunehmen. Im Gegenteil darf man ja annehmen, dass im Nord. diese Brechung ebensowenig wie im Westgerm. stattgefunden hat.

Die Annahme, dass das neue *r* überall die sogenannte 'Trübung' auf das unmittelbar vorausgehende *ū* (d.h. *ū* > *ö*) ausübte, lässt sich meiner Ansicht nach nicht aufrecht erhalten. Die Fälle<sup>4</sup> (ausser *frþrum*, *kþrum*), wo nach Holthausen, Heusler u.a. das *R* diese 'Trübung' ausgeübt haben soll, lassen sich ganz gut auf anderem Wege erklären; nämlich, entweder 1) gehören die betreffenden Belege der *ä* (bezw. *ö*) Flexion der Substantiva an, wo das Nord.—Westg. den *a*-Umlaut des *ū* > *ö* regelrecht erlitt, oder 2)

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. Holthausen §27, Heusler §78. Noreen nimmt sonst ganz richtig keine *R*- 'Trübung' an, sondern schreibt die Brechung (*ū* > *ö*) der Wirkung des Vokales der Endsilbe zu (vgl. §108). Bei *frþrum*, *kþrum* hingegen nimmt er offenbar mit Heusler, Holthausen, usw. die *R*- 'Trübung' an, denn das *ö* der Stammsilbe in *frþrum*, *kþrum* lässt sich auf lautlichem Wege nicht anders als durch die Wirkung des *R*-Umlautes von *ö* erklären, und die Formen *frþrum*, *kþrum* setzt er demnach unter die Rubrik—*R*-Umlaut von *o*—(§68, 3).



sie gehören der Klasse der nebenbetonten Wörter (d.h. Präfixe und anderer proklitischer Wörter) an, wo wegen der Schwachtonigkeit das *ü* der Stammsilbe auch vor anderen Konsonanten als *R* zu *ø* wurde.

1) Als Beispiel der 'Trübung' des *ü* vor *R* setzt Holthausen<sup>5</sup> (§27) *frþrum* Prät. plu. dem Substantiv *kþr* n. gleich. Seine Annahme, dass in diesen Fällen das *ü* zu *ø* 'getrübt' wäre (dann weiter durch *R*-Umlaut zu *ø*) will er offenbar durch die Vokalverhältnisse des Westgerm. (Ahd.) begründen, denn er setzt die altn. Formen dem Westgerm. resp. ahd. *frurum* und nhd. *Kur-fürst* gleich. Das altn. *kþr* lässt sich aber nicht mit *frþrum* auf eine Stufe stellen, weil im Nord. das Substantiv *kþr* ein Neutrum *a*-Stamm ist (im Altnorw. kommt ja auch *kos* vor), während im Nhd. das *Kur-* in *Kur-fürst* auf das ahd. *kuri* (*i*-Stamm) zurückzuführen ist. Bei *frþrum*, ahd. *frurum* hingegen lag in beiden Fällen ein *ü* der Endsilbe vor. Das Substantiv *kþr* beweist also nichts für das *ø* in *frþrum*. Vielmehr lässt sich das *ø* in *kþr* (aus früherem *\*kor*) durch die Wirkung des *\*a* der geschwundenen Endsilbe erklären, das stets im Nord.—Westgerm. die Brechung *ü* zu *ø* bewirkte.

2) Ebenso beweist das nord. *ör*(*ór*), *úr*(*úr*), *þr*(*þr*)=got. *uz* (Holthausen<sup>6</sup> §27, Anm.) nichts für die *R*- 'Trübung' des *ü* zu *ø*, weil sich das *ø* auf anderem Wege, nämlich aus dem unbetonten Präfix ganz gut erklären lässt (ebenso *tör-* gegen got. *tuz-*). In schwachtonigen und proklitischen Wörtern geht *ü* nämlich schon vorliterarisch (vgl. Noreen<sup>3</sup> §139, 3) auch vor anderen Konsonanten als *R* in *ø* über; so z.B. vor *n* *mon* (später *mun*), plu. *mono* (*munu*), vor *l* *skolo* (später *skulu*). Als Hilfszeitwörter waren sie ja proklitisch und daher schwachtonig. Weshalb sollte man denn bei *tor-* (got. *tuz-*) und *or-* (got. *uz-*), die auch schwachtonig vorlagen, den Übergang des *ü* zu *ø* der Wirkung des gleich folgenden neuen *r* (*R*) zuschreiben?

<sup>5</sup> Holthausen §27. *Trübung*.

Vor *r*=got. *z* wird—*u* mit Umlaut zu *ø*: *frþrum* wir froren (ahd. *frurum*), inf. *frjósa*, *kþr* Wahl (vgl. *Kur-fürst*) zu *kjósa*.

<sup>6</sup> Holthausen §27. Anm.

Dem got. Präfix *uz-*, *er-*, *ur-* entsprechen die betonte Präpos. *ör*, *úr*, *þr*, *ýr* sowie das unbetonte Präfix *or-*, *ur-*, *þr-* mit gegenseitigen Ausgleichungen.

Auch Heusler stellt (§78) das nebenbetonte Präfix *þr-* wie in *þr-sêkr* ('schuldlos') dem *-þr* in *k-þr-ð* gleich. Das sich aber das *-þr-* in *k-þr-ð* nicht dem *-ðr-* in *þr-sêkr* gleichsetzen lässt, geht nicht nur aus den verschiedenen Accentuierungsverhältnissen der beiden Wörter, sondern auch aus der Wirkung des Vokales der Endsilbe (*þr-* Praefix, *-þr-u-* Verbum) hervor. Die Wirkung des Vokales der Endsilbe zieht Heusler<sup>7</sup> also ganz und gar nicht in Betracht. Unter *R-* Um'aut<sup>8</sup> (§60) setzt er altn. *kþro* dem ahd. *churun* (geradewie Holthausen §27, altn. *frþrum*, ahd. *frurum*) gleich, unter 'Senkung' (§78) aber setzt er altn. *kþro* (mit einem *u* der Endsilbe) dem *þr* (Präfix—ohne Vokal der Endsilbe) gleich. Dass er die Wirkung des Vokales der Endsilbe nicht in Betracht gezogen hat, ergibt sich auch aus seiner Anmerkung zu §78 über die 'Senkung' *ǣ* > *ø*. Hier vergleicht er die neue 'Senkung' vor neuem *r* (*R*) im Nord. mit der alten (d.h. gemeingerm.) 'Senkung' des *ǣ* und *ǣ* im Got. vor altem *r*. Er sagt nämlich: "Vgl. die gotische Senkung *i* > *ai*, *u* > *au* vor *r*. Aber vor altem *r* bleibt *i*, *u*: got. *hitrdeis*, *hirþer* Hirte,' got. *þaurban*, *þurfa* 'bedürfen;'" Aber aisl. *i* und *u* "bleibt" in resp. 1) *hirþer* und 2) *þurfa* infolge der Umwandlungskraft, welche der Vokal der Endsilbe auf den Vokal der Stammsilbe ausübte.

1) *Hirþer*. Altes *ǣ*(indogerm. *\*kerdhā*) blieb im Urgerm. infolge des gleich folgenden *r*, wie das Got. *hitrdeis* lehrt, noch immer unverändert (urgerm. *\*herþja-*). Wegen des *i* (bezw. *j*) der Endsilbe aber wurde im Nord.—Westgerm. dieses *ǣ* in *ǣ* umgelautet, so z.B. nord. *hirþer*, angels. *hierde*, alts. *hirdi*, ahd. *hirti*. Also ist das *ǣ* der Stammsilbe im Nord.—Westgerm. eigentlich nicht "altes," sondern *neues* (d. h. *nord.-westgerm.*) *ǣ*. Das alte *ǣ* "bleibt" daher nicht im Aisl. vor altem *r*, sondern altes *ǣ* wird durch die Wirkung der Endsilbe in *ǣ* umgewandelt.

2) *þurfa*. Altes *ǣ* wurde schon im Urgerm. vor gleich folgendem *r* zu *ø* gebrochen, wie das got. *þaurban* lehrt. Der Stammvokal des Infinitivs der Präterito-Präsentia richtet sich im Germ. nach

<sup>7</sup> Heusler §78. Senkung des *ǣ* > *ē*, des *u* > *o* vor dem jüngeren Zitterlaut Präposition 'aus' > *ør*, als Präfix > *þr* (*R-* Umlaut): *þrsekr* 'schuldlos'; s. *kþro* §60.

<sup>8</sup> Heusler §60. Der *R-* Laut für sich hat unmittelbar vorangehenden Vokal palatalisiert: got. *glas*: urn. *\*glRa* > *gler* 'Glas'; ahd. *churun*: urn. *\*kuRun* > *\*koRu* > *kþro* 'sie koren.'

dem Stammvokal des Prät. plu. des ursprünglich starken Verbuns. Infolge des *u* der Endung im Prät. plu. wurde altes (d.h. gemeingerm.) *ø* im Nord.—Westgerm. zu *ū* umgewandelt; so z.B. gegen got. *þaúrbum*, nord. *þurfum* (inf. *þurfa*), ang. *þurfon* (inf. *þurfan*), alts. *thurðun* (inf. *thurðan*), ahd. *durfun* (inf. *durfan*). Also ist das *ū* im Nord.—Westgerm. eigentlich nicht "altes," sondern *neues* (d.h. nord.—westgerm.) *ū*. Das alte *ū* "bleibt" daher nicht im Aisl. vor altem *r*, sondern altes *ø* wird durch die Wirkung der Endsilbe in *ū* umgewandelt.

Heusler gibt hier schon zu, dass das Nord. in bezug auf die Brechung des *ū* vor altem *r* auf gleichem Fusse mit dem Westgerm. steht, obwohl er das nicht ganz richtig erklärt. Er leugnet hingegen, dass dasselbe von der Brechung des *ū* vor neuem *r* gilt, indem er behauptet, dass im Nord. das *ū* vor neuem *r* trotz des *u* der Endung zu *ø* gebrochen sei (*\*kuRum* > *\*koRum* > *kørom*), während im Westgerm. das *ū* im Einklang mit dem *u* der Endung unberührt bestand (ahd. *churum* : *frurum*, alts. *kurun* : *-lurun*, ang. *curon* : *fruron*, usw.).

Gegen diese neue Brechung ('Trübung') im Nord. spricht also das Zeugnis der westgerm. Sprachen. Auch innerhalb des Nord. selbst liegt kein Fall vor, wo die Brechung *ū* zu *ø* sich nicht auf anderem Wege erklären lässt, nämlich 1) entweder durch die Wirkung des Vokales der Endsilbe, oder 2) durch die Schwachtonigkeit.

Man sehe z.B. die Belege, welche Noreen (<sup>3</sup> §69, 3) als Beispiele des R-Umlautes von *ø* gesammelt hat. Ausser in *frøro*, *røro* lässt sich das für das *ø* vorausgesetzte *\*o* nach Regel 1 erklären:

*frørenn*, *kørenn* aus *\*fruRanR* > *\*froRanR* usw.

*frør* n. a-Stamm.

*kør* n. a-Stamm (altnorw. auch *kos*).

*hrør* n. a-Stamm.

*hrørna* (neben *hriósa*) mit *a* der Endsilbe des Inf.

*snør* (auch *snor*) f. *ø*-Stamm.

*hløra* (neben *hlust* f., wonach *hlusta* inf.); vgl. oben *hrørna*.

*knøre* m. an-Stamm, zu *hniósa*.

*løra* f. *ø*-Stamm; vgl. got. *fra-lusans*.

(*giald*)-*kere* aus *\*-køre* m. an-Stamm.

Unter allen diesen Belegen ist ja keiner, wo ein *i* oder *u* der Endsilbe folgte. Es bleibt also unerklärlich, warum Noreen auch



*frþro*, *kþro* hierher gesetzt hat, es sei denn, dass er ebenfalls an der herkömmlichen Ansicht festhält, dass im Nord. ein *ǣ* (ohne Rücksicht auf die Wirkung des Vokales der Endsilbe) vor neuem *r* zu *ø* gebrochen sei.

Man hat also bisher die Erklärung für das *ø* in *frþrum*, *kþrum*, usw. auf lautlichem Wege gesucht. Man nahm ohne weiteres Übergang des alten *ǣ* zu *ø* an, denn sonst wäre das *ø* nicht erklärlich. Das *ø* nötigte also zur Annahme eines früher stehenden *\*ð*. Den Übergang des *ǣ* zu *ø* schrieb man dann der Wirkung des gleich folgenden neuen *r* zu. Ebenso wie altes (d.h. gemeingerm.) *ī* vor neuem *r* zu *\*ē* (weiter mit Dehnung zu *ē*) gebrochen wurde (vgl. got. *mis*, urn. *\*miR* > *\*meR* > *mēr*), so sei *\*kuRum* zu *\*koR-um* geworden, d.h. *ǣ* erleide vor *R* die Brechung zu *ø* ebenso wie *ī* die Brechung zu *ē*.

Diese Erklärung verstösst gegen die Einheitlichkeit des nord.—westgerm. Vokalsystems, die sich doch auf sehr einfache und natürliche Weise bewahren lässt, wenn man mit Professor Collitz (s. oben, *Fussn.* 3) annimmt, dass (gegen das Gotische) die lautliche Regelung im Nord.—Westgerm. auf der Ausgleichung zwischen Stamm- und Endungsvokalen beruhte.

Ausserdem hat man, um den Übergang des *ǣ* vor *R* zu *ø* zu beweisen, Belege angeführt, die sich nicht mit einander gleich stellen lassen; z.B. das schwachtonige *þr* (Präfix) neben haupttonigem *kþr* n. *a*-Stamm, und neben *kþr* n., wo ein *\*a* der Endung gestanden hatte, das Verbum *kþro* Prät. plu., wo ein *u* (*o*) der Endung stand. Nichts ist also für die *R*- 'Trübung' des *u* zu *o* bewiesen worden.

Die Erklärung für die Formen *frþrum*, *kþrum* ist meiner Ansicht nach überhaupt nicht auf lautlichem Wege zu suchen. Die Ähnlichkeit dieser Formen mit denen der reduplizierenden Verba mit anlautendem (=reduplizierendem) *s* oder *r* in der Stammsilbe, also *frþrum*, *kþrum* gleich *sþrum*, *rþrum*, wo gleichfalls das *ø* der Stammsilbe einem *r* voranging, veranlasste die Umbildung der Singularformen *\*fraus*, *\*kaus* zu *frþra* (*frera*), *kþra* (*kera*). So viel steht ja fest, dass die Singularformen *frþra*, *kþra*, usw. den Pluralformen nachgebildet sind. Im Plu. liegt also der Berührungspunkt der Formen der 2. Ablautsreihe mit denen der Reduplikationsklasse. Das *ø* in *frþrum*, *kþrum* lässt sich meiner Ansicht nach einfach durch die Umbildung des lautgerechten *\*frurum*, *\*kurum* (*kurom* liegt

ja tatsächlich vor) nach dem Muster der Reduplikationsklasse mit anlautendem (=reduplizierendem) *r* in der Stammsilbe. Auf Grund des *s*, *r* der Reduplikation, das sowohl unmittelbar vor als nach dem Stammvokal stand (\**se-zô*, vgl. got. *satsô* > \**seRô* > *sera*, plu. *serum*, *sþrum* zu *sá*; \**re-rô* > *rera*, plu. *rerum*, *rþrum* zu *róa*) wurde \**frurum*, da ein *r* gleichfalls unmittelbar sowohl vor als nach dem Stammvokal stand (vgl. \**fr-u-rum* mit *r-þ-rum* und mit *gr-þ-rum* zu *gróa*) zu *frþrum* umgebildet. Dass \**frurum* aber nicht zuerst zu *frerum* statt zu *frþrum* (wie die Handschriften lehren, vgl. Noreen,<sup>3</sup> §478) umgebildet wurde, beweist nichts für das zeitliche Verhältnis des *ø*:*e* in der Reduplikationsklasse, denn zur Zeit der Umbildung des \**frurum* zu *frþrum* lagen in der Reduplikationsklasse schon beide Formen mit resp. *þ* und *e* in der Stammsilbe vor. Wenn man mit Noreen (<sup>3</sup>§74, 3) annimmt, dass *grþrum* die jüngere Form sei, aus *grerum* mit *u*-Umlaut des *e* zu *þ* (und das halte ich auch für richtig), so dürfte man gleich fragen, warum \**frurum* nicht zuerst zu *frerum* statt *frþrum* umgebildet wurde, wenn die Umbildung nach Muster von *grþrum*:*grerum* (dem zeitlichen Verhältnis nach aber *grerum* : *grþrum*) geschehen ist. Zur Zeit der Umbildung aber wird *grerum* schon zu *grórum* geworden sein, denn das Lautgesetz (*u*-Umlaut des *e* zu *þ*) wird sich wohl schon vollzogen haben, noch ehe die Analogiewirkung (d.h. die Umbildung der Formen der 2. Ablautsreihe nach Muster der Reduplikationsformen) geschah. Vielmehr liegt die zeitliche Priorität des *þ* vor *e* in *frþrum* : *frerum* an der Natur des ursprünglich lautgerechten \**frurum* selbst und hat mit dem zeitlichen Verhältnis des *e* : *þ* der Reduplikationsklasse gar nichts zu tun. Da entweder ein *þ* oder ein *e* als Stammvokal der Reduplikationsklasse schon vorlag (z.B. entweder *grþrum* oder *grerum*), so geschah die Umbildung des \**frurum* zu Gunsten der Form mit *þ* in der Stammsilbe, 1) weil *þ* dem *ü* der Stammsilbe (\**frur-*) lautlich näher lag als *ë*, und 2) weil *þ* schon im Part. prät. (*frþrinn*) der 2. Ablautsreihe lautgesetzlich vorlag (*frerinn* muss ja eine jüngere Form aus *frþrinn* sein).

1) Lautlich liegt *ë* eine Stufe weiter entfernt von *ü* als *þ*, denn *þ* kann ja die Brechung des *ü* durch *a* (*a*-Umlaut) zu *ø* und weiter mit *R*-Umlaut zu *þ* vertreten, während der Übergang des *ü* zu *ë* erst durch *þ* geschehen kann.

2) Weiter lag das  $\phi$  auch lautgerecht im Part. prät. (*frþrinn*) vor, das den Stammvokal der Prät. plu. beeinflusst haben muss, zumal weil auch in anderen Ablautsreihen der Stammvokal des Prät. plu. und des Part. prät. oft ein gleicher war:—

vgl. I. Reihe—*í, ei, i, i, bíla, beil, bitum, bitinn*.

III. Reihe—*i, a, u, u, binda, batt, bundum, bundinn*.

Wenn es sich bei der Umbildungsform des \**frurum* um entweder ein  $\phi$  oder ein  $\epsilon$  als Stammvokal handelte, so muss das lautgerechte  $\phi$  im Part. prät. *frþrinn* den Ausschlag<sup>9</sup> gegeben haben, besonders da das  $\phi$  einem  $\ddot{u}$  lautlich schon näher stand als das  $\epsilon$ .

Im Altisl. (vgl. Noreen<sup>3</sup> §478) lag ursprünglich in der Stammsilbe der Umbildungsform nur  $\phi$  vor (*frþrum*), erst später entstand daneben die Form mit  $\epsilon$  (*frerum*). Da bei der Reduplikationsklasse sowohl  $\epsilon$  als  $\phi$  in der Stammsilbe des Prät. plu. schon vorlag (*grþrum*: *grerum*), so lässt sich *frerum* neben *frþrum* durch Analogiewirkung nach Muster von *grþrum* : *grerum* erklären.<sup>10</sup> Da nun der Stammvokal im Prät. plu. (der Umbildungsform) und im Part. prät. von *frjósa* ein gleicher war, nämlich  $\phi$ , (*frþrum* : *frþrinn*), so entstand neben *frþrinn* auch ein *frerinn*, indem sich schon das Gefühl entwickelt hatte, dass der Stammvokal des Prät. plu. und der des Part. prät. ein gleicher sein sollte; also nach Muster von *frþrum* : *frþrinn* entstand *frerum* : *frerinn* (wie  $\phi$  :  $\phi$  so  $\epsilon$  :  $\epsilon$ ).

Dass geschlossenes  $\phi$  auch lautgerecht zu  $\epsilon$  werden kann, lässt sich nicht leugnen; so z. B. *kþmr* > *kemr*, *sþfr* > *sefr*, *trþðr* > *treðr* usw. (vgl. Noreen<sup>3</sup> §144). Aber diese Verbalformen (Verba

<sup>9</sup> Es liegen im Nord. auch Fälle vor, wo der Stammvokal des Part. prät. in das Prät. sg. eingetreten ist; vgl. wieder die 2. Ablautsreihe, wo das  $\delta$  des Prät. sg. aus dem Part. prät. zu erklären ist:

aisl. *klöf* statt *klauf*—Part. *klofinn*.

anorw. *fök* statt *fauk*—Part. *fokinn*.

isl. *hölþ* statt *halþ*—Part. *holþinn*.

vgl. Kock, *Beiträge*, XXIII, 496.

Auch das  $\delta$  der seltenen Pluralformen *boðom*, *skotom* lässt sich aus dem Part. *boðinn*, *skotinn* erklären. Ein Fall liegt sogar vor, wo umgekehrt der Stammvokal des Part. prät. aus dem Prät. plu. zu erklären ist, nämlich *buðinn* statt des lautgerechten *boðinn* nach *buðum* Prät. plu.

<sup>10</sup> Das zeitliche Verhältnis der Stammvokale war also bei der Reduplikationsklasse  $e$  :  $\phi$  (*grerum* > *grþrum*), bei den Umbildungsformen hingegen umgekehrt  $\phi$  :  $e$  (*frþrum* : *frerum*). Die Umbildungsform mit  $e$  in der Stammsilbe (*frerum*) erklärt sich also durch Analogiewirkung nach *grerum* der Reduplikationsklasse, ebenso wie *frþrum* nach *grþrum*.



finita) lassen sich mit dem Part. prät. *frþrinn* > *frerinn* nicht gleich stellen, denn bei jenen kommt wohl die Frage der Tonlosigkeit in Betracht, die nicht vom adjektivischen *frþrinn* gilt. Im Altindischen war nämlich das Verbum im Hauptsatze unbetont, ausser wenn es im Anfang des Satzes stand; ebenso im Griechischen, wie die Reste der Enklisis lehren, und nach Zimmer's Nachweis auch im Keltischen. Es ist dies also überhaupt die altindogerm. Betonung und man wird wohl auch diese Betonung für das Germanische voraussetzen müssen. In der germ. Alliterationspoesie unterblieb sogar die Alliteration bei kurzsilbigen Verben, und es lässt sich recht wohl denken, dass der Grund dazu in der Tonlosigkeit des germ. Verbums zu suchen ist, das nur den Nebenton trug. Der Übergang des geschlossenen  $\phi$  zu  $\epsilon$  im nord. *kþmr* > *kemr*, *sþfr* > *sefr*, *trþðr* > *treðr*, usw. lässt sich demnach durch die gemeingerm. Betonung des Verbums im Hauptsatze erklären; d.h. wegen der Tonlosigkeit ist das  $\phi$  zu  $\epsilon$  geworden, welche beiden Laute einander wohl sehr nahe gestanden haben. Beim Part. prät. *frþrinn* > *frerinn* hingegen, wo diese Betonung nicht in Betracht kommt, lässt sich der Übergang des  $\phi$  zu  $\epsilon$  nicht auf lautlichem Wege, sondern durch Analogiewirkung erklären, nämlich nach Muster des Prät. plu., das gleichfalls  $\phi$  als Stammvokal hatte; gleich *frþrum* : *frþrinn* so *frerum* : *frerinn*, sodass die Gleichheit des Stammvokals der beiden Verbalformen (Prät. plu. und Part. prät.), nachdem neben *frþrum* ein *frerum* entstanden war, immer noch bestehen blieb. Also ist es nicht notwendig einen lautlichen Übergang *frþrinn* > *frerinn* (vgl. Kock, *Arkiv*, IX, 150) anzunehmen.

Da nun *\*frurum* nach Muster der Reduplikationsklasse mit anlautendem (=reduplizierendem) *r* in der Stammsilbe (vgl. *rþrum*, *grþrum* zu resp. *róa*, *gróa*) zu *frþrum* umgebildet war, so lassen sich nicht nur die Pluralformen *frþrum* : *frerum*, sondern auch die Singularformen des Prät. *frþra* : *frera* durch Analogiewirkung erklären.

Bei *kjósa* hingegen lagen andere lautlichen Verhältnisse als bei *frjósa* vor, denn bei *kjósa* stand im Prät. plu. der lautgerechten Formen kein *r* vor dem Stammvokale, wie bei *frjósa*, also *\*k-u-rum* aber *\*fr-u-rum*. Da die Reduplikationsformen des Prät. plu., wonach die neueren Formen der 2. Ablautsreihe umgebildet waren, immer *s* oder *r* vor dem Stammvokal hatten, so ist es meiner Ansicht nach sehr zweifelhaft, ob das lautgesetzliche *\*kurum* je zu *kþrum* :

*kerum* umgebildet wäre, wenn nicht die Umbildung bei *frjósa* (\**frurum* > *frþrum* : *frerum*) schon geschehen war. Dass die Umbildung auf dem anlautenden (oder dem Stammvokal unmittelbar vorangehenden) *s* oder *r* der Stammsilbe beruhte, beweist schon das Verbum *slá*, welches neben dem lautgerechten *sló* : *slógum* im Prät. auch die Umbildungsformen *slera* (*slþra*) : *slerum* (*slþrum*) hat. Es ist ja das anlautende *s* oder *r* des Stammes, welches wiederholt (d.h. redupliziert) wird, und da bei \**fr-u-rum* ein *r* unmittelbar sowohl vor als nach dem Stammvokale stand, so gab das wohl den Anlass zur Umbildung nach Muster von *grþrum* : *grera*, *rþrum* : *rera*, usw. Da nun *kjósa* gerade wie *frjósa* nach der 2. Ablautsreihe ging und da weiter das *s* der Stammsilbe der beiden Verba im Prät. plu. und im Part. prät. durch grammatischen Wechsel zu neuem *r* wurde, also

<i>kjósa</i>	* <i>kaus</i>	* <i>kurum</i>	<i>kþrinn</i>
<i>frjósa</i>	* <i>fraus</i>	* <i>frurum</i>	<i>frþrinn</i>

so folgte *kjósa* im Prät. plu. der Umbildungsform von *frjósa*; d.h. \**kurum* wurde nach Muster von \**frurum* > *frþrum* gleichfalls zu *kþrum*, und dann geschah auf gleichem Wege wie bei *frjósa* die Umbildung des ganzen Präteritums mit seinen Nebenformen, sowie die Ausbildung der Nebenform des Part. prät. mit *ð* statt *ø* in der Stammsilbe.

Ganz im Einklang mit dieser Auffassung ist die Tatsache, dass in der Älteren Edda die lautgerechte Form des Prät. plu. von *kjósa* (*kurum* 1. plu. *Atlám.* 96, 2, *kurú* 3. plu. *Vsp.* 23, 10—vgl. Gering's *Glossar*, Paderborn, 1896) vorliegt, während die von *frjósa* schon fehlt. Ebenso aus dem *Homiliu-bók* (utgifven af Th. Wisén, Lund, 1872; Larsson's *Ordörrådet i de äldsta isländska handskrifterna*, Lund, 1891) ersieht man, dass auch in der ältesten Zeit die lautgerechte Form des Prät. plu. von *kjósa* (*kuro* 70:3) noch immer bestand. Nach Zeugnis der ältesten Handschriften innerhalb des Nordischen also darf man wohl annehmen, dass die Analogieformen des Prät. von *kjósa* (d.h. *kera*, *kþrum*, usw.) erst nach denen von *frjósa* angebildet sind. Einleuchtend ist es auch, dass zur Zeit des lautgerechten *kurum*, *kuru* das Part. prät. mit *o* (und dann weiter mit *R*-Umlaut zu *ø*) in der Stammsilbe schon vorlag (*H. Hv.* 32, 3 *kþrna* sg. acc., *Homiliu-bók*, *corner* nom. plu. masc. 112 : 5.7, *kþrner* nom. plu. masc. 168 : 22.24, 645 (*Isländska handskriften* N. 657, 4to A.M.—utgifven af L. Larsson, I., Lund, 1885) *koren* 59 : 24.), was gegen Heusler's Annahme (vgl. §78,

§307, 4) spricht, dass das *u* der Stammsilbe im Prät. plu. durch das unmittelbar folgende *R*-(d.h. durch die *R*- 'Trübung') zu  $\emptyset$  geworden sei. Im Gegenteil bestätigt sich hier ohne Rücksicht auf die entsprechende westgerm. Brechung die Auffassung, dass das  $\emptyset$  der Stammsilbe im Part. prät. auf ein durch die *\*a*-Brechung der Endsilbe hervorgerufenes älteres *o* zurückzuführen ist, und dass das ursprüngliche *u* der Stammsilbe beim Prät. plu. sich lautgerecht hielt. Das  $\emptyset$  der jüngeren Prät.-Formen (*kþrum*) ist daher durch Analogiewirkung zu erklären.

Die Umbildungsformen *frþrum* (*frerum*), *kþrum* (*kerum*) lassen sich also ganz gut erklären, ohne dass man Brechung des alten *ǔ* vor neuem *r* zu  $\emptyset$  (d.h. die sogenannte *R*- 'Trübung') annimmt. Auf Grund der gleichen *Konsonantenverhältnisse* bei *\*frurum* (2. Ablautsreihe) plu. und bei den Pluralformen der Reduplikationsklasse (vgl. *grþrum*), indem bei beiden Klassen ein *r* sowohl unmittelbar *vor* als *nach* dem Stammvokale stand, sowohl als auf Grund des gleichen Stammvokals im Inf. (*frjósa*, *gróa*, *róa*) wurde *\*fr-u-rum* nach Muster von *gr-þ-rum*, *r-þ-rum* zu *frþrum* umgebildet, gerade wie *slá*, *sló* : *slógum* nach Muster von *sá*, *sera* (*sþra*) : *serum* (*sþrum*) zu *slá*, *slera* (*slþra*) : *slerum* (*slþrum*) umgebildet wurde. Auf Grund der gleichen *Konsonantenverhältnisse* in der Stammsilbe (vgl. *\*fr-u-rum*, *gr-þ-rum*) wurde auch der *Stammvokal* der beiden Verba gleich gemacht.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Da die Umbildung von *\*fruRum* zu *frþrum* auf dem anlautenden (=reduplizierenden) *r* in der Stammsilbe der Reduplikationsklasse, d.h. auf dem dem Stammvokal unmittelbar *vorangehenden* *r* (vgl. *gróa*, *róa* : *grþrum*, *rþrum*) beruhte, so macht es nicht den geringsten Unterschied, ob es sich bei der Umbildung um ein *altes* oder ein *neues* *r* handelte. Das dem Stammvokal unmittelbar *vorangehende* *r* der Reduplikationsklasse sowohl als dasjenige der Verba der 2. Ablautsreihe vertritt ja das alte *r* (vgl. *róa*, *gróa*, *frjósa*). Da hingegen die Form *\*fruRum* Prät. plu. mit (zweitem=) *neuem* *r* nach Muster der reduplizierenden *grþrum*, *rþrum* mit (zweitem=) *altem* *r* umgebildet war, so bedingt das die Annahme, dass neues und altes *r* bei der Umbildung als ein und derselbe Laut angesehen wurde.

Also hat der Umstand, dass in *\*fruRum*, *\*kuRum* *neues* *r* dem Stammvokal unmittelbar folgte, nichts mit dem  $\emptyset$  der Neubildung *frþrum*, *kþrum* zu tun, wie es die Annahme der *R*- 'Trübung' bedingt. Die Umbildung des *\*fruRum* zu *frþrum* beruhte ja *nicht* auf dem dem Stammvokal unmittelbar *folgenden*, sondern auf dem unmittelbar *vorangehenden* *r*, d.h. auf dem anlautenden (=reduplizierenden) *alten* *r* der Reduplikationsklasse (*gróa*, *grþrum*, *róa*, *rþrum*, wonach *frjósa*, *frþrum*).



Durch Analogiewirkung nach dem Stammvokale  $\phi$  der Reduplikationsklasse (vgl. *grþrum*) ersetzte nämlich ein  $\phi$  das  $\ddot{u}$  der Stammsilbe; also *frjósa*, *\*fr-u-rum* > *frþrum* gleich *gróa*, *gr- $\phi$ -rum*. Diese Ersetzung wurde umso leichter, als ein  $\phi$  (*R*-Umlaut des  $\delta$ ) schon lautgerecht in der Stammsilbe des Part. prät. (*frþrinn*) vorlag. Es herrschte ja oft gleicher Stammvokal im Prät. plu. und im Part. prät. der starken Verba.

Diese Erklärung für die Neubildungen des Prät. von *frjósa* (dem das von *kjósa* folgte) streitet nicht gegen das Wesen der Analogiewirkung. Die herkömmliche Erklärung hingegen, nämlich dass *\*frurum* auf lautgesetzlichem Wege (durch die sogenannte *R*-‘Trübung’ des  $\ddot{u}$  der Stammsilbe zu  $\delta$  und dann weiter mit *R*-Umlaut zu  $\phi$ ) zu *frþrum* (wonach die Singularformen umgebildet sind) geworden sei, streitet gegen das bisher nicht richtig gewürdigte Lautgesetz des Nord.—Westgerm. (vgl. oben, *Fussn.* 3), nämlich dass ein *u* der Endsilbe das  $\ddot{u}$  der Stammsilbe beibehält. Dieses Gesetz steht für das Westgerm. fest auch vor neuem *r*. Die Annahme, dass im Nord. hingegen das neue *r* trotz eines *u* der Endung das  $\ddot{u}$  der Stammsilbe zu  $\delta$  gebrochen habe, dass hier also eine spezifisch nordische Brechung entstanden sei, rührt daher, dass man, wie Professor Collitz (vgl. *Fussn.* 3) hervorhebt, noch nicht erkennt, dass die Scheidung von  $\ddot{u}|\delta$ ,  $\varepsilon|\zeta$  im Nord.—Westgerm. nicht nur auf dem gleich folgenden Konsonanten, sondern auch auf der Wirkung der Endsilbe beruhte.

Wenn nun die Umbildung von *sló* : *slógum* (zu *slá* inf.) zu *slera* (*slþra*), *slerum* (*slþrum*) auf dem anlautenden *s*<sup>12</sup> nach dem Muster der Reduplikationsklasse mit gleichfalls anlautendem *s* in der Stammsilbe (vgl. *sá*, *sera* (*sþra*), *serum* (*sþrum*)) beruhte, so steht nichts im Wege anzunehmen, dass auch *\*frurum*, wo ein *r* unmittelbar sowohl vor als nach dem Stammvokal stand, nach dem Muster der Reduplikationsklasse, wo gleichfalls ein *r* unmittelbar sowohl vor als nach dem Stammvokal stand (vgl. *grþrum*, *rþrum*) zu *frþrum* umgebildet wurde, besonders da *frjósa* inf. gleichen Stammvokal enthält wie die Infinitive der Reduplikationsklasse (*gróa*, *róa*), wonach die Umbildung geschah, gerade wie *slá* nach *sá*. Das Beispiel von *slá* und von *frjósa* zeigt also deutlich, dass die Umbildung der Verbalformen sowohl auf Grund

<sup>12</sup> Natürlich hat der gleiche Stammvokal im Inf. der beiden Verba (*slá*, *sá*) zur Umbildung mitgeholfen, ebenso bei *frjósa* nach *gróa*, *róa*.

der gleichen *Konsonanten*verhältnisse als auf Grund der gleichen *Vokal*verhältnisse geschehen konnte (vgl. ahd. *bringan* schw. v., wo wegen des *ɣ* vor *Nasal* + *Kons.* neben dem lautgesetzlichen *bráht*, Part. prät. auch die Umbildungsform *brungan* nach der 3. Ablautsreihe der starken Verba vorliegt). Es sind doch die gleichen *Konsonanten*verhältnisse, worauf die betreffenden Umbildungen beruhten.

Weiter zeigt es sich, dass die Umbildungsform *kþrum* (zu *kjósa*) nicht, wie *frþrum*, dem Beispiel der Reduplikationsklasse unmittelbar folgte, sondern nach Muster von *frjósa* zu erklären ist. Das Beispiel von *slá* und von *frjósa* zeigt deutlich, dass die Umbildung auf dem reduplizierenden *s*, *r* der Reduplikationsklasse beruhte, und da bei *kjósa* kein *r* dem Stammvokal voranging, so konnte die Analogie (d.h. die Wiederholung des *s*, *r*), wonach die Umbildung geschah, nicht zutreffen. Daher ist die Umbildungsform *kþrum* nach Muster von *frþrum* zu erklären, da bei beiden Verben nicht nur gleiche *Vokal*-, sondern auch gleiche *Konsonanten*verhältnisse schon lautgerecht vorlagen.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Vgl. das Verbum *klá*, *kló*, \**klóm*, \**kláinn*, das nach dem Muster von *slá*, *sló*, *slógum*, *sleginn* zu *klá*, *kló*, *klógum*, *kleginn* umgebildet wurde. Bei beiden Verben, die nach der 6. Ablautsreihe gingen (die also ursprünglich durchweg gleichen Stammvokal hatten), ging auch ein *l* dem Stammvokal unmittelbar voran. Es ist hier also die Umbildung sowohl auf Grund des dem Stammvokal unmittelbar vorangehenden *l* als auf Grund des gleichen Stammvokals geschehen. Bei der Umbildung von *slá*, *sló*, *slógum* zu *slá*, *slera* (*sløra*), *slerum* (*slørum*) nach dem Muster von *sá*, *sera* (*søra*), *serum* (*sørum*) hingegen lag ursprünglich bei beiden Verben lautgerecht anlautendes *s*, und gleicher Stammvokal im Präs. (*slá* : *sá*), im Prät. (*sló*, *slógum* : *slera*, *slørum*) aber ungleicher Stammvokal vor, daher beruhte wohl die Umbildung auf dem anlautenden *s* sowohl als auf dem gleichen Stammvokal im Präs., ebenso wie bei der Umbildung von *frjósa* nach Muster von *gróa*, usw., welche beiden Verba ein dem Stammvokal vorangehendes *r* sowohl als gleichen Stammvokal im Inf. enthielten. Die Umbildung im Prät. wurde nun weiter dadurch begünstigt, dass das *r* bei *frjósa* ursprünglich gleich der reduplizierenden Klasse sowohl vor als nach dem Stammvokal im Prät. stand, so z.B. \**fr-u-rum* : *gr-ø-rum*. Ohne das dem Stammvokal unmittelbar vorangehende *r* in *frjósa* also träfe im Prät. plu. die Analogie nach den reduplizierenden Verben nicht zu, und daher darf man wohl annehmen, dass gleicher Vokal im Inf. die Umbildung nicht veranlasst, sondern nur dazu mitgeholfen hat.

Das Verbum *klá* folgt also dem Beispiel von *slá*, aber nicht dem von *sá*, eben weil das anlautende *s* bei *klá* fehlt. Wenn aber Umbildungsformen wie z.B. *\*klera*, *\*klørum* vorlägen, so müsste man dieselben dem Beispiel von *slera*, *slørum*, das seinerseits nach dem Muster von *sera*, *sørum* umgebildet war, und nicht unmittelbar dem Beispiel von der Reduplikationsklasse (vgl. *sá*) zuschreiben. Ebenso liegt die Sache bei *kjósa* : *frjósa* der Reduplikationsklasse *gróa*, *róa* gegenüber, wo *kera*, *kørum* erst nach Muster von *frera*, *frørum* dem Beispiel der Reduplikationsklasse *frera*, *grørum*, usw. folgte. Kurz, es ist das dem Stammvokal *vorangehende r, s*, worauf die Umbildung unmittelbar nach dem Muster der reduplizierenden Verba beruhte, denn ohne dieses *r, s* träfe die Analogie nach der Reduplikation nicht zu.



## TRAGIC GUILT IN THE MODERN DRAMA

In critical writings of the last twenty years one not infrequently finds the statement that tragic guilt is not found nor has any legitimate place in the modern drama. Thus Rudolf Strauss<sup>1</sup> insists that there can no longer be any question of individual guilt since the forces of heredity and environment are now regarded as practically determining man's actions and being; and hence tragic guilt no longer has a place in the drama and ought, therefore, also be dropped from theoretical discussions. In the same volume of *Dramaturgische Blätter*, (p. 273 f.) appears an article on "Die tragische Unschuld," in which similar views are expressed: "Das Gewöhnliche ist, dass Leiden mit Schuld nichts zu tun hat. Also wird uns ein Kunstwerk um so mehr befriedigen, je weniger wir von der natürlichen Folge der Ereignisse abgelenkt werden durch Begriffe wie Schuld, Sünde u.s.w. Ein tragischer Held, der schuldig ist, wird das moderne Bewusstsein nur stören. Ein tragischer Held dagegen, bei dem an einem besonderen Beispiele die Unschuld des Leidens gezeigt wird, befriedigt heute. Man kann also wohl sagen, dass wir daran sind, den Begriff der tragischen Schuld in den der tragischen Unschuld zu verwandeln." A. Henderson in *The Changing Drama*,<sup>2</sup> an excellent survey of the modern drama in its various forms and tendencies, also makes the statement that tragic guilt no longer obtains in the modern drama.

It is not necessary in this connection to enter into a lengthy discussion of the theoretical aspects of tragic guilt, nor into the historical development of this idea from the days of Aristotle down to the present; for both of these phases have been very frequently and ably discussed.<sup>3</sup> But in order to get a clear conception of our problem it is well to define what is usually meant by the term tragic guilt. Franz Schnass<sup>4</sup> has stated the classi-

<sup>1</sup> Rudolf Strauss, "Die tragische Schuld," *Dramaturgische Blätter*, 1898, p. 265.

<sup>2</sup> A. Henderson, *The Changing Drama*, New York, 1910, Chapter V.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Julius Goebel, *Ueber tragische Schuld und Sühne*, Berlin, 1884; and Joh. Volkelt, *Ästhetik des Tragischen*, Münschen, 1897. Achter Abschnitt. Die tragische Schuld.

<sup>4</sup> Franz Schnass, *Der Dramatiker Schiller*, Leipzig, 1914. p. 623.

cist's conception of tragic guilt so well that I can do no better than quote his own words. He says: "Tragisch ist die Darstellung einer leidvollen Handlung, die aus dem Konflikt erwächst zwischen dem individuellen Handeln und der sittlichen Weltordnung, die durch den Untergang des Helden, der die Schuld auf sich lädt, gegen sie zu verstossen, wiederhergestellt wird. Nach dieser Theorie sind die Freiheit des Handelns und die Notwendigkeit der sittlichen Weltordnung die festen Gegenpole, die den tragischen Konflikt konstituieren."

It is easy to understand why this conception has been so vigorously attacked in an age dominated by Darwinian conceptions. Under the profound influence of the natural sciences the two opposite poles of the tragic conflict, freedom of the will and the necessity of the moral order of the universe, have been attacked and overthrown. Whether this scientific or quasi-scientific conception is really tenable and enduring, is a question which I shall not attempt to discuss in this connection. However that may be, the modern drama has been profoundly influenced by this conception.

Although the theory of tragic guilt as given above in the words of Schnass obtained practically undisputed from the days of Aristotle down to the time of Hebbel and even after him, it would be going too far to attempt to explain every tragic character on that basis. To avoid all possible misunderstanding on this point it is well to keep in mind Volkelt's classification of the tragic into the tragic of mere misfortune and the tragic of merited misfortune (das Tragische des einfachen Unglücks und das Tragische des verschuldeten Unglücks).<sup>5</sup> Today no dramatic critic would seriously maintain that the mistakes of Egmont, Götz, Romeo, Juliet, Lear, and Cordelia constitute tragic guilt. The disparity between the wrong, if there is any at all, and the inflicted "punishment" is too great. We feel that they are victims of circumstances or of the machinations or guilt of others. Of the scores of other characters belonging to this category that might be mentioned here I shall mention only two, Hebbel's *Genoveva* and *Agnes Bernauer*. These deserve special attention inasmuch as they are the result of a conscious and deliberate modification of the old conception of tragic guilt.

<sup>5</sup> *Ästhetik des Tragischen*. Achter Abschnitt.

Hebbel, like the philosopher Hegel, held that the tragic is not, as heretofore maintained, a result of the wrong direction of the will, but of the mere assertion and existence of the will. Agnes and Genoveva are absolutely innocent, yet their fate is tragic. Their great beauty, physical and moral, that is, their perfection rather than their imperfection involves them in a net of tragic difficulties from which there is no escape. This is the first important deviation from the old conception in theory as well as in practice. This really is "tragische Unschuld," but not in the sense suggested in the article by Strauss quoted above. Hebbel nowhere attacks the freedom of the will, nor does he put the blame on ancestors or environment, as this is done by later dramatists. He is fond of depicting a struggle in which both sides are in the right. To my mind Hebbel's conception of the tragic is by far the most profound that has been evolved so far; but it is also the most difficult for the dramatist.

The step from Hebbel's conception of the tragic or better from the old conception of tragic guilt (for Hebbel stood alone with his views) to the modern viewpoint that tragic guilt no longer has a place in the drama is, after all, of considerable magnitude. As stated above, it is the result of the growing influence of the natural sciences in the second half of the nineteenth century. More and more man is being regarded as a mere animal whose habits and actions are determined by hereditary influences and the conditions of his habitat and environment. As man degenerates to a mere animal, a link in a chain of cause and effect, or a mere passive member of society, he necessarily loses much of his former importance as a free personality. We must, therefore, be prepared to find in the drama based on this new conception of man a type or types of character radically different from those found in the drama in which the old conception obtains.

I shall now endeavor to determine the actual facts with regard to the use or elimination of tragic guilt in the modern drama, and the changes in the drama and its characters due to the elimination of tragic guilt, in so far as this has taken place. It is, of course, impossible and even undesirable to examine the whole field of the modern drama and to discuss in detail each and every instance where tragic guilt has either been used or eliminated. I shall limit myself to the discussion of a number of more or less typical



cases chosen from some of the most representative and important of the modern dramatists.

The new conception, for which Zola, the French novelist, blazed the way, begins to find expression in the drama in the seventies, and during the two succeeding decades it plays a most important rôle. Henrik Ibsen was the first dramatist to stress it. In the *Ghosts* (1881) man, viewed from the Darwinian standpoint, is the helpless slave of hereditary influences and environment. Mrs. Alving is the victim of modern society based on sham and lies. She was too weak to resist successfully the demands of society and to regulate her life according to the requirements of her own nature and individuality. She yielded and her life was ruined. Oswald, her only child, to save whom she put forth every effort, is the victim of the licentious life of his father. He is physically worm-eaten, as his doctor tells him, and morally he is no better; and his half-sister Regina, who is physically sound, is morally on the same plane with him. They are both quite devoid of will-power to resist the evil desires and tendencies they have inherited. There can hardly be a question of guilt in their case. They are helpless victims of conditions and forces over which they have no control.

As long as Oswald is under the impression that his condition is due to his own habits of life, he is tormented by bitter remorse; but this disappears completely when he learns the truth from his mother. Mrs. Alving herself, though she realizes that she should not have yielded so readily to the demands of society, does not utter a single word that betrays a feeling of guilt; and the dramatist, it seems to me, has studiously avoided laying any blame on her. We can therefore truly say that there is no tragic guilt in the old sense in this most intense tragedy. Nevertheless, the idea of guilt plays a very important rôle; only it has been transferred from the individual to society and its baneful institutions.

In a number of the other dramas of Ibsen, notably *Rosmersholm* and *Little Eyolf*, tragic guilt plays a very important rôle. It is, however, a new type of tragic guilt, or, at least, it differs greatly from the old type.

The two chief characters in *Rosmersholm*, Johannes Rosmer and Rebecca West, both have emancipated themselves from the old view that there is a judge, before whom man must answer

for his deeds done in the flesh. Rebecca has inherited a "conscience" that allows her to pursue her selfish aims without any misgivings or scruples. She does not even hesitate to drive her rival to death. But under the ennobling influence of Rosmer, who in spite of his emancipated views still clings to the doctrine of personal responsibility and suffers bitter pangs of remorse, her strong will has become diseased, as she says, and she has come to the point where she says: "It is right that I should expiate the wrong I have done.' Together with Rosmer, who says: "There is no judge over us. And therefore we must see that we ourselves work justice," she dies to expiate the wrong she has done.

Even more interesting from the standpoint of the use of tragic guilt is *Little Eyolf*. This play is not, strictly speaking, a tragedy; for the principal characters, Allmers and his wife Rita, do not die. Yet their fate is as thoroughly tragic as it could possibly be, aside from actual death, and perhaps even more tragic than death itself. Like Rosmer and Rebecca they do not believe in God or in life after death, where man is called to account. Yet the feeling of guilt is nowhere more pronounced, even in the most extreme examples of the drama of the old type, than in these two characters.

Even before the death of their unfortunate crippled boy this feeling becomes powerful, especially in the father; for it is largely this feeling of guilt, of indebtedness to the helpless child, that forces him to give up his life work, the writing of a book on "Retribution." In the mother, too, who feels little or no obligation toward the innocent victim of their self-gratification, the feeling of guilt is present, though dormant and overshadowed by her intense passion for life and pleasure, which even causes her to wish the child had never been born or were dead if she is to share her husband with him. But she has scarcely uttered, or better, suppressed this wish, when, at the news of the child's death, she breaks down under the most severe self-accusations. Both parents are crushed under the load of guilt and haunted by the ever-present thought of the dead child. Allmers frequents the strand, where the water constantly reminds him of the horrible tragedy. And when for a moment he has forgotten the dead, he chides himself. He is doing penance, and can not think of ever enjoying life again. Rita is equally harassed by her guilty conscience. She constantly sees the large, lustrous eyes of the dead boy; and the terrible words that first convinced her that Eyolf was the drowned child

perpetually ring in her ears like a death knell. But unlike her husband she avoids the sight of water, that reminds her of her guilt. The desire for happiness and pleasure is too over-powering in her to be completely drowned by her feeling of guilt. There is, however, another marked difference between the guilty parents. The father tries to atone for his wrong by tormenting himself, by brooding over his deed. He blames the village children, who might have helped the child and failed to do so. He even suggests to his wife to have the village razed to the ground as a punishment. This, however, suggests to her a very different way of atoning for her wrong. She realizes that they have never done anything for these poor children, and hence have no right to expect anything in return. She now resolves—a rather strange and unexpected resolve on the part of such a thoroughgoing egoist—to take these children into her home, to teach them, and to bestow on them the care that she had neglected to bestow even upon Eyolf. From an extreme egoist seeking only self-gratification, she has become an altruist. The motives of this change are very clearly enunciated at the close of the play, when Allmers and Rita, as is so often the case in Ibsen's plays, are viewing the wreckage of their once so proud life. She tells her husband that this change was his work; he had left a void in her heart, and this she must endeavor to fill out with something that might be called love. But love, she admits, is not the real motive of this altruistic action, nor is it, as she intimates, her husband's book on "Retribution"; for this she has always hated and still does. The real motive, as she finally admits with a sad smile, is her desire to appease those large, open eyes, "*Ich will mich einschmeicheln bei den grossen, offenen Augen.*" And Allmers, surprised at this, says: "*Vielleicht könnte ich da mittun?*" That is, in the last analysis, it is the desire to atone for, in a measure, the wrong they had done, that impels them to undertake this work of service. They fully realize that this means a life of labor; but they hope that sabbath calm and rest may come to them at times and with it the presence of those whom they have lost. In this hope they resolve to go forward looking upward to the heights, the stars, the great calm.

A deep yet sweet and sublime sadness pervades this closing scene. The feeling of guilt is present in a high degree, but it does not find expression in idle tears and harrowing ravings, as is often the case. Nor is it caused by fear of future punishment, but



rather by a sense of personal responsibility that is rooted in a strong desire for justice.

In these two plays, then, the conception of tragic guilt is found quite unimpaired and vigorous, though somewhat altered by the modern views of the author and his characters.

The plays of August Strindberg are, to my mind, modern to a fault. He has over-stressed the modern demand for detail and for minute psychological analysis, he treats modern subjects, frequently social in nature, and seems to have a predilection for abnormal characters. The one great problem and source of the tragic for Strindberg is the conflict between the sexes. He regards this conflict as inevitable, and the individuals engaged in it—to them it is a struggle for existence and supremacy—willingly or unwillingly follow natural impulses and shrink from nothing to attain their goal. Witness the display of elemental passion over-riding lingering ideas of right and wrong, as exhibited in *Countess Julia* and *The Link*. In *Father* we have a typical case. Laura, the wife and protagonist, is absolutely without a trace of a conscience. She deliberately drives her husband to despair and death; and when her object has been achieved, she rejoices over her triumph without the slightest thought of guilt. Between her and her brother, the Pastor, the following conversation takes place:

*Pastor.* Laura, tell me, are you blameless in all this?

*Laura.* I? Why should I be to blame because a man goes out of his mind?

*Pastor.* You are strong, Laura, incredibly strong! Like a trapped fox, you would rather bite off your own leg than let yourself be caught! Like a master-thief—no accomplice, not even your own conscience! Look at yourself in the glass! . . . No, you dare not! Let me look at your hand. Not a treacherous bloodstain, not a trace of cunning poison! A little innocent murder that can not be reached by the law; an unconscious sin; unconscious! That is a splendid invention.

*Laura.* You talk as much as if you had a bad conscience. Accuse me if you can!

*Pastor.* I can not.

*Laura.* You see! You cannot, and therefore I am innocent.

In Strindberg's plays there is no real struggle of the individual with his conscience, but rather a struggle with external conditions or an antagonist of the opposite sex. In the play under discussion there is an internal struggle, but it is one with a fixed idea that is haunting its victim to distraction and death. Thus the modern man without a conscience fares no better than his forefathers, who

were tormented by their conscience when they did wrong. From the standpoint of effectiveness this new kind of struggle with a purely imaginary enemy is perhaps on a par with the old one. Yet I must confess that, though such cases are not impossible, they are rare, especially such extreme cases as Strindberg is fond of picturing. Hence we get the impression that the dramatist is over-drawing or dealing with exceptional cases instead of something genuinely characteristic of the race. In this respect the old struggle with an accusing conscience was superior and is, I venture to say, still so, in spite of claims to the contrary; for as Nietzsche has correctly said, the *feeling* of guilt has nothing to do with the freedom of the will. A look at the drama of antiquity is sufficient to convince us of this. The ancients regarded man as subject to a relentless fate, but nevertheless responsible for his actions and capable of feeling his guilt very keenly. A dramatist, if he desires to depict human nature as it really is and thus create a work of art of universal appeal and enduring worth, cannot afford to make a mere theory the basis of the dramatic conflict. The impelling motives must be universally understood and of unquestionable force. To me Strindberg's characters, though they are full of life and passion, seem to move in a somewhat strange and foreign world. Their struggles are something like a mortal combat between wild beasts—fierce and interesting struggles, to be sure—but not really capable of stirring our souls to their depth. *The Link* is a good illustration of such a struggle. The Baron and his wife are both slaves of overpowering natural, or perhaps better, unnatural tendencies. With open eyes they are rending each other. They realize the consequences of their actions and know that they are wrong. In a fashion they even feel responsible and guilty; but there is no trace of remorse or repentance, much less an effort to do better. They argue about it and in the end blame nature for having blundered. To the charge that she herself is to blame the Baroness answers: "Myself? But did I make myself? did I put evil tendencies, hatred, and wild passions into myself? No! And who was it that denied me the power and will to combat all those things?—When I look at myself this moment, I feel that I am to be pitied. Am I not?" And the Baron answers: "Yes you are! Both of us are to be pitied." And a little later he says to her: "Can you guess—do you know against whom we have been fighting? You call him God, but I

call him nature. And that was the master who egged us on to hate each other, just as he is egging people on to love each other. And now we are condemned to keep on tearing each other as long as a spark of life remains."

In *Countess Julia* the facts are almost the same. Julia, descended from a depraved mother and spoiled by bad training, is a dissolute character. Yet she is keenly conscious of her condition. At times she is actually oppressed by the weight of her sin, but at other moments she lays the blame on her parents and her training: "Who is to blame for what has happened? My father, my mother, I myself! I myself? I have no self. I have not a single thought which I did not get from my father, not a passion which does not come from my mother. . . . But how can it be my own fault?" Like the Baroness she has been denied both will and moral strength to resist her evil tendencies.

There is in these characters a wavering between an inborn feeling, a remnant of a conscience, and an acquired theory. One cannot call it a conflict or struggle, for they do not exert themselves in either direction. They are simply out of the state of mental and moral equilibrium and therefore extremely wretched. Tragic guilt, at least in the old sense of the term, is not found in these plays

Tolstoy's play *The Power of Darkness*, a lurid picture of crime and deepest tragedy, presents several noteworthy points with regard to the use and the conception of tragic guilt. Of the three chief characters involved, all the blackest of criminals, only two suffer from the pangs of a guilty conscience. Matryona, the mother of Nikita, is at the bottom of all the crimes. Her husband is a devout and god-fearing man, who pleads with his son to forsake his evil ways. Yet she encourages her son in his downward career and finally helps in forcing him to murder his own child. Yet she does not seem to have the slightest feeling of guilt. She is even pious about her crimes, insists on baptizing the infant before it is murdered by its father, and constantly has the name of God on her lips: "Well, but with the Lord's help, when we've covered this business, there'll be an end of it." Anisya, who with the help of Matryona murdered her husband to get his wealth and to be able to marry Nikita, gradually becomes more hardened in her career of crime. Yet her guilt weighs heavily upon her conscience: "I'm not going to be the only one! Let him also be a



murderer! Then he'll know how it feels! . . . I'll make him strangle his dirty brat! . . . I've worried myself to death all alone, with Peter's bones weighing on my mind! Let him feel it too!" She feels remorse, but with her it does not change to repentance as in the case of Nikita. To revenge herself on him for having betrayed her, she, fiend-like, drives him on to the same condition. He, on the other hand, after he has once been brought to his senses, assumes not only his own guilt but also that of his wife and of his mother. He makes his confession not because his crime has been found out, but at the very point when it is least likely to be discovered. The pangs of remorse, a deep conviction of guilt, force him to make his confession.

Though this play is thoroughly modern, and naturalistic in style, structure, and even in subject matter, the underlying code of ethics and morals is old. The poet has here revealed himself. He is imbued with the real spirit of Christianity, and its message of hope for the lost is for him not an empty sound; therefore he allows a ray of hope to penetrate into the black night of this modern Sodom. We are not entirely spared the harrowing scene, where a guilt-stained soul is racked by remorse; but the terror of this climax is relieved in that remorse changes to repentance. The subdued tragedy of this conclusion is a decided gain for the art work, which, already too full of horrors, is thus relieved of the harrowing end otherwise unavoidable.

*Meister Oelze* by Johannes Schlaf is one of the first and most genuine of German naturalistic plays. Because of its subject matter, it is especially well adapted to emphasize tragic guilt.

Aided by his mother, master Oelze has killed his stepfather, after he had first induced the latter to disinherit his own children and to make him his sole heir. Twenty years later Pauline, one of the disinherited children, returns to the old home. She suspects him and is determined to know the truth and have revenge. Oelze is now a consumptive in the last stages, but shrewd and unscrupulous as ever. He does not seem to be burdened with any sense of guilt, and at first thwarts quite successfully the frequent and well-directed thrusts of Pauline, who is endeavoring to find a vulnerable spot. Though he has shaken off the "old superstition" of a life and final reckoning after death, he is not secure against Pauline's weird tales nor against her claims that

she has an unfailing way to detect criminals. Fear seizes him and his stifled conscience begins to assert itself, though he is quite successful in concealing this fact. Reacting upon a well-aimed suggestion of his assailant, he is terribly frightened, has a violent hemorrhage, and after a few days, spent mostly in a delirious or semi-delirious condition, he succumbs to the dread disease. In the meantime Pauline has watched over him like a beast of prey over its victim. Scattered thoughts and words uttered in his delirium seem to show that his crime is heavy on his mind, that he is really suffering remorse. Yet he makes no confession, but is constantly on guard not to betray his secret. His feeling of guilt does little to hasten his end.

Schlaf, the naturalist, has made Pauline the accusing conscience of Oelze. Without her suggestions and relentless persecution he would perhaps have been successful in stifling his conscience and concealing his guilt. A dramatist of the old school would probable have changed the rôle of Pauline so that what is now her chief function would have been assigned to the inner voice, the guilty conscience of Oelze. Dramatic literature is replete with examples of this kind: Lady Macbeth, Franz Moor, Cardillac (Ludwig, *Das Fräulein von Scudéri*), etc. Technically this would have meant extended use of the soliloquy, while Schlaf never makes use of it. In other respects, too, the play would have been different. Schlaf has given us a vivid picture of a struggle between two shrewd, calculating persons. The inner voice taking the assailant's place, would have meant a deep psychic struggle, a struggle far more significant than this skillful duel between Oelze and Pauline. The end of Oelze is indeed sad, but to my mind lacks real tragic depth. His death is not associated with his guilt, but rather with his disease. Tragic guilt is present, but merely as an indistinct undertone, where it might well be the dominant note.

In a considerable number of the dramas of Gerhart Hauptmann, especially the earlier ones, *Vor Sonnenaufgang*, *Die Weber*, *Einsame Menschen*, *Hanneles Himmelfahrt*, tragic guilt does not appear. In each of these plays the bearer of the tragic charge—the terms tragic hero and heroine cannot properly be applied—is represented as innocent, as the victim of hereditary influences and environment. The blame is put upon society and its baneful institutions and stifling conventions. Like Ibsen's

*Ghosts*, these plays are chiefly concerned with social problems rather than with individuals. Even *Einsame Menschen* is no exception; for the main objective of the poet is not the character of Johannes or Käthe, but their mutual relation in a hidebound social group. As soon as the individual, the human soul itself, is the poet's chief concern, tragic guilt will inevitably assume an important rôle in tragedy. That this is the case, becomes evident from an examination of the dramas in which Hauptmann is most profound in his analysis of the human soul: *Die versunkene Glocke*, *Fuhrmann Henschel*, *Rose Bernd*, and *Der arme Heinrich*, all of which contain tragic guilt. How any one can read these plays and maintain that tragic guilt is not found in the modern drama, is strange indeed. We may safely assume that Hauptmann does not, like Otto Ludwig, consider guilt the essence of the tragic. But it is equally true that Hauptmann is convinced of the fact that guilt and the conviction of guilt is a real and potent factor in the human soul, and that the work of any artist dealing with this subject, who fails to recognize this factor, must necessarily be untrue and fragmentary to that extent.

Heinrich, the master-founder, in *Die versunkene Glocke* is endowed with a Faustian soul. Like his greater prototype, he is constantly striving, in error though it be, after fullness of life and perfection in his art. In his struggling soul a strange confusion of old and new ideas takes place. With the sanguine self-confidence of the poet-superman he aspires to banish the hard and gloomy aspects of the old faith and transfuse it with new radiancy. Man and nature are no longer to be at war but in perfect harmony and peace. High as his ideals are and pure as his purpose is, the way to realize them inevitably involves him in deep guilt. Under the spell of his dazzling vision he regards himself innocent and beyond the pale of the authority of the old standards. But when he encounters insurmountable difficulties, he loses courage and begins to reflect. The arrow of remorse finds lodgement in his heart and he is writhing in agony. Nickelmann, who is objectifying for us what is going on in Heinrich's soul says:

Umsonst sind deine Opfer: Schuld bleibt Schuld!  
 Den Segen Gottes hast du nicht ertrotzt,  
 Schuld in Verdienst, Strafe in Lohn zu wandeln.  
 Du bist voll Makel! Blutig starrt dein Kleid!  
 Es wird die Wäsch'rin, die es waschen könnte,  
 Dir nimmer kommen, wie du sie auch rufst. (Act IV)



Strive as he will, he can not shake off his past. He sees the shades of his two boys bringing him a pitcher filled with the bitter tears of their dead mother, and hears the heart-rending peals of the sunken bell. This is more than he can bear. His vision fades away in the presence of this awful reality. He curses his ideal, his work, and Rautendelein.

At this juncture a dramatist of the old faith would probably have stopped. The protagonist is crushed under the weight of his guilt. The fact that he has not suffered physical death matters little. We are convinced he cannot live, though he may continue to exist. Why did Hauptmann write a fifth act? Surely not merely to show us that Heinrich really died, nor to clear Heinrich of his guilt, though this is done to a great extent by casting the bulk of it upon society lost in prejudices; but rather to weep, as the elves weep over dead Balder, over the temporary failure of his ideal, which in the end, after the long night, shall after all triumph: "Die Sonne . . . die Sonne kommt! Die Nacht ist lang."

From a few passages of the play, where it is evident that the author himself is speaking, one might draw the conclusion that Heinrich's guilt does not consist in transgressing against the accepted moral standard, but in the fact that he was too weak to attain his ideal:

Gott rief dich auf, mit ihm zu ringen—  
und nun verwarf er dich, denn du bist schwach! (Act IV)  
du woarscht a groader Sprosz,  
stoark, doch nich stoark genug. Du woarscht berufa,  
ock blus a Auserwählter woarschte nich. (Act V)

Had he been strong enough to realize his ideal, to effect "die Umwertung aller Werte" (for that is what the realization of his dreams would have meant), what is now guilt would have been real merit. Such an interpretation, however, does not alter our conclusion that there is tragic guilt in this drama. It merely broadens the concept of tragic guilt.

In *Fuhrmann Henschel* tragic guilt assumes a greater rôle than in any other of Hauptmann's plays, in as much as the consciousness of his guilt directly impels Henschel to take his own life. Though this drama is in all other respects thoroughly modern, with regard to the conception of guilt it is on the old basis. Henschel's conception of personal responsibility (which, to be sure,

need not be the author's) has nothing in common with modern emancipated views, but is on the contrary superstitious in nature. He is haunted to death by his dead wife because he broke his promise not to marry Hanna, the servant girl. Though he has suffered much at the hands of Hanna, he would never have taken his own life had not the weight of his guilt driven him to distraction. It may be objected, to be sure, that the mere breaking of this promise cannot and does not constitute tragic guilt, that in reality he is innocent and merely the victim of a fixed idea, whose force is augmented by the consciousness of having been the cause of his own misery. This may be the opinion of the enlightened reader or spectator, and probably was that of the author. Fuhrmann Henschel would then be a case of tragic innocence. From his own standpoint, however, guilt is an awful reality, the impelling force of the whole tragedy. Hence guilt is after all the essence of this tragedy. Remove it, and you have nothing left.

*Rose Bernd*, undoubtedly one of the greatest of modern tragedies, is to an equal degree bound up with the conception of tragic guilt. The thought of personal responsibility to God is indissolubly connected with this tragedy. All the characters, even Flamm, who entertains emancipated ideas, are under its sway. Rose is finally driven to distraction; not by the weight of her guilt alone, however, crushing as this is, but also by the cruel persecution of her despoiler and the blind sense of honor of her father. Rose is and feels guilty; but after all, far greater guilt attaches to her persecutors and the social conditions in which she lives.

In the three plays just discussed, the protagonist in each case commits an overt act, a crime, and dies conscious of his guilt. In *Der arme Heinrich* there is no overt act, no actual crime, and the protagonist does not suffer death. Yet the feeling of guilt is equally strong. Heinrich feels guilty not because of any wrong he has done, but rather because of the rebellious condition of his soul. Explaining his cure he says:

Als mich der erste Strahl der Gnade streifte  
und eine Heilige zu mir niederstieg,  
ward ich gereinigt: das Gemeine stob  
aus der verdumpften und verruchten Brust,  
der mörderische Dunst der kalten Seele  
entwich, der Hass, der Rachedurst, die Wut,

die Angst—die Raserei, mich aufzuzwingen  
den Menschen, sei's auch durch gemeinen Mord,  
erstarb. (Act V, 5)

Quite in harmony, then, with the character of the whole play, which is free from all grosser elements, the conception of guilt has been purified and deepened, so that the mere thought, the motive, the condition of the soul, is regarded as the actual crime. Subjectively this guilt has all the force of actual guilt, but objectively it has no fatal results; and hence the happy end of the play is well justified.

In these plays we after all have the real Hauptmann, the poet who drops the artist's plummet down into the secret depth of the human soul, in its struggle with itself and its environment. Theory plays no part in these masterpieces. They appeal to us with the directness and convincing power of real life.

I shall not attempt in this connection to discuss any of Sudermann's plays in detail, but merely point out a few things in passing. Magda in *Die Heimat* is theoretically above the old standards of right and wrong. She insists that one must become guilty—according to the old standard—in order to attain the highest development of one's individuality: "Schuldig müssen wir werden, wenn wir wachsen wollen. Grösser werden als unsere Sünde, das ist mehr wert als die Reinheit, die ihr predigt" (III, 6). But practically she can not completely free herself from the power of the old conception. She finally realizes that after all she can not live entirely to herself, that her actions affect others, her father, her family, her child. As she contemplates the awful consequences of her life she cries out: "Mein Leben drückt mir auf den Kopf" (V, 5). As in the case of Ibsen's characters, Magda's feeling of guilt has nothing to do with a belief in a life and final reckoning after death. It is the result of a feeling of social responsibility.

In *Johannisfeuer* matters are somewhat different, Georg and Marikke are ignorant of such new ideas as impel Magda. Theoretically they accept the old standards, but practically they follow their own instincts. They know and feel that they have sinned, but do not feel the slightest remorse. They are, like Grillparzer's "Hero," quite naïve in their sin.

Max Halbe has completely eliminated the conception of guilt. His characters are never guilty. They are the slaves of a modern fate, their own passions and the powerful forces of their environ-



ment. Engaged in a hopeless struggle, they are quite unconcerned about ethical or moral standards.

What has been said of Max Halbe is even more true of Frank Wedekind. He was not content with degrading man to the level of a mere animal governed by instinct and conditions of habitat, but proceeded to make of him a ravenous and filthy beast. That this was his real intention one can hardly doubt after one has read *Frühling's Erwachen*, *Der Erdgeist*, *Die Büchse der Pandora*, *Franziska*, or *Simson*. He introduces his *Erdgeist* very fittingly with a prolog in which the tamer of wild beasts invites the public to view and admire the real brute: (The italics are Wedekind's)—

“Was seht ihr in den Lust, und Trauerspielen?—

*Haustiere*, die so wohlgesittet fühlen,

An blasser Pflanzenkost ihr Mütchen kühlen

Und schwelgen in behaglichem Geplärr.

Wie jene andern—unten im Patterre:

.....

Das *wahre* Tier, das *wilde*, schöne Tier,

Das—meine Damen!—sehn Sie nur bei mir.”

He then has the serpent, the heroine of the play, carried in and addresses her as follows:

“Mein süßes Tier, sei ja nur nicht geziert!

Nicht *albern*, nicht *gekünstelt*, nicht *verschoben*.

Auch wenn die Kritiker dich weniger loben.

Du hast kein Recht, uns durch Miaun und Fauchen

Die *Urgestalt* des *Weibes* zu verstauchen,

Durch Faxenmachen uns und Fratzenschneiden

Des *Lasters Kindereinsalt* zu erleiden!

Du sollst—drum sprech' ich heute sehr ausführlich—

*Natürlich* sprechen und nicht unnatürlich!”

In *Die Büchse der Pandora*, a sequel to *Der Erdgeist*, he says: “Um wieder auf die Fährte einer grossen gewaltigen Kunst zu gelangen, müssten wir uns möglichst viel unter Menschen bewegen, die nie in ihrem Leben ein Buch gelesen haben, denen die einfachsten animalischen Instinkte bei ihren Handlungen massgebend sind. In meinem ‘*Erdgeist*’ habe ich schon aus voller Kraft nach diesen Prinzipien zu arbeiten gesucht.” (Werke III, 125 f.). Lulu, the dominating figure of the two plays, is passion and vice incarnate, a genuine beast of prey who is responsible for the death of her three successive husbands. To be sure these were little better than she. She has no conscience and is never disturbed in the least by a consciousness or a feeling of guilt. If Wedekind

has here truthfully depicted human nature, then I am profoundly grateful to a kindly fate that has hitherto veiled my eyes to such, natural and undefiled beauty. Perhaps I am a dull philistine, but I can not see, how any one can take the author seriously (I doubt that he takes himself seriously) when in the preface to *Die Büchse der Pandora* he compares himself with the crucified founder of the Christian religion, who also espoused the cause of the fallen. In view of such human degradation and bestiality as we find in these plays, one ought to hesitate to take at its face value the statement of Lewisohn that the modern naturalistic German drama attained so high an order of qualities by its vision of *man as he is* not *as he ought to be*.<sup>6</sup> I should be loath to think that Wedekind's Lulu is more true to nature, i.e., human nature, than Goethe's Iphigenie. However, it is possible that Lulu may become the type of future generations if the present generation should be exclusively fed on "naturalistic art" of this variety.

Hermann Bahr, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, and Arthur Schnitzler have also completely abandoned the old conception of tragic guilt. They conceive man as unfree, a slave of fate. This fate, however, is neither that of the ancients, nor that of the 19th century fate-tragedies, nor, as is the case with some of the naturalists, the forces of heredity and environment, but rather an unknown, mysterious force, which is in some cases identical with natural instincts. In some of their plays (*Der Abenteurer und die Sängerin*, *Das gerettete Venedig*, *Der Schleier der Beatrice*, *Liebelei*) the problem of guilt is completely ignored. Whenever it is at all faced by them, they represent man as unfree and hence not responsible for his actions. This is true even where the character really feels guilty, as Oedipus, for instance, in *Oedipus und die Sphinx*. In vain one seeks in these plays a character that has sufficient will power or even the desire to inhibit natural appetites and cravings. Or if perchance such a character is portrayed, as in Bahr's *Der arme Narr*, the author holds him up to scorn and ridicule. The conception of human nature exhibited by these writers is, I fear, incompatible with the highest art. The human will is, after all, a factor too well recognized and too powerful to be discarded so lightly and so completely. And when it is discarded, something

<sup>6</sup> Ludwig Lewisohn, *The Modern Drama*, New York, 1915, p. 164. Lewisohn's work is an admirable study of the modern drama.

equally well recognized and convincing must take its place, as for example the forces of heredity and environment, which play so important a rôle in some of the works of Ibsen, Hauptmann, and Halbe. We are not convinced by the feeble plea of an impotent character trying to excuse his behavior by such blinds as: "es handelt in mir," "ich muss," "es geschieht in mir." The average man instinctively feels that he is master of his own fate, and he acts on this conviction and expects others to do the same. It matters little that this is actually true only to a slight degree.<sup>7</sup>

According to these writers guilt is not to be avoided but to be sought. "Glücklich machen ist besser als schuldlos sein," says Doktor Reuman in Schnitzler's drama, *Der einsame Weg*. He regrets that he himself has only the will but not the talent to lead a dissolute life: "die Sehnsucht, die am tiefsten in mir steckt, ist die: ein Schurke zu sein, ein Kerl, der heuchelt, verführt, hohnlacht, über Leichen schreitet. Aber ich bin durch Mängel meines Temperaments dazu verurteilt, ein anständiger Mensch zu sein—und, was vielleicht noch schmerzlicher ist, von allen Leuten zu hören, dass ich es bin." (Act I, 6). Frau Wegrat, who had gone astray in her youth, says: "Ich bereue ja nichts. Ich glaube, ich habe nie etwas bereut." (I, 6) The same views are expressed by Marie in *Der Ruf des Lebens*: "Wollen Sie sich etwa einbilden," she says, "dass ich mich für eine Sünderin nehme, die sich eine Schuld von der Seele beichten will? Sie irren. Keine Reue, nein, meine Verzweiflung schreie ich Ihnen ins Gesicht . . . meine Verzweiflung, dass es zu spät ist . . . zu spät! Dass der, für den ich all das hätte tun wollen, tun müssen, fort ist . . . dass ich erst heut dazu erwacht bin, mich selber ganz zu verstehen . . . dass ich in dieser Stunde erst zu allen Sünden und Wonnen reif geworden bin, nach denen es mich lockte, and dass es nur nicht mehr her Mühe wert ist, die Sünderin zu werden, die ich bin!" (I, 9) There is no longer any guilt. Der Adjunkt in the same play says: "Ja es ist meine Schuld." And the physician (probably the poet himself) answers: "Nicht Sie, Herr Adjunkt, haben das aus ihr gemacht. Ist denn je ein Mensch eines anderen Schicksal? Er ist immer nur das Mittel, dessen das Schicksal sich bedient. Katarina war bestimmt, zu werden, was sie ward.

<sup>7</sup>In this connection, compare the excellent article by Alfred Klaar on "Die Krisis der Tragödie," *Literarisches Echo* 12, p. 679-85, 983 ff.



Sie waren zur Hand, das ist alles." (III, 10)

Thus not only individual responsibility and guilt but also social guilt is wiped out. Here, I think, we have come upon the real reason, why there is no trace of real and effective social criticism in the works of these writers, such as we find in Ibsen and Hauptmann for instance. Where no one is to blame, it is quite useless to criticise.

The art of D'Annunzio is closely akin to that of these Austrian dramatists. In his *Daughter of Jorio* (1904), we have a clear case of tragic innocence. In *Francesca Da Rimini* (1902) and *Giocondo* (1901), there is no tragic guilt, though the feeling of guilt is present in the former. In *Giocondo* the idea of a relentless fate impelling its victims toward their destiny is strongly emphasized. Settala, the young sculptor, who has attempted suicide to escape from his fate, says after his undesired recovery: "Only death could stay the rush of desire that drives my whole being, fatally, towards its own peculiar good. Now I live again: I recognize in myself the same man, the same force. Who shall judge me if I follow out my destiny?" (Act II) He did not attempt suicide because he knows himself guilty for having loved the woman that had given him the inspiration for a thousand statues; but to escape facing his saintly wife, whose very perfection is an unbearable though silent reproach to him. He does feel an obligation toward her, not toward any moral law. In the end he becomes the victim of his inexorable fate.

Giocondo, the woman in question, expresses similar views to Silvia, who has met her rival and taken her to task for estranging her husband: "Household affections have no place here; domestic virtues have no sanctuary here. This is a place outside laws and beyond common rights. He is alone here with the instruments of his art. Now I am nothing but an instrument of his art. Nature has sent me to him to bring him a message, and to serve him. I obey; I await him to serve him still." (Act III, 3) In other words, they consider themselves above moral law and order, destined to achieve their mission, regardless of any consequences. And this is also the poet's view.

The fatalistic conception of life found in the works of the writers just discussed is even more conspicuous in the plays and writings

of Maurice Maeterlinck, the father of this modern fatalism.<sup>8</sup> His strong leaning toward mysticism has caused him to see human nature quite different from most modern writers. He is fond of placing his characters in fantastic and weird surroundings; he floods them with a strange and ghastly light and veils them in an atmosphere that is oppressive and stifling. Fate dogs every step of these strange and shadowy beings, these phantoms and thralls. The thought of guilt never seems to enter the author's mind, and if perchance it ever comes into the consciousness of any of his characters, they brush it aside by declaring their innocence, as Mélisande, for instance, in *Pelléas and Mélisande*. His plays, many of which have neither plot, action, nor character portrayal, but are merely weird and somewhat doleful word-pictures, reduced short stories in dialog, often do not involve the problem of guilt: *The Intruder*, *The Home*, *The Seven Princesses*. In others, *The Blind*, *Pelléas and Mélisande*, the question is ignored. It is painful to see the creatures of his fancy groping in semi-darkness, mere puppets of a fate shrouded in deepest mystery and eluding the closest scrutiny. But one thing Maeterlinck, as far as I know his plays, does not do, namely degrade man to the level of a beast wallowing in the mire.

Turning now to the modern French drama for a moment, we find matters little different. Henri Becque in *Les Corbeaux* (1882) and *La Parisienne* (1885) has discarded the idea of guilt completely, although in both plays it is given with the subject matter. In two plays of Jules Lemaitre, however, we find it strongly emphasized. In *La Revoltée* (1889). Countess de Voves, who has been unfaithful to her marital vows, is tormented with bitter remorse; and this is greatly augmented when she realizes that her illegitimate daughter has inherited her own disposition to be reckless, and that she is about to commit a similar act. The reckless and rebellious daughter is at first quite free from any thought of guilt or personal responsibility, but is in the end converted to this view. In *Le Pardon* (1895) each of the three characters is involved in guilt and is painfully conscious of it. The life of the two women especially is embittered by remorse. But as all three are equally guilty, they can understand and pardon each other and a tragic end is thus avoided. In the plays of Brieux guilt usually

<sup>8</sup> See *Literarisches Echo*, vol. 12, p. 984 f.

assumes an important rôle. Brieux, like Shaw, is primarily a social critic and reformer rather than an artist. He is unsparing and almost brutally outspoken in his denunciation of social evils of every kind. But he is no less insistent on preaching personal responsibility. Fate has neither force nor terror for him. He never mentions it. To those who have read any of his plays I need not prove my statements by citing particular passages; yet I shall offer two passages from *Maternité*. The lawyer for the defense, who has been warned by the judge not to defend the crime of abortion, says: "À mes yeux, l'avortement est un crime, . . . . Mais ce que je m'efforcerai de démontrer, c'est qu'en n'admettant pas la recherche de la paternité, en ne considérant pas comme respectable toute maternité quelle qu'en soit l'origine, la Société s'est enlevé le droit de condamner un crime rendu excusable par l'hypocrisie des mœurs et l'indifférence des lois." (Act III, 1). Tupin, one of the accused, says to the presiding judge in the last act: "Les coupables, c'est ceux qui, pendant que nos enfants crevent de faim, nous conseillent d'en faire d'autres." And the lawyer says: "Le coupable, c'est le Séducteur, et c'est l'hypocrisie sociale."

In the plays of the Spanish dramatist José Echegaray, the old and the new are freely mingled. His style and technique are largely old, but he is fond of treating modern subjects. The one subject that constantly recurs in his plays is unhappy love. This subject is, however, always coupled with some other. Madness and heredity are also favorites with him. In his plays we rarely find a trace of fatalism, such as we found in the dramas of Maeterlinck, D'Annunzio, and the Austrians. He has created heroic figures of the old type, men and women with a sensitive conscience, a high and pure conception of honor and morality; and the accusations he hurls against a corrupt modern society even surpass those of Ibsen in point of directness and vehemence. Nothing could prove this more clearly than a comparison of his *Son of Don Juan* with Ibsen's *Ghosts*, by which it was inspired. In Ibsen's play we only hear of the dissolute life of Oswald's father, we are spared the revolting scenes of his debauchery and vice. In Echegaray's play the dissolute father plays one of the chief rôles together with his two boon companions, who are no better than he. There are two victims, as in the *Ghosts*, though here not children of the same



father. They are physical wrecks, though the chief malady of Lazarus is mental. Morally, however, they are sound. Oswald begs his mother to give him Regina; Lazarus refuses to accept Carmen as his bride, because he feels it would be doing her an injustice. Only after madness has full mastery over him does he desire to escape and enjoy life with her. This lofty moral sense is characteristic of most of Echegaray's heroes and heroines. They never escape from their conscience. He constantly flays vice, in fact he only portrays it that he may castigate it. Many of his tragic figures are innocent, e.g., Don Lorenzo in *Folly or Saintliness*, the three principal characters in *The Great Galeoto*, and also of *The Son of Don Juan*. But there is guilt in all of his plays, and he never hesitates to say where it lies and to flay the guilty for it, though they often escape death and external punishment. Thus the three roués in *The Son of Don Juan* witness the fruit of their dissolute lives but are spared, while the innocent victims go down to an untimely grave. The same is true with regard to *The Great Galeoto* and *The Madman Divine*. We therefore have tragic innocence in many of his plays, but not in the sense suggested by Strauss, i. e., because man is determined by inborn tendencies or his environment. Man is looked upon as free, as master of his fate, as fully responsible for his actions. This is true even in *Marianna*, a play closely resembling the modern fate plays of the Austrians. Marianna is struggling against powerful natural instincts, from which she can escape only by a voluntary death. This emphasis on the supremacy of the will and the conscience over animal instincts and passions puts Echegaray in the same class with Tolstoy; though as an artist he is far inferior to him.

In the modern English drama the idea of guilt is, on the whole, quite prominent. In the three plays of H. A. Jones that I examined: *Saints and Sinners* (1884), *The Templer* (1893), and *Michael and His Lost Angel* (1896), tragic guilt plays a very important rôle. These plays are really of the old type in style, structure, and even in subject matter. *Saints and Sinners* contains a good deal of social criticism, but in spite of this fact, man is viewed from the individualistic rather than the social viewpoint. The conception of tragic guilt is that of the classicists. Hence remorse and a struggle with a guilty conscience are outstanding features of these plays.

Pinero in his *Iris* (1901) leaves the question of guilt unsettled. He touched it only slightly, leaning toward a fatalism which finds expression in such phrases as: "You were sent into the world so constituted" and "one is sent into the world shaped this way or that" (Act I). But in general the question of guilt is ignored. The same is true with regard to O. Wilde's *Vera*, an old type play, and *Salome*, a situation play like Maeterlinck's. In both plays the problem of guilt is completely ignored. In his *Duchess of Padua*, however, tragic guilt is greatly stressed. There is much to remind one of Lady Macbeth's: "What, will these hands ne'er be clean?" "Here's the smell of blood still: all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand."

In the plays of Bernard Shaw, as far as I know them, the question of individual guilt does not enter. Shaw is primarily concerned with society and not with the individual. His plays are in essence very clever discussions of social problems. He not only does not reckon with the individual, but even slights society and devotes his best efforts to criticizing its baneful and wornout institutions. This being the case there can, of course, be neither individual nor tragic guilt, and even social guilt is not always present.

John Galsworthy, who is no less bent on reform and equally modern in his thinking on social problems of the day, has avoided purely theoretical discussions. His plays embody real conflicts, in which both the individual and society play important rôles. In *The Mob* (1914) the hero, Stephen More, suffers an innocent death for his convictions. He alone dares to raise his voice in protest against his country's waging a war of conquest. His pleas are drowned out by the howling of the wild mob. He dies at their hands. But in less than a year a monument is erected to his memory. What shall society do with its failures? is the question considered in *The Pigeon* (1912); and these failures, vagabonds, drunkards, women of the street, etc., are looked upon as determined by natural disposition and tendencies. "It is stronger than me," Ferrant, the tramp philosopher, frequently says. Something of the fatalism we met in the plays of the Austrian dramatists is found in this play; yet its general atmosphere is not as depressing and unwholesome as that of many of the Austrian dramas. In his earlier plays *Strife* (1907) and *Justice* (1911) this fatalism is not present. *Strife* pictures most

vividly and powerfully the inevitable struggle between Capital and Labor. As the conflict is one between classes rather than individuals, there is no individual guilt involved. *Justice* is a vehement arraignment of society for its treatment of criminals. The individual, however, is not entirely freed from guilt and to a certain degree he is regarded as personally responsible.

The plays of Granville Barker are thoroughly modern both in form and content. In his *Madras House* (1909) the question of guilt might have played an important rôle, but does not. The one character who is really culpable according to the old accepted standards of ethics considers himself far above these standards. He disregards them or tramples them under foot without the slightest feeling of guilt. In *Waste* (1906-7) guilt is recognized, but put on circumstances rather than man. Trebell, the tragic hero, who is thoroughly modern in his views and stands above the old conception of right and wrong, says: "If I were on that jury, I would say murder too and accuse . . . so many circumstances. . . . What lumber of opinions we inherit and keep!" The jury in question is investigating the death of Mrs. O'Connell. She had sinned with Trebell and being denied his love, refused to become the mother of his child and sought death. Trebell regards himself quite innocent. He blames society, which by its baneful conventions has forced this woman to deprive him of his child, his only means of self-expression. He ends his life made useless by this inexcusable waste.

If we now sum up the results of our investigation, we find that the statement that tragic guilt is not found in the modern drama and that it has no legitimate place in it, is at best only a half truth. It is true that tragic guilt is not found in a large number of modern plays; but it is equally true that it has been retained, though modified to some extent, in many of the best modern dramas. We saw how tragic guilt and the feeling of guilt is most pronounced in the dramas dealing primarily with the study of the human soul, and that it virtually disappears or is replaced by social guilt in plays primarily dealing with social conditions and problems.

An important change that has come upon the modern drama as a result of or coincident with the elimination of the conception of guilt is the disappearing of the intense inner struggle, and the substitution of discussions, or the struggle with a mysterious fate,



or with the power of hereditary traits and environment. The old type drama, where will struggled against will, has largely been supplanted by plays of situation and discussion. Will no longer opposes will; but beings almost if not entirely devoid of will are the puppets of fate or the victims of conditions, circumstances, or their own instincts.

The tragic hero in the old sense of the term has almost disappeared. Instead of strong, self-willed characters that are master of their own fate, we meet pitiable weaklings, thralls of natural appetites and social conditions. Even the most aggressive and heroic among them are more passive than active. In general, then, it may be said that in the modern tragedy action has to a great extent been replaced by suffering.

Among the large number of plays where tragic guilt does not obtain there are, no doubt, some that will live in the literature of the world. They may be based on an erroneous conception of man, yet that conception is one of sufficient weight to demand and deserve a place in literature. But to prate of the complete elimination of the concept of guilt is folly as long as the feeling of freedom and moral responsibility, which, as Nietzsche maintains, has nothing to do with the freedom of the will, is so firmly implanted in the human breast. To eliminate this completely from the drama would mean a misrepresentation of human nature and would deprive the dramatist of a fruitful source of the tragic, the inner conflict. To my mind, there is nothing more genuinely tragic than the struggle of the soul with itself; and a guilty conscience is still one of the most effective and formidable antagonists.

The modern drama is a real contribution to literature in as much as it pictures man not as a mere individual but rather as a social being. The social viewpoint is one of the most dominant characteristics of our age, and perhaps the only one that will continue to live in ages to come. If the modern dramatist had failed to seize and hold fast this characteristic, his products would have little or no claim on the future.

That some of the dramatists in their zeal as reformers went so far as almost to eliminate the individual, is unfortunate, but can easily be understood. They seem to have overlooked the fact that society is after all made up of individuals and can best

be reached and reformed through these. It is the height of folly to upbraid society for its shortcomings and crimes, if the individuals of whom it is composed are denied the power and possibility to rise above their environment. The greatest harm to both society and art has come through that type of the modern play that makes man a mere puppet of fate or slave of his passions. This fatalistic conception of life, embodied in the dramas of some of the neo-romantic writers, is a serious blow to the tragic art. There are signs, however, that the great world war which has already, at least in Germany, swept away so much of the elements of decay in literature, will exert its purifying influence above all upon the spirit of the drama.

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# EINE AMERIKANISCHE ÜBERSETZUNG VON GOETHE'S "GÖTZ"

Es handelt sich wieder um das Thema 'Goethe in England und Amerika.' In der Aprilnummer dieser Zeitschrift (p. 241-249) gibt uns Professor E. G. Jaeck dazu eine Liste von 54 Titeln, die jeder einschlägigen Bibliographie anzufügen wären. Dr. Jaeck, wohlbekannt durch ihr Buch *Mme. de Staël and the Spread of German Literature*,<sup>1</sup> kam, wie sie mitteilt, zu dieser Ausbeute bei ihrer Arbeit auf der *Library of Congress*. Gleich der zweite Posten auf der Liste nennt eine bisher unbekannte Übersetzung von Goethes *Götz*, die 1837 in Philadelphia erschien und schon wegen ihrer Seltenheit genauerer Prüfung wert sein dürfte.

Scotts Übersetzung war bekanntlich schon 1799 herausgekommen, in demselben Jahre wie der *Gortz of Berlingen* der Mrs. Rose Lawrence;<sup>2</sup> doch hatte einstweilen von den beiden Arbeiten nur die Scott'sche ein Neuausgabe erlebt, und zwar in der Form eines amerikanischen Nachdrucks, der ohne weitere Beachtung zu finden<sup>3</sup> 1814 erschien. So war um 1824, wie uns Robert P. Gillies versichert,<sup>4</sup> Scotts *Goetz* gleichsam wieder MS. geworden. Gillies holte deshalb das Drama wieder hervor und gab im xix. Stück seiner *Horæ Germanicæ* umfängliche Proben daraus.<sup>5</sup> Vielleicht, dass erst dadurch die öffentliche Aufmerksamkeit auf die vergessene Produktion Sir Walters gelenkt wurde, jedenfalls gab Galignani 1826 in Paris einen Neudruck davon, und zwar offenbar ohne das Vorwissen des Dichters. Dieser Druck sowohl wie der von Zwickau 1829 kommen also wohl nur für den Kontinent in Betracht. In England sorgte die Beschäftigung mit dem Deutschen überhaupt, die sich auszubreiten begann, für

<sup>1</sup> Oxford University Press, N. Y. 1915.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Goedeke *IV*, iii, 145; ich lasse die Frage der Übersetzung von Rose d'Aguilar (1795) für spätere Besprechung offen.

<sup>3</sup> Wenigstens verzeichnet Goodnight, *Germ. Lit. in Am. Mag. prior to 1846*, Madison, Wis. 1907, nichts darüber. In der *North American Review* von 1823 (XVI, 284 seq.) findet sich in einer Besprechung von Grillparzers *Goldenem Vliess* ein Hinweis auf den "dull bustle of Goetz" etc., womit die Übersetzung indes kaum gemeint ist.

<sup>4</sup> Blackwood's Magazine XVI, 372.

<sup>5</sup> *L. c.*, p. 373-84 (Weislingens Gefangenschaft, Belagerung, Heilbronn, Zigeuner, Feme, Goetz' Tod).



erneute Hinweise auf Scotts Verdienst.<sup>6</sup> Das Stück wurde dann von Lockhart mitsamt den andern dramatischen Versuchen Scotts in den letzten (xii.) Band der *Poetical Works* aufgenommen, die Edinburgh 1833-34 erschienen. Es kam also dem englischen Publikum erst wieder unter die Augen, als Scott selber empfänglichere Leser dafür geschaffen hatte. Und jetzt wirkte noch etwas andres um ihm Beachtung zu sichern.

Anno 1832 war Goethe gestorben, dem Scott nur sechs Monate später folgen sollte. Die Diskussion über die beiden berühmtesten Schriftsteller der Zeit, deren Gesamtwerk man allmählich überschauen lernte, war in den Zeitschriften allenthalben im besten Gange.<sup>7</sup> Zu gleicher Zeit hatte das endlich immer mehr um sich greifende Studium deutscher Sprache und Literatur es leicht gemacht all die eleganten Schnitzer in Scotts Übersetzung zu entdecken,<sup>8</sup> über die der alte Dichter selber zu lächeln pflegte und die bekanntlich erst 1850 durch Anna Swanwick aus den Texten entfernt wurden.<sup>9</sup> Die Auspizien des Jahres 1837 waren einer neuen Götzübersetzung somit günstig genug; sehen wir zu, in welcher Form und Färbung sie zu Tage trat, ohne dabei den grössern, eingangs genannten Gesichtspunkt aus den Augen zu verlieren.

Der Verfasser des vorliegenden Werkes nennt selber seinen Namen nicht und ist, um das vorwegzunehmen, bisher nicht ermittelt. Der genaue Titel des Werks heisst: *Goetz von Berlichingen with the Iron Hand. A Drama in Five Acts. From the German of Goethe.* [Motto:] *Das Unglück ist geschehn — das Herz des Volks ist in den Koth getreten, und keiner edeln Begierde mehr fähig!* Usong. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard. 1837. XXXVI, 9-185 pp. 16°. — Der Vf. setzt also Goethes Namen als gekannt voraus. Immerhin hält er es in den ersten Sätzen der Einleitung für der Mühe wert, auf die dem Götz bald folgende

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Carlyle an verschiedenen Stellen (unter Goethe, Scott, Götz); ferner *Quarterly Review* XXXIV, 136 (Juni 1826, Lockhart); *Athenæum*, 1828, p. 691; auch Wm. Taylor, *Historic Survey of German Poetry* III, 243 (1830).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Goodnight, *l.c.*, pp. 32 seqq. (für Amerika).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Sarah Austin, *Characteristics of Goethe* I, 229 (1833), in einer ihrer Anmerkungen: "Sir Walter Scott's translation is little read; nor indeed is it deserving of more notice. . . . It is much to be regretted that Goethe's tragédies are not attempted again," etc.

<sup>9</sup> Jetzt richtig bei Goedeke <sup>3</sup>IV, iii, 145; *ib.* p. 41 hat er noch immer die irrthümliche Angabe 1846.

Veröffentlichung der "well known *Sorrows of Werther*" hinzuweisen. Die nächsten sechs Seiten geben ein knappes, klares Bild der politischen und sozialen Zeitverhältnisse, die den Hintergrund des Dramas bilden, aber weniger, wie bei Scott, zuständlich geschildert, als vielmehr ihrer historischen Entwicklung nach. Vf. verfehlt denn auch nicht die Abweichungen von der Geschichte zu vermerken, die sich Goethe erlaubt habe. Schluss: "Its [des Dramas] incidents are principally confined to the various intrigues set on foot against him [Götz], and with some exceptions are of a very simple character." — Er kommt dann auf Scotts Übersetzung zu sprechen, indem er dazu Allans unbarmherzige Kritik zitiert,<sup>10</sup> um unausgesprochen seine eigne Arbeit zu rechtfertigen. Damit gelangt er zugleich zu dem, was in dieser Vorrede sein Hauptthema zu sein scheint: die Gemeingefährlichkeit und Lächerlichkeit von übereifrigen Kommentatoren. Zu Dante zitiert er etwa ein Dutzend dieser Unglücklichen; der Streit über den *Faust*, I. und II. Teil, der damals noch wie ein literarisches Tagesereignis aussah (und zwar auch in Amerika), macht ihn gegen die ganze Dichtung gereizt, die so verschiedener Deutung unterlag; die volle Schale seines Zorns wird aber über die Erläuterer des *Götz* ausgegossen, von denen er den eben genannten Allan und — A. W. Schlegel herausgreift. Von Schlegel führt er die "well known *Dramatic Lectures*" an, jedoch nach der Heidelberger Ausgabe von 1817 in Übersetzung. Er kontrastiert was diese beiden über den dramatischen und poetischen Gehalt des *Götz* zu sagen haben, mit der harmlosen Geschichte, die Goethe selber in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* von der Entstehung des Werks berichtet, führt also seine Gegner mittels einer Verwechslung von Biographie mit Formen- und Ideengeschichte glänzend *ad absurdum*. Ziemlich umfängliche historische Kenntnisse, durch die er die verschiedenen Anachronismen im *Götz* aufdeckt, kommen ihm dabei zustatten. Zwischendurch wird im Anschluss an *Dichtung und Wahrheit* auch von Goethes Leben erzählt. Das Unglück aber, dass er damit kaum über *Werther* und *Egmont* hinauskommt, bringt ihn zu einem bitteren Angriff auf Goethes — Geheimnisvolltun. Das hängt natürlich mit seiner Polemik gegen die Erläuterer und Ausleger zusammen, denen Goethe nach seiner und anderer Meinung planmässig Vorschub geleistet

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Geo. Allan, *Life of Sir Walter Scott* etc., Edinburgh 1834, pp. 159-162.

habe. Der Gegensatz wird verschärft durch den Goethekult, wie er ihn z. B. in Sarah Austins' "well known *Characteristics of Göthe*" getrieben fand. Also die andre Quelle des Missverständnisses in jener Zeit: nicht eigentlich der Moralist, sondern der Mensch des praktischen Alltags, dem es nicht auf eignes bewegtes Leben, Denken, Fühlen ankommt, sondern nur auf fertige Resultate, der lehnte sich hier gegen Goethes Geistesart auf; dabei einer, dessen Streben nach Klarheit und Bestimmtheit ihn so bei Einzelheiten und Nebensachen festhielt, dass er blind blieb gerade für das was er suchte. So kommt er zur neuerlichen Aufwerfung der Frage, ob Goethe überhaupt etwas Besseres geschrieben als den *Werther*, und damit zu weitem kritischen Anmerkungen im allgemeinen. *Wilhelm Meister* und *Wahlverwandtschaften* werden nur gestreift, *Hermann und Dorothea* erntet hohes und echtes Lob, auch die Lyrik; *Iphigenie*, *Egmont* und *Tasso* werden in eine Anmerkung heruntergedrückt und abgetan. Zum Schluss der *Götz*, der als Werk zweiten Ranges, aber als gleichwohl bemerkenswert hingestellt wird. Vf. verbreitet sich dann über die beiden Fassungen, die erst in den nachgelassenen Werken Goethes erschienen, die *Geschichte*, *dramatisiert* und die Fassung *Für die Bühne bearbeitet*, von denen er augenscheinlich die letzte für die bessere hält. Über seine eigne Arbeit sagt er dann wörtlich (p. xxxv seq.): "This new labour of the author upon what seems to have been a favourite production, suggested the idea of the following version, which has been undertaken after a separate translation of each of the three pieces, and an attentive comparison of their different themes." Was also schon das Titelblatt mit dem Motto nach der ersten Fassung und den *fünf Akten* nach der letzten verhiess, ist Tatsache: wir haben es mit einer *Götz*-Harmonie zu tun. Damit hat sich Vf. erschöpft. Mit einem bissigen Zitat aus Horaz' Satiren (I, iv, 76-8), das er den bösen Ausdeutern nachschleudert, verabschiedet er sich von uns.

Es dürfte nicht lohnen Schritt für Schritt dem Wege nachzugehen, den der Bearbeiter eingeschlagen. Eingehende Untersuchung führt zu den folgenden Ergebnissen. Die Übersetzung beruht in Akt I-III auf Goethes Bühnenbearbeitung, die wir D nennen wollen;<sup>11</sup> doch wird oft die Textgestalt der Urfassung (A) und der Fassung von 1773 (B) vorgezogen, so gleich

<sup>11</sup> Bei Goedeke 3a; ich benutze Jak. Bächtolds *Götz in dreifacher Gestalt*, Freib. u. Tüb. 1882.



in der ersten Szene (B) und im III. Akt (A B). Der IV. Akt lässt an bestimmten Vorlagen nur die Zigeunerszene zu Eingang von Akt V von A erkennen, ferner einiges aus der Trauung in D und die Szene Adelheid-Weislingen-Franz aus B; der Rest ist selbständig nach dahinpasseenden Bruchstücken. Im fünften Aufzug bringt Vf. das Ganze durch ein eklektisches Verfahren zum Abschluss, in dem B vorwiegt; doch wird der Bauernkrieg nach A geschildert (ohne das Götz selber darin auftritt); die Szene Franz-Adelheid mitsamt Adelheids anschliessendem Solospiel folgt D. Das Stück erfordert 25 Verwandlungen, also um über die Hälfte weniger als Goethes *Schauspiel*.

Schon im Personenverzeichnis vermissen wir mehrere Freunde, so Liebetraut, Olearius, den Reichstruppenhauptmann u. a. Tatsächlich fehlen in den Bühnenvorgängen, von weniger wesentlichen abgesehen, sämtliche Szenen am Hofe des Bischofs zu Bamberg, sämtliche Belagerungsszenen (bis auf einen schwachen Rest bei der Trauung) und das ganze Verhör zu Heilbronn. Woran Goethes *Götz* als Drama krankt, was ihn immer wieder zum Epos stempelt, das ist ohne Zweifel die doppelte kriegerische Aktion, Belagerung und Bauernkrieg, die beide für das Schicksal des Hauptcharakters bestimmend wirken, ohne doch in anderm Zusammenhang zu stehen als dem tatsächlich-historischen. Diese Schwäche hat der Bearbeiter erkannt und zu beseitigen gesucht. Wie folgt: er lässt, sogleich nachdem Götzens Burg erobert und dieser selber gefangen, Sickingen das Exekutionsheer überfallen und völlig zersprengen, sodass Götz dann einfach heimgehen kann; der Kaiser gibt seinen Pardon nachträglich wie bei Goethe. Wir hören von alledem erst am Ende des IV. Akts in der Unterhaltung Weislingens mit Adelheid, und zwar zugleich mit Weislingens Hoffnung (und das ist der Trick), dass es der ausbrechende Bauernkrieg Götz unmöglich machen werde stillzubleiben. Der Bruch ist also geschickt übertüncht, aber nicht geheilt; von andern Einwänden zu schweigen. Was vom Bischof von Bamberg bleibt, ist eine Szene mit dem Kaiser in Augsburg nach D, doch ohne Weislingens Anwesenheit, so dass eigentlich nur er die Exekution gegen Götz auswirkt. Auch das ganze Liebesspiel Weislingen-Adelheid ist auf diese Weise gefallen, denn die einzige Szene daraus die bleibt (notwendig die, in der Adelheid ihn vom Götz losreisst), wird — *horribile dictu* — erst nach der Vermählung der beiden angesetzt. Wir fragen, was aus der Belagerung geworden. Nun, im-

mer wenn der Kampf bald losgehn soll, werden wir wieder in die Adelheid-Atmosphäre oder sonst eine gebracht und finden bei unsrer Zurückkunft schon alles getan und geschehn.

Das bringt uns zu einem der beiden Hauptfehler des Vfs.: gerade in dem Bestreben ein Drama, eine klar umzogene Handlung entstehen zu lassen, ist er in ganz epische Anschauungs- und Darstellungsformen geraten. Denn es ist selbstverständlich, dass bei solcher Methode der Zusammenhang nicht anders aufrecht erhalten werden kann als durch ausgiebigen Gebrauch der menschlichen Erzählungskunst. So episch die Struktur von Goethes *Götz* auch ist, so episodenhaft in der Ausführung, geschaut ist alles im Handeln leibhaftiger Personen, Szene für Szene das Ganze so dramatisch wie nur etwas; hier umgekehrt.

Nun Einzelheiten. Technisch ist gegen die Übertragung nicht viel einzuwenden; der Vf. zeigt bei allen Umbiegungen und Abänderungen, dass er den deutschen Text gemeinhin verstanden hat; offenbare Missverständnisse verdienen keine Erwähnung. Aber kann er Englisch? D.h. weiss er Worte zu finden, die den deutschen an Umfang und Bedeutsamkeit der damit verbundenen Assoziationskomplexe annähernd entsprechen? Und wir entdecken sofort, dass all die hundertfältigen, scharf beobachteten Einzelzüge verwischt oder ausgewischt sind, in denen seinerzeit schon die Frankf. Gel. Anz. den ganzen Saft und Kraft der alt-deutschen Zeit begrüsst hatten und die auch uns noch mit dem Gefühl der Fülle des Lebens anmuten und uns so das Drama einfühlbar machen. Er hat also gestrichen wo er konnte, nicht nur mit dem Rotstift, sondern auch vorstellungsweise. Nur ein Beispiel:

“Er meints gut, und möcht gern bessern. Da kommt denn alle Tage ein neuer Pfannenflicker, und meint so und so. Und weil der Herr geschwind was begreift, und nur reden darf um tausend Händ in Bewegung zu setzen, so meint er, es wär auch alles so geschwind und leicht ausgeführt” (BD).

“His wish has always been to do well, and he has therefore given a willing ear to plausible suggestions, and daily plans which seemed wisely contrived for the public good” (p. 44).

So wird die Vereinfachung zur Verflachung. Doch ist Unfähigkeit nicht allein verantwortlich. Denn anderseits scheut sich Vf. nicht ausführlicher zu werden, wo die Herausstellung des Zusammenhangs es zu fordern scheint, so besonders am Akt-eingang und -schluss. Da Weislingen und Adelheid vor ihrer

Vermählung nie zusammen auftreten, findet er es nötig die Schönheit Adelheids etwas kräftiger herauszustreichen, und wir kommen auf diese Weise zu einer ergötzlichen Schilderung, wie er sich so eine Sirene ungefähr vorstellt: (Franz spricht) "The rounded symmetry and unspotted whiteness of her bosom, with its gentle throbbing, could all be seen through the transparent veil that scarcely covered it, while her dark shining hair fell in rich clusters on her neck, and shaded part of that beauty which 'twas maddening thus to stand and look upon" (p. 62 seq.). Das Weitgehendste, was Goethe an der Stelle hat, ist: "Und das blendende Licht des Angesichts und des Busens wie es von den finstern Haaren erhoben ward!" (B D), also impressionistische Technik, wo sein Übersetzer beschreibt und erzählt. Sonst sind alle Stellen, die etwas zu privat zu werden drohen, fortgelassen oder abgedunkelt. Doch ist dies ebenso nebensächlich wie bessere, ja ganz ansprechende Leistungen, die Vf. zuweilen in engem Anschluss an die Vorlage zeigt, denn das Übelste bleibt — sein Streben klar zu sein (wie er es versteht). Sein inneres Ziel ist stets eine Zusammenfassung der Fülle des Geschehens in einer Form, die sich leicht dem Gedächtnis einprägt. Die Vereinfachung der Eindrücke in der Erinnerung, die der Leser oder Zuschauer vollziehen muss, wird uns so vorweggenommen; die mannigfache Gefühlsbeswertheit der Eindrücke aber, die durch eben diese Vereinfachung frei wird, sich in uns zusammenballt und dann in tausend Wollungen und Fühlungen umgesetzt, wird nicht vermittelt.

Die Sprache ist glatt, und durchweg mehr oder minder poetisch, im landläufigen Sinne. (Und das ist der andre Hauptfehler.) Nie derb. So lädt der alte Götz den gefangenen Weislingen zu Tisch (Vf. folgt B): ". . . Come, Adelbert, my wife and sister will, I hope, persuade you to forget my rude sincerity of speech. You were once a gay gallant enough — eager to win the favour of fair women. Come, and for a brief time at least, let us blot out the past!" (p. 45 seq.) Wie schreibt doch Sir Walter dagegen, schon 1799: ". . . Come, I hope the company of my women folks will revive you — you always liked the girls — Aye, aye, they can tell many pretty stories of you." Also gar kein Vergleich. Das Folgende gibt den Schluss des Gesprächs Kaiser-Bischof(-Weislingen):



“Ein freudiger Zuruf wird Euer Majestät das Ende der Rede ersparen, und Hülfe gegen den Türken wird sich als unmittelbare Folge so weiser, väterlicher Vorkehrungen zeigen” (D).

“Your majesty will have the warm response from many grateful hearts, for this last token of most gracious favour. The storm which hangs upon our borders may prove the herald of a dawn of light which shall increase in brightness till every cloud be swept away, and a calm sun of happiness and fortune shine upon us!” (p. 102).

Also die schönsten Iamben in Prosa, klingt fast wie Grays *Elegy*.<sup>12</sup> Und selbst die Bauern sprechen so, wie Metzler zeigt in der Szene “Ich hab Otten von Helfenstein” (A): “When yonder sun, which sinks behind that cloud of smoke and fire, shall come again to wake the sleeping earth, its early rays shall fall upon one scene of woe and desolation, and the murderer’s soul shall be — where mercy cannot find it!” (p. 158). Bei Goethe ist die Sprache gedämpft, aber von der Wucht der Leidenschaft selbst, d.h. dramatisch zum Springen gespannt; hier lyrische Töne, abgeklärt, von tragischem Pathos. Das wäre nicht einmal so schlecht, wenn sich nicht Sievers in ganz ähnlichem Tone ein Glas Brantwein bestellte “—that our parting may be christian-like” (p. 11). Dazwischen dann doch immer wieder regelrechte Prosa, ohne Stilgefühl verteilt, wie es der Zufall gewollt.

Liest man das nun Szene für Szene, so ist der Eindruck bald da: die Leute sprechen alle, als läsen sie etwas vor oder wüssten schon auswendig was sie sagen wollten. Deklamatorischer Vortrag. Das bringt uns auf den Dialog, lebensprühend und -atmend, wie die Szene es fordert, im *Götz*; hier langatmig, selbst abhandlungshaft. Denn wer kann die feinen Gedankensprünge alle *behalten*? Wer wird verstehen, worum es sich handelt, wenn die Leute so *verworren* reden? Man spricht seltener, aber länger; klarer, doch leblos. So berichtet Georg die Absage Weislingens an Götz in wohlgesetzter Gedankenfolge (p. 85) — wir wissen nun was geschehn; Georg verblasst.

Es hätte schon vorher etwas über den Wortschatz gesagt werden können. Die stilistische Tendenz weist auf Shake-

<sup>12</sup> Vielleicht hat literarischer Einfluss diese Technik begünstigt; cf. F. Holthausen in *Herrigs Archiv* cxiii (1904) und Otto Ritter *ibid.*, cxvii (1906) über rhythmische Prosa im englischen Schauspiel. Eine Kreuzung von Motiven, von Unfähigkeit unterstützt, scheint jedoch zur Erklärung ausreichend.

speare, doch ist sie zu vag für genauern Vergleich. Ein anderer Einschlag deutet auf Scott, zumal seine Versepen. Wohl sind es schliesslich nur die stehenden Beiwörter Scott'scher Ritter und Damen, wie *gallant, fair, gentle*; doch die Art ihrer Anwendung und Wiederholung sichert ihnen genug Begleitvorstellungen, um über das Ganze einen Schleier von Border- und Hochland-Romantik zu werfen; einen Schleier freilich, der wohl Löcher hat. Diese Verfärbung ist bemerkenswert, da Scotts eigene Übersetzung dergl. durchaus nicht in dem Masse zeigt. Götz ist bei Scott immerhin der alte, treuerzige Götz; hier ist er eine Mischung von Sentimentalität und romantischer Ritterlichkeit. Die Erklärung liegt im Gesagten: für Scott war seine Romantik ursprüngliches Erleben, und darum in ihrer Natur schmiegsam und biegsam; für den Nachahmer ist sie eine literarische Erinnerung, ein enger Komplex, konventionell geworden, leblos und nur mechanisch, gedächtnismässig in Operation gesetzt. Das Sentimentale ist jedenfalls eigne Zutat, wie Weislingen zeigt, der in der Liebeszene mit Maria statt des Goetheschen "Wie wird mirs werden, wenn ich dich verlassen soll!" (A B D) sich in folgender Stilübung ergeht: "Alas! Dear Marie, I now feel how hard will be my parting from you! For many — many weary days I shall not hear your gentle voice, nor feel the soft pressure of these fairy hands. Away, amidst scenes and men that can no more ensnare me, with what earnest longing shall my thoughts return to these well known halls, where the hours of my childhood—," genug. Von der Überzeugungskraft eines einzigen lastenden Worts weiss der Vf. nichts.—Wer relativ am wenigsten verloren hat, ist wohl Adelheid, die immer noch als scharf gesehene Persönlichkeit erscheint, wenn nicht schon kotzebuesch überzeichnet. Bei Goethe ist sie wohl herrschsüchtig, spielt doch aber das Spiel um des Spieles willen; dieser Zug ist hier verschwunden, sie will klettern, alles andre ist Mittel zum Zweck. Auch an Würde büsst sie dadurch ein wenig ein. Die Vorwegnahme ihrer Vermählung mit Weislingen verdirbt natürlich vieles an beiden. Auch Franz ist noch ziemlich deutlich, ebenso Georg; die andern Figuren bleiben in der Fläche.

Wir haben im Voranstehenden in erster Reihe die Abweichungen der Bearbeitung von ihrer Vorlage beschrieben. In der Beurteilung dieser Abweichungen war jedoch der Masstab nicht Goethes *Götz*, sondern unsre Auffassung vom Drama als Kunst-

werk. Der Vf. wollte ja etwas *quasi* Selbständiges schaffen, musste also aus seinen Absichten heraus verstanden werden. Dass es ihm trotzdem nicht entfernt gelungen ist ein Drama entstehen zu lassen, dürfte klar sein. Das Werk wagte sich 1837 ans Licht, und zwar in Amerika. In den Zeitschriften ist es offenbar überhaupt nicht beachtet worden, wofür sich drei Gründe beibringen liessen. Doch erscheint es, soweit meine Hilfsmittel mich sehen lassen, in zwei Bücherkatalogen. Der eine O. A. Roorbachs *Bibliotheca Americana* 1820–1852,<sup>13</sup> wo es zweimal als *Goetz Van Berlichingen* mit 45 Cent ausgezeichnet ist; der andre ist Trübners *Bibliogr. Guide to Am. Lit.*,<sup>14</sup> der unter dem richtigen Titel 4s. 6d. verlangt. Im Britischen Museum ist kein Exemplar vorhanden. Die Kongress-Bibliothek hat das ihre noch 1871 erworben. Es scheint also eine durchaus amerikanische Veröffentlichung und sollte nach den Umständen *con amore* geschrieben sein. Doch haben wir nun einen Begriff, zu welcher Menschengattung dieser Goethefreund gehörte, und können danach auch die Anschauungen seines Vorwortes bemessen. All seine Angriffe auf Goethes *Dunkelheit* usw., die ja historisch einige Berechtigung haben, sind demnach ästhetisch wie ethisch wertlos, denn der Angreifer beurteilte ja nicht mehr als er von Goethe zu sehen vermochte, und das war herzlich wenig. Über das XVIII. Jh. ging sein Horizont nicht hinaus — ein Mann, der seine Margaret Fuller zu seiner Zeitgenossin hatte. Doch bleibt anzuerkennen, dass er die Arbeit überhaupt unternahm und durchführte. Ein ehrliches Interesse an deutscher Literatur zeigt sich darin, das berufeneren Händen vorarbeitete.

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<sup>13</sup> N. Y. 1852, p. 220 seq.

<sup>14</sup> Lond. 1859, p. 433.



## THE ENVY THEME IN PROLOGUES AND EPILOGUES

"A preface may be short," writes Thackeray in one of his later essays, "but it must, I think, be the author's own composition." As the preface is the domain of the author's full heart, it is here that he is most appealingly human. And for the very reason that he is speaking not as an artist but as a man to other men, he uses, in his foreword and in his afterword, too, those conventions long since stamped as current coin, and like English gold, good everywhere. Fear of envy and love of fame, defiance to detractors and dependence upon a patron's protection, contempt for the unlettered multitude and regard for the gentle, kindly reader, a labored eschewing of idleness and a prayerful Godspeed to the "little book,"—these are among the stock motives of a hundred prologues and epilogues. A detailed discussion of the first of these deep-rooted traditions will involve casual consideration of all the rest and will seem valueless only to those who proclaim the writer least himself, when most like his fellows of the craft.

Several months after announcing<sup>1</sup> my intent of coping with the "Envy" preface, I was delighted to mark my friend, Professor W. D. Briggs's comment, characteristically accurate and acute, upon the place of envy in older literature.<sup>2</sup> But it was no part of this careful observer's purpose to reflect the lurid lights constantly cast by the dread of envy upon Elizabethan foreword and afterword, else the present article would have been forestalled by a better. In my cursory survey of the theme, "exhaustiveness," so often the twin of exhaustion, is nowhere contemplated; and typical examples selected here and there may be many times multiplied by nibblers of the first and last leaves of folios. Everywhere in the middle centuries of our literature, livid Envy sits behind the writer as tenaciously as black Care behind the horseman, threatening with gnawing tooth Chapman, Spenser, Jonson, the King James translators, as ominously as the meanest scribbler that ever dared print. Nor shall our story be only of the days of the printed page, for literary aspirants at the court of Henry II in the twelfth century and of Richard II in the fourteenth confess

<sup>1</sup> *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, January, 1916.

<sup>2</sup> "Source Material for Jonson's Plays," *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1916.

the same dread and frame their fear in the same trite phrasing as the seekers of the favor of Elizabeth.

Twelfth and thirteenth centuries furnish copious illustrations of the writer's shrinking—not the less real because formally couched—from ever-imminent envy. Saxon homilist, French singer of *lais*, Latin essayist, satirist and historian meet on the common ground of fear of the envious critic. Orm, most personal when most conventional, laments, in his dedication to "Brother Walter," the scornful judgment of that foul flock who, through pride and envy,<sup>3</sup> blame the thing that they should praise and thus condemn his work as useless and idle. Marie de France mourns, in the opening lines of *Guigemar*, the constant presence of those who slander the good through envy:

Nel voil mie pour ceo laisser  
Si jangleur u losengier  
Le me vuelent a mal turner,  
Ceo est lur dreiz de mesparler.

The "Epilogus" of Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*,<sup>4</sup> which, despite its present place in the body of the work, was doubtless designed to close the volume, provides summary mention of the book's unworthy readers:—"Oderunt enim antequam audierint, vilipendent antequam appendant, invident priusquam videant." And Map includes in the prologue to the fifth division of his book (p. 203) a saying with a traditional flavor, "sic raritatem poetarum faciunt gemine lingue obtrectatorium." So useful is the prologue to the *Historia Anglorum* in which Matthew of Paris takes occasion to reply to "detractoribus invidis et nostrum laborem inanem reputantibus,"<sup>5</sup> that it does repeated duty.<sup>6</sup> Nor is such an attitude confined to Englishmen and Anglo-Frenchmen, for the Preface of the *Danish History* of Saxo Grammaticus holds in equal dread "obtrectationis livorem." Early satirists are not less jealous of the bubble, reputation. John of Hauteville, in the prologue

<sup>3</sup> "Gainst good deserts both pride and envy swell," says one P. B. over three centuries later than Orm to such as heretofore have found fault with George Gascoigne's *Poesies*.

<sup>4</sup> See the Montague James edition (1914), p. 142.

<sup>5</sup> Compare the *Ormulum* dedication, *supra*.

<sup>6</sup> Matthew's editor in the Rolls Series compares the Prologue to *Chronicles* (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLX, col. 421) and the Prologue of the Norman abbot, Robert de Monte, to his *Additions* to Sigebert of Gemblours (Pertz, *Mon. Hist. Germ.*, VI, 480).

to his *Architrenius*,<sup>7</sup> prays that his book, the mean and unpolished product of his fancy, may live safe from the fatally poisonous bite of envy.<sup>8</sup> The widely known *Anticlaudianus* of Alanus de Insulis<sup>9</sup> is ushered in by a prose preface breathing in its first sentence the hope that the flame of envy may not blast and that the breath of detraction may not lay low this poor and humble work of his and is concluded in much the same strain:—

Ne livor in illum  
Saeviat aut morsus detractio figat in illo  
.....  
Si tamen ad presens fundit sua murmura livor  
Et famam delere cupit laudesque poetae  
Supplantare novas, saltem post fata silebit

By the way, it is in the *De Planctu Naturae*<sup>10</sup> of the same author that "Envy, destroying the minds of men through the rusty bite of constant detraction," is decorated with a store of stock similes and epithets dear to the Middle Ages and ample enough to justify every author's fear of its power.

The dread of envy has other than medieval warrant. For this convention, so frequent in prologue and epilogue, writers of the Angevin period can plead the authoritative precedent of antiquity. No one is more explicit upon this point than Giraldus Cambrensis. In the first preface to *The Itinerary through Wales*<sup>11</sup> he supports the assertion that "letters, through envy, profit nothing in this world, but like a testament acquire an immortal value from the seal of death" not only by the patristic example of St. Jerome,<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets of the Twelfth Century, Rolls Series, I, 392.*

<sup>8</sup> The Horatian commonplace of Envy's poisonous bite (*Odes*, IV, III, 16; *Epistles*, I, xiv, 38) has as wide a vogue in the prefaces of this age as in those of many other periods. One Reginald, in the foreword to the twelfth-century Vita S. Oswaldi (*Works* of Simeon of Durham, *Rolls Series*, 1882, I, 327, App. III) declares that the 'rivalry of him who may attack this work with livid tooth is the poisonous viper which did not spare from its bite the hand of St. Paul.'

<sup>9</sup> *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets, II, 268-426.*

<sup>10</sup> *Id.*, II, 496-498.

<sup>11</sup> *Opera Giraldi Cambrensis, Rolls Series, VI, 5.*

<sup>12</sup> That Jerome (see the *Prefatio in Librum Job*) was long used by preface-writers as a stock example of spiritual triumph over envy is attested by the verses of John Scotus to Charles the Bald introducing his translation of the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite (compare Wright, *Biog. Brit. Lit.*, I, 421), 'How can his work escape the fierce tooth, when even Jerome had felt its bite?' and by the sixteenth century *Myroure of Oure Ladye*, (*E. E. T. S., Extra Ser. XIX, p. 8*), "St. Hierome sayth how he was compellyd at eche boke to answere to the backbytinge of them that depraved his labour."



but by two weighty classical epilogues, the one closing the first book of Ovid's *Amores*,—

Pascitur in vivis livor, post fata quiescit;  
Cum suis ex merito quemque tuetur honor.

the second concluding the *Thebais* of Statius,

Denique si quis adhuc praetendit nubila livor  
Occidet, et meriti post me referentur honores.

Both of these favorites of medieval penmen give further sanction to the fear of envy. Not to mention the elaborate description of Envy chewing the flesh of vipers in the *Metamorphoses* (II, 76), Ovid rejoices at the end of the fourth book of the *Tristia* (IV, x, 125-126) that his work escapes the bite of the unjust tooth of "livor," which detracts from the precious things; he ends the fourth epistle of the third book, *Ex Ponto*, with a reference to "livor iners vitium. . . . Utque latens ima vipera serpit humo" and brings this series of epistles to an end with a letter, "Ad Invidum" (IV, xvi). Likewise Statius, in the preface to the fourth book of the *Silvae*, denounces the envious detractor of his work and quite in the fashion of the English days of patronage bids Marcellus defend his book. Giraldus quotes again the *Thebais* ending at the beginning of his *Topography of Ireland* and cites as if from Seneca the comment of Apollinaris Sidonius (*Epistole III*, line 14) upon the satisfaction with which the malicious attention of the envious reader ("lividi lectoris") dwells upon a faulty passage. This same envious reader and detractor finds frequent place in the *Epigrams* of Martial, of which more anon. Phaedrus, too, furnishes apt illustration of the Envy epilogue at the close of the second book of his *Fables*; but it is needless to multiply classical examples.<sup>13</sup> The large use of this *motif* in the prologues and epilogues of antiquity needs no further demonstration.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> For a long list of classical and scriptural quotations illustrating the sin of Envy, the reference hunter may turn to Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Pt. I, sect. II, mem. 3, sub. 4.

<sup>14</sup> Before Giraldus Cambrensis goes out of the story, it may be remarked that he is one of the first Englishmen to introduce into a preface the "avoidance of idleness" *motif* discussed, in far later phases, by Carleton Brown, *Modern Philology*, IX, 1 f. and by the writer, *Modern Language Notes*, January, 1915. Gerald twice finds it serviceable; first as the central theme of the second preface to the *Itinerary through Wales*, and again in the characteristically medieval shrinking from Sloth as the parent of Vice, in the first preface to the *Description of Wales*. Among the works written "to eschue idleness" are Stephen Hawes'

The dread of detraction is as strong among the writers of the fourteenth century as among those of the twelfth. The author of the *Speculum Laicorum* (MS. Add. 11284),<sup>15</sup> which is attributed by Bale to Hoveden, announces in his introduction that he has suppressed, for fear of exciting envy, both his own name and that of his "quondam conscolaris et confrater modernus." The maker of *The Testament of Love*, Thomas Usk, whose name is only veiled, not withdrawn, recognizes in the conclusion of his "leude pamflet" that "envy is ever redy, al innocentes to shende; wherefore I wolde that good speche envy evermore hinder." In Gower the tradition finds varied embodiment. His little Latin prelude to the *Confessio* pleads torpor and dulness of sense as excuses for the triviality of his theme and prays that his work may escape "that bone-lacking thing which breaks bones" (the proverbial periphrase for "tongue") and may be safe from the evil interpreter. The first version of the prefatory lines of his *Confessio* prologue couples with his very qualified fear of envy the prayer to Heaven's king to shield him from the malicious and jangling tongues of which the world is full. And the Latin "Explicit" of the work contains the quintessence of a thousand dedications past and future:—

Explicit iste liber, qui transeat, obsecro liber  
 Ut sine livore vigeat lectoris in ore.  
 Qui sedet in scannis celi det ut ista Johannis  
 Perpetuis annis stet pagina grata Britannis.  
 Derbeie Comiti recolunt quem laude periti,  
 Vade liber purus, sub eo requiesce futurus.

The threefold hope that the book may thrive unenvied, that it may win immortality, and that it may rest securely under the shelter of its patron is conventional in all its parts. And the "vade liber" is more frequent still, as we shall soon see.

Chaucer, less formal than his friend, gives new turns to the familiar motif.<sup>16</sup> In the prologue to his *Astrolabe*, he declares to little Lewis, "I am but a lewd compilatour of the labour of olde

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*Pastime of Pleasure*, Caxton's *Mirour of the World*, *The Complaynt of Scotland* (E. E. T. Soc, *Extra Series*, vol. xvii), in whose preface the sloth and envy themes are skilfully interwoven, and Barnabe Rich's *Honestie of This Age* (1614), dedicated to Sir. T. Middleton, Lord Mayor.

<sup>15</sup> Ward, *Romances in the British Museum*, III, 371 f.

<sup>16</sup> In this connection it is interesting to mark that Boccaccio follows closely classical tradition in his elaborate discussion of Envy at the beginning of the Fourth Day of the *Decameron*:—"Dearest ladies, as well by words of wise men

astrologiens and have but translated in myn English only for thy doctrine; and with this swerd shal I sleen envye." In the Invocation to *The House of Fame* the poet wishes good dreams and other blessings to the kindly reader and horrible visions and their harmful fulfillment to the scornful and envious critic:-

And sende hem al that may hem plesse,  
That take hit wel and scorne hit noght,  
Ne hit misdeme in her thoght  
Through malicious entencioun.  
And who-so, through presumpcioun,  
Or hate or scorne, or through envye,  
Despite, or lape, or vilanye,  
Misdeme hit, preye I Iesus god  
That (dreme he barefoot, dreme he shod),  
That every harm that any man  
Hath had sith that the world began,  
Befalle him thereof, or he sterve,  
And graunte he mote hit ful deserve, etc.<sup>16a</sup>

Of equal interest is the use of the convention in the Prologue to *The Legend of Good Women*. As soon as the poet's works are brought into question, criticism is as ever attributed to envy (B 350 f.):—

This man to you may falsly been accused,  
Ther as by right him oghte been excused.  
For in your court is many a losengeour,  
And many a queynte totelere accusour,  
That tabouren in your eres many a soun,  
Right after hir imaginacioun,  
To have your daliance, and for envye;  
These been the causes, and I shall not lye.  
Envye is lavender of the court alway;  
For she ne parteth, neither night ne day,  
Out of the hous of Cesar; thus seith Dante;  
Who-so that goth, algate she wol nat wante.

heard as by things many a time both seen and read of myself, I had conceived that the boisterous and burning blast of envy was apt to smite none but lofty towers or the highest summits of the trees. . . . Yet for all this have I not availed to escape being cruelly shaken, nay, well nigh uprooted, of the afore-said wind and all torn of the fangs of envy; wherefore I can very manifestly understand that to be true which the wise use to say, to wit, that misery alone in things present is without envy." Boccaccio's figure is, of course, suggested by a famous passage in the tenth ode of Horace's second book, "Saepius ventis agitur ingens pinus, etc.," which also inspired the "Defiance of Envy" that prefaces Bishop Joseph Hall's *Satires* over two centuries later. Boccaccio's prose and Hall's verse, placed side by side, furnish an instructive parallel.

<sup>16a</sup>Professor Kittredge (*Chaucer and his Poetry*, p. 77), with his wonted acumen, recognizes that this outburst is "a pure convention," and suggests that



The student of formulae finds it profitable to compare "losengeour" and "queynte totelere accusour" with Marie's mention, in the same context (*supra*), of "jangleur u losengier." And through the phrase of Dante speaks the spirit of many "Envy" prefaces. Moreover, it seems to me likely that in his picture of detractors "that tabouren in your eres many a soun" Chaucer was thinking of Ovid's bitter account of his envious maligners in the *Tristia* (III, xi).<sup>17</sup>

In any case, the classical commonplace which ushers in the *Tristia*, and which stands Martial so often in stead in his *Epigrams*, "Parve liber, vade," appears at the close of the *Troilus* (V, 1786 f.), in combination with an amiable modification of the "Envy" motif.

Go, litel book, go, litel myn tragedie,  
 . . . . .  
 But litel book, no making thou nenvye,  
 But sugit be to alle poesy.

For a century and more, "Go, little book," which we have already noted in John de Hauteville and in Gower, dominates the close of the poems, religious and secular, of the Chaucerian school. In many instances in Professor Skeat's supplementary volume, the motif is blended with the time-honored apology for rudeness of style: the "Verba Translatoris" of Sir Richard Ros' version of *La Belle Dame sans Merci* (p. 325), "Go litel book . . . this rude translacioun . . . ful destitute of eloquence, of metre and of coloures"; *The Envoy to Alison* (p. 358), "O lewde book, with thy foole rudeness"; *The Flower and the Leaf* (p. 379), "O litel book,

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"Chaucer got the idea from the *Anticlaudianus* [*supra*], which he had just been reading." In the light of the wide vogue of the formula, one hesitates to assign any definite source.

<sup>17</sup> Between Ovid's appeal to the outraged Augustus in the Second Book of the *Tristia* and Chaucer's arraignment by the angry God of Love there are parallels suggesting a possible indebtedness on the part of the later poet to the author of "myn owne book." Both writers are accused on the score of their love-poems, the Roman for writing too kindly, the Englishman, too harshly of love. And several pleas in behalf of the two poets are identical. First, that one who is both ruler and god (as either Cupid or Augustus) must be "gracious and merciable":—"A god ne sholde nat be thusagreved (*Legend*, 345-393)"; "Utere more Dei nomen habentis idem" (*Tristia*, II, 40). Secondly, that certain works of each poet are full of encomia of the indignant deity:—"Yet hath he made lewed folk delyte

"To serve you in preysing of your name." (*Legend*, 415);

thou art so unconning . . . Thy rude langage ful boistoisly unfold"; *A Goodly Balade* (p. 407),

"Forth, complaynt! forth, lacking eloquence,  
Forth, litel lettre, of endyting lame."

Such is the form dear to Lydgate. Interestingly conventional is the envoy to *An Epistle to Sibille*:<sup>18</sup>

Go, lytel pistel and recomande me  
Unto my ladye which cleped is Cybille,  
Pray hir to have routhe and eke pitee  
Of the dulness of this my rude style.

The little book, bill or treatise, barren of eloquence,<sup>19</sup> goes forth in all humility,<sup>20</sup> quaking for fear.<sup>21</sup> The epilogue to Lydgate's portentous *Troy Book*<sup>22</sup> is thus paraphrased by its editor: "Little book, get the favor of your king and patiently submit to corrections; as you're not eloquent, take blame humbly, and ask complainers to amend your faults." Sir David Lyndsay professes, at the conclusion of *The Complaynt of the Papyngo*, unwillingness to have his "quaire" seen beside any other book of poetry, "because thou bene but rethorik sa rude." And the anonymous author of *Colyn Blowbol's Testament*,<sup>23</sup> equally conventional in his modesty, marvels that his "litelle quayer" dares show its face in the presence of men of honesty on account of its rudeness<sup>24</sup> and

"Invenies vestri preconia nominis illic." (*Tristia*, II, 65). Significant also is the likeness between Chaucer's reference, (doubtless to Gower's tale) in the Man of Law's Introduction (B. 77),

"Thilke wikke ensample of Canacee  
That lovede her owne brother sinfully."

and Ovid's inclusion of this among evil stories that another had told (*Tristia* II, 384), "Nobilis est Canace fratris amore sui." All this may be just such coincidence as that between Chaucer, "forgotten in solitary wilderness," asking the mediation of his friend, Scogan, "at the stream's head of grace," and Ovid pleading from his wretched exile at Tomos, the modern Constanza, for the intercession of friends at court.

<sup>18</sup> *Lydgate's Minor Poems*, E. E. T. Soc., Extra Ser., CVII, 14.

<sup>19</sup> *Stans. Puer ad Mensam*, Hazlitt's Remains, IV, 28.

<sup>20</sup> *Cristes Passioun*, *Minor Poems*, p. 221.

<sup>21</sup> *To St. Thomas*, Id., p. 143.

<sup>22</sup> E. E. T. Soc., Extra Ser. XCVII, CIII, CVI, p. 816.

<sup>23</sup> Hazlitt's Remains, I, 109.

<sup>24</sup> The apology of Chaucer's Franklin for his "rude speche" and ignorance of the "colours of rethorick" (F. 716 f.) is a formula; but it is no less characteristic than the "eschewing of idleness" convention on the lips on the Second Nun.

lack of fair language. Hoccleve's Envoy to *The Regement of Princes* attests his liking for the formula.<sup>25</sup>

At the end of the fifteenth century "Go, little book," and the apology for rudeness of style are closely combined with the envy tradition, as three notable examples show. Alexander Barclay, "excusynge the rudeness of his translacion," *The Ship of Fools*, thus addresses his volume:—

Go, boke; abasshe the thy rudenesse to present  
To me avanced to worship and honour  
.....  
But when I remember the common behaviour  
Of men, I thynke thou ought to quake for fere  
Of tungen envyous whose venym may the dere.

The last stanza of Caxton's *Book of Curtesye*<sup>26</sup> warns the "lytil quair" to submit under corrections of benevolence and to come not where Envy is,

Envye is ful of froward reprehens,  
And how to hurte lyeth ever in a wayte,  
Kepe your quayer that it be not ther bayte

And John Skelton strikes exactly the same note in "Lenvoy Royall" of *Speke Parrott*:—

Go, proper Parotte, my papagay,  
That lordes and ladies thy pamphlett may behold  
With notable clerkes; supply to them, I pray  
Your rudeness to pardon and also that they wolde  
Vouchsafe to defende you agayne the brawlinge scolde  
Called Detraxion encankryd with envye,  
Whose tong is attayntyd with slaundrys oblique.

The trembling humility with which Lydgate and other Chaucerians greeted criticism and corrections is not very rife in the self-confident sixteenth century. A contempt for the critic, which is usually both arrogant and angry, is born of a deep-rooted belief, widely current during the Renaissance and pleading classical precedent, that any imputation of error arises not so much from the weakness of the work as from its envy-producing greatness. The vain-glorious Elizabethans everywhere chant

<sup>25</sup> England has no monopoly of "Vade liber" in the Middle Ages. My colleague, Professor M. B. Ogle, draws my attention to Dante's use of the *motif* in the twelfth section of the *Vita Nuova* and to its frequent appearance in other early Italian love poems (*Poetae del Buono Seculo*, I, 99, 183, 239, 262; II, 25, 257, 293, 305, 314) and in Provençal (Mahn, *Die Werke der Troubadouren*, I, 27, 329, 349).

<sup>26</sup> *E. E. T. Soc., Extra Ser.*, III.



their triumph over Envy. The "nec Jovis ira" of Ovid's splendid vaunt, so often in their mouths, is rendered by them "not envies fume."<sup>27</sup> And Spenser proclaims near the end of his *Ruines of Time*:—

Wise wordes taught in numbers for to runne

.....

Not age nor envie shall them ever wast.

The proud declaration in the Epilogue or "Vade Liber" to *The Shepheardes Calender* that it "steale in strength and time in durance shall outweare" and "shall continewe till the world's dissolution" is supported in the "Embleme" by citations from the Horatian and Ovidian vaunts of immortality:—"Therefore let not be envied, that this poet in his Epilogue sayth he hath made a Calender that shall endure as long as time, etc." Sir John Davies thus entwines the name of "Elisa" with his own proud fame in the acrostic that closes his *Hymns of Astraea*:—<sup>28</sup>

Envy, go weep! My muse and I  
Laugh thee to scorn. Thy feeble eye  
Is dazzled with the glory  
Shining in this gay poesy  
And little golden story.

Dekker vaunts his immortal achievements in the introduction to *Knights' Conjuring*:<sup>29</sup> "Envie (in these civil warres) may hit me, but not hurt me; calumny may wound my name, but not kill my labors . . . Non norunt haec monumenta mori."<sup>30</sup> And Browne defies Envy in the "Lines to the Reader" that prelude *Britannia's Pastorals* (1613)

If such a basilisk dart down his eye  
(Empoisoned with the dregs of utmost hate)  
To kill the first blooms of my poesy,  
It is his worst and makes me fortunate  
Kind wits I vail to, but to fools precise,  
I am as confident, as they are nice.

The attitude of the Tudor author to Envy is adequately revealed by a paraphrase of the presentation to Detraction with which John Marston prefaces his *Scourge of Villainy* (1598). He

<sup>27</sup> See Rowland's "Dedicatory Epistle" to Topsell's *History of Four-footed Beasts* (1658).

<sup>28</sup> Arber's *English Garner*, V, 576.

<sup>29</sup> *Percy Society*, vol. V.

<sup>30</sup> Martial's lofty phrase is fitted to the works of Dekker and of far greater men and dramatists, Shakspeare, Jonson, Chapman, Beaumont and Fletcher by Webster in the notable preface to *The White Devil*.

exposes the issue of his brain to that foul canker of fair virtuous action, Envy's abhorred child, Detraction,<sup>31</sup> scorning with high spirit her spite, however she may snarl, rail, bark and bite, for the genius which guides his intellectual powers holds in all vile repute Detraction, and his soul is a metaphysical essence that scorns the rage of critics. His mind disdains the dungy, muddy scum of abject thoughts and Envy's raging hate. Such a cankered verdict of malignant tongues shall ne'er provoke him to deem himself the worse,

Spite of despite and rancour's villainy,  
I am myself, so is my poesy.

All this is as characteristic of the time as of the man.<sup>32</sup> Marston's enemy, Joseph Hall, preludes his satires, *Virgidemiarum* (1597), with a poetical "Defiance of Envy," which we have already considered; and a third satirist of this last decade of the sixteenth century, Thomas Lodge, is as we shall see, equally resentful of criticism, deeming it all detraction. Envy everywhere waits upon desert, if we are to believe the prologues and epilogues of the time. It haunts even the King James Translators of the Bible. "Envie strikes the most spitefully at the fairest," declare these learned men in their second Preface.

Arrogant the writer of Tudor times may be, but he is rarely so self-sufficient as the author of *The Scourge of Villainy*, Marston: "To his most esteemed and best beloved Self dat dedicatque." Against the tooth of Envy, there is one potent protection, the patron. And it matters not whether the book is grave or gay. That earnest volume, Vicary's *Anatomy of the Body of Man*<sup>33</sup> is thus dedicated to the Governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital:—"To you as patrons of this booke, to defende agaynst the ravening jawes of envious backbyters, which never cease by all unlawful meanes to blemishe and deface the workes of learned, expert and well disposed persons." Ralph Robinson thus offers his translation of More's *Utopia* (1551) to William Cecil:—"For the better avoiding of envious and malicious tongues, I . . . am the bolder humbly to offer and dedicate unto your good mastership this my simple work: partly that under the safe conduct of your protection it may the better be defended from the obloquy of them

<sup>31</sup> See Skelton (*supra*), and note the close relationship between Envy and Detraction everywhere in our older literature (*JEG Ph.*, January, 1916.).

<sup>32</sup> See also Marston's Fourth Satire for a vivid arraignment of Envy.

<sup>33</sup> *E. E. T. Soc.*, *Extra Ser.* LIII.

which can say well by nothing that pleaseth not their fond and corrupt judgments, though it be else both fruitful and godly." In the preface to the translation of *Amadis of Gaul*, Anthony Munday beseeches Philip Herbert "to defend it from the venomous tongue of foule mouthde detraction." And a far greater than Robinson or Munday, Edmund Spenser, thus places *The Shepheards Calender* under the care of Philip Sidney:

And if that Envie barke at thee,  
As sure it will, for succor flee  
Under the shadow of his wing<sup>34</sup>

Likewise Spenser prays Lord Buckhurst in a prefatory sonnet to *The Faerie Queene*:

But evermore vouchsafe it to maintaine  
Against vile Zoilus' backbitings vaine

And in yet another sonnet he asks Lord Oxford to receive with his favor,

The unripe fruit of an unready wit,  
Which, by thy countenance, doth crave to be  
Defended from foule Envie's poisonous bit.

Sylvester dedicates his *Second Week* to the Earl of Devonshire, happy in the thought—if we may transprose him—that 'his Muse has found a Mome-free passage under the safe-conduct of the nobleman's patronage, through carping censures of this curious age.' Barnabe Barnes assures himself in his sonnet to Southampton<sup>35</sup> that 'his worthless leaves, sprung from a rude and unmanured land, may withstand, graced with his patron's countenance, hundred-eyed Envy's rude encounterment.' And the Translators of the Bible (1611) offer it to King James, "Humbly craving of your most sacred majesty that, since things of this quality have ever been subject to the censures of ill meaning and discontented persons, it may receive approbation and patronage from so learned and judicious a prince as your highness is, whose

<sup>34</sup> With Spenser's "verses to his book" compare the use of the convention by P. T. G. in his dedication (1595) of *Blanchardyne and Eglantyn*, Part II (*E. E. T. Soc., Extra Ser.*, LVIII) to William Peetre:—"Thus more then half assured that this my poore booke shall finde shelture to flie under the shadow of your wing, in whose good grace (if once it be armed) I feare not what backbiting Momus or his currish mates can imagine against it." And note Thomas Lodge's dedication of *A Margarite of America* (1596) to Lady Russell:—"So hope I (Madame) on the wing of your sacred name to be borne to the temple of Eternitie, where, though Envie barke at me, the Muses shall cherish, love and happie me."

<sup>35</sup> See Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, revised edition, p. 644.



allowance and acceptance of our labours shall more honor and encourage us than all the calumniations of other men shall dismay us." These are a few of many appeals for the patron's defense in the struggle against Envy.<sup>36</sup>

A yet more ardent champion of the Tudor or Jacobean writer in his malignly hampered contest for fame is the admiring friend, ever lavish of praise. King James, in his *Treatise of Poetry* (1584) recognizes as one of the chief uses of the sonnet "the compendious praising of books." And such eulogistic verse aims many of its shafts at the envy or detraction, which is the bitterest foe of its favorites. Walter Raleigh says very fitly in his lines upon Gascoigne's *Steele Glas*:—

Envious braines do nought or light esteeme  
Such stately steppes as they cannot attaine,  
For who so reapes renowne above the rest  
With heapes of hate shall surely be opprest.

If we may believe the laudatory R. R., that worthy work, Joshua Silvester's Translation of Du Bartas, is threatened by 'Envy's viperous seed, which is ever hateful and hated, proud and ignorant, pale, swollen as a toad.' "Ignoto" extols the workmanship of *The Faerie Queene* to attest his judgment and to free his mind from "Envie's tuch that never gives to any man his right." In the friendly verse which prefaces Heywood's *Apology for Actors*<sup>37</sup> Hopton bids 'detraction tongues cease and unkind critics their envy and distraction quite disclaim.' Shelton warns the scholarly Verstegan, author of *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities* (1605) that 'envious, abortive snips of skill will bite his ingenious labors and carp the travels of his learned quill,' and the eulogist adds, 'they will imitate, where they do envy.' Thomas Gainsford declares that Sir Thomas Overbury's fame shall survive 'in spite of envy or the proudest hate'; and W. B. of the Inner Temple proclaims that 'such is the lustre of the

<sup>36</sup> In such dependence upon the patron there is nothing distinctively modern or English. Statius, as we have already seen, bids Marcellus defend his *Silvae* against the envious detractor. Ovid in exile beseeches his friend at Rome (*Tristia*, III, xiv) to protect his literary offspring. And Angelo Ingegneri recommends, exactly in the Elizabethan manner, Tasso's *La Gerusalemme Conquistata* to the protection of the Cardinal di San Giorgio:—"Sotto a tanto autorevole patrocínio potrai star pienamente sicura di superar l'invidia ed ogni altro maligno intoppo." Our small subject, patronage as a rampart against envy, receives no attention from D. Nichol Smith in his valuable chapter on "Authors and Patrons" (*Shakespeare's England*, 1916, Chap. xxii.).

<sup>37</sup> *Shakespeare Society*, 1841, p. 7.

poisoned author that venomd spite, with her black soul, dares not behold his light.' At least four of the verse panegyrics upon Captain John Smith's *Description of New England* (1616).<sup>38</sup> make large use of the Envy motif: Sir John Davies damning Envy as 'a sprite that ever haunts beasts misnamed men'; I. Codrington bidding, in stereotyped phrase, the author scorn 'the spite of Envy which doth no man's merits right'; N. Smith commanding 'damned Detraction to stand not in our way as Envy itself will not gain-say the truth'; and R. Gunnel grieving that 'foul Detraction would pervert honor and Envy ever wait upon desert.' The dramatists, too, feel the venomd tooth. Daniel Lakyn asserts of Massinger's *Renegado* that 'men may throw this work in the face of Envy'; and Singleton of the same author's *Emperor of the East* that the playwright may well 'contemn the poor detraction' of unworthy readers. The friends of Ben Jonson dress their homage in the garb of the convention. "This work despairful Envy must even praise," says Marston of *Sejanus*. "Thou canst scorn censurers that die ere they be thoroughly born," proclaims Nat Field of *Catiline*; "Thy fate hath thought it best that thy foes should envy," is J. F.'s tribute to *Volpone*. We are now on our way to understanding what Ben Jonson himself meant, when he thus began his lines to Shakespeare's memory:

To draw no envy (Shakspeare) on thy name  
Am I thus ample to thy book and fame.<sup>39</sup>

The indiscriminate support of generous patron and the lavish tribute of kindly eulogist combined unhappily to prevent that chastening of the spirit which deference to criticism inevitably produces. Censure always arouses in the haughty minds of Tudor England demonstrative protest and defiance.<sup>40</sup> Even in the early years of the sixteenth century Bishop Gawain Douglas prefaces his third *Aeneid*

<sup>38</sup> Arber's *English Scholar's Library*.

<sup>39</sup> "For writing better I must envy thee," declares Jonson to Beaumont in conscious or unconscious accord with a formula that is deliciously burlesqued by Cervantes in the prefatory sonnets of *Don Quixote*. Don Belianis of Greece chants to the hero, "yet, great Quixote, do I still envy thee;" and Gandaline, Amadis of Gaul's squire, pays lavish tribute to Sancho Panza in the line, "Thine ass I jointly envy and thy name."

<sup>40</sup> Humility still lingered on the Continent, if we may regard as representative of his time and place Baldessar Castiglione's introductory epistle to *The Courtier* (Hoby's Translation, 1576): "If the book shall generally please, I will count him good and think that he ought to live; but, if he shall displease, I will count him naught and believe that the memory of him shall soon perish." How different this from Ben Jonson's arrogant outcry, "By God, 'tis good, and if you like't, you may!"

with this challenge to his critics:—"Wald God, I had thar erys to pull . . . In cays thai bark, I compt it never a myte." And this episcopal laying-on of hands is far outdone by the threats of the laity. Thomas Lodge issues this breezy warning to the Gentlemen Readers of his *Rosalynde*:—"If Momus or anie squint-eied asse that hath mightie eares to conceive with Midas, and yet little reason to judge; if hee come aboard our barke to find fault with the tackling, when he knows not the shrowdes, Ile downe into the hold, and fetch out a rustie pollax, that sawe no sunne this seaven yeare, and either well be bast him, or heave the cockscombe over boord to feede cods. But courteous Gentlemen that favour most, backbite none and pardon what is overslipt, let such come and welcome, Ile into the stewards roome and fetch them a kan of our best beverage."<sup>41</sup> And Brathwaite, in his *Strappado or the Devil* (1615), assumes the same swashbuckling vein, swearing loudly 'to play archpirate with the reader (if he play recreant by being the depraver of the well-intended line) and to tie him like a galley-slave to the mast of his mala-speranza and ferry him over into Tartary.' Detraction and detractors receive as many harsh names as they give. The author of *The Complaynt of Scotland* (1549)<sup>42</sup> runs afoul of "ignorant detrackers," who might think him idle in that he uses his pen instead of practising some mechanic craft. In the preface of the translation of John Caius, *English Dogs* (1576),<sup>43</sup> Abraham Fleming hails as 'currish the eloquence of such as shall snarl and snatch at the English abridgement and tear the translator, being absent, with the teeth of spiteful envy.' John Lyly asserts in his "Epistle to the Gentleman Readers" (1580) that "divers there are, not that they mislike the matter but that they hate the man, that will not stick to teare Euphues, because they do envie Lillie." The writer

<sup>41</sup> Lodge is always haunted by the fear of detraction. He speaks thus to the reader of his *Devil Conjured* (1596): "I leave the whole to your judgements which, if they be not depraved with envie, will be bettered in knowledge, and if not carried away with opinion will receive much profit." And again in his *Prosopopeia or Teares of Marie* (1596) he admonishes his critic "to beware of detraction, for it either sheweth meere ignorance or mightie envie, for the detractor, first of all, sheweth himselfe to be void of charitie and next of all extinguisheth charitie in others." His *Fig for Momus* (1595) we shall discuss later.

<sup>42</sup> E. E. T. Soc., Extra Ser. XIII, p. 9.

<sup>43</sup> *English Garner*, III, 230.



of *England's Eliza* in the 1610 edition of *The Mirror of Magistrates* is 'not ignorant that he will be bitten by those mongrel English that bark at the majesty of that most noble princess . . . the fame of her royalties shall abate the shadows of their envy.' "Procul hinc turba invidiosa!" cries George Peele at the end of his *Order of The Garter*. "There is a certain envious windsucker," complains George Chapman in the preface to his *Homer*, "that hovers up and down, laboriously engrossing all the air with his luxurious ambition and buzzing into every ear my detraction, affirming I turn Homer out of the Latin only, etc., that sets all his associates and the whole rabble of my maligners on their wings with him to bear about my impair and poison my reputation . . . In the meantime I intreat my impartial and judicial reader that all things to the quick he will not pare but humanly and nobly pardon defects and, if he find anything perfect, receive it unenvied." William Browne assures the reader of *Britannia's Pastorals* (1613) that 'the want of ever-living songs, with which our isle was once bravely stored,<sup>44</sup> is due to the chasing away of the Muses by the malignant tongues of those by whom detraction is adored.' According to Wither's prelude to his *Fidelia* (1615),<sup>45</sup> 'the times' condition is full of envy, and suspicion, so that the wariest in thought, word and action, shall be most injured by foul-mouthed Detraction.' Bishop Hall pens, under the shadow of Envy, not only his famous "defiance," already cited, but the prologue to the first book of his *Satires*:—

Envy waits on my back, Truth on my side;  
 Envy will be my page and Truth my guide;  
 Envy the margent hold, and Truth the line;  
 Truth doth approve, but Envy doth repine.

And Ben Jonson gives even larger space to that most ubiquitous of Elizabethan sins: in the embodiment of the vice in the person of Macilente in *Every Man out of his Humor*;<sup>46</sup> in the stigmatizing of envy and detraction at the close of *The Poetaster*; and in the scoring of base-minded critics in the "Address to the Readers"

<sup>44</sup> Strange comment in the heyday of English poesy! But it would be an easy and pleasant task to show that each age regards its own time as barren and points sadly backwards to an imaginary golden past.

<sup>45</sup> *English Garner*, VI, 188.

<sup>46</sup> Of the incarnation of Envy in Jonson's Macilente, Professor W. D. Briggs has written adequately in his *MLN.* article of June, 1916.

that prefaces *Sejanus*. In *The Poetaster* Caesar thus winds up the scene (Act V, sc. 1):—

Envy will dwell, where there is want of merit,  
Though the deserving man should crack his spirit

.....  
Detraction is but baseness' varlet  
And apes are apes, though clothed in scarlet.

And then follows a reminiscence of Martial, "Rumpatur, quisquis rumpitur invidia." Jonson, speaking in his own person in the *Sejanus* address ridicules the critics as "common torturers that bring all wit to the rack; whose noses are ever like swine, spoiling and rooting up the Muses' gardens; and their whole bodies like moles, as blindly working under earth, to cast any, the least, hills upon virtue."

The angry resentment of the Elizabethans in the face of criticism finds an outlet in the large use of the classical personification of the spirit of censure as Momus<sup>47</sup> or as Zoilus<sup>48</sup> and less frequently as Aristarchus. These malignant personages seem to enter English prefaces early in Elizabeth's reign. The first appearance of Momus, recorded in *The Oxford Dictionary* is in 1563, J. Hall's comment upon T. Gale's *Enchiridion*, "Maugre now the malice great of Momus and his sect, etc.," but this "scornful god" is drawn at full length in the speech of "the book to the

<sup>47</sup> Momus appears in Hesiod's *Theogony* as the child of Night, and in Plato's *Republic* (487A) as a proverbial personification of carping criticism. But English writers were chiefly indebted to Lucian's *Assembly of the Gods*, where Momus, confessing himself "to be free of tongue and loath to pass in silence any wrong"—accuses all the gods in turn of various crimes. Callimachus, in his well-known lines against Apollonius the grammarian, introduces Momus as full of envy. Swift's vivid presentation of Momus as the patron of the censoring Moderns in *The Battle of the Books* will be generally remembered. According to Swift in *A Tale of a Tub*, section III, "Every true critic is a hero born, descending in a direct line from a celestial stem by Momus and Hybris, who begat Zoilus, who begat Tigellius, who begat Etcætera the elder."

<sup>48</sup> Zoilus, the asperser of Homer, seems to owe his vogue at the time of the Renaissance to the influence both of Martial's *Epigrams*, where the name is frequently applied to the envious critic ("Ad invidum Zoilum"), and to a noteworthy passage in Ovid's *Remedia Amoris*, 365-366:—

"Ingenium magni detrectat Livor Homeri:  
Quisquis es, ex illo, Zoile, nomen habes."

Cervantes laughs in his "preface to the loving reader" of *Don Quixote*, at the habit of authors of beginning with Aristotle and ending with Xenophon or Zeuxis or Zoilus—the one a painter, the other a slanderous critic. Zoilus came into English literature in the twelfth-century *Epigrams* of Henry of





dozen lines to the "candid reader" ("candido lectori"),<sup>51</sup> in which, in the manner of the old convention, Stubbes admits the rudeness and weakness of his work, he addresses himself in somewhat lurid Latinity to Zoilus, who "rages against all men, like a mad dog, biting some of them with his tooth of Theon,<sup>52</sup> and harassing those who have done him no harm, shaking his poisonous viperous tongue against them all"—and much more in the same lively manner. Somewhat later, in "the dialogue between the author and his book," Stubbes disposes of his critics with the Puritan's faith in a too partial providence:—

Though Momus rage and Zoilus carp,  
I fear them not at all:—  
The Lord, my God, in whom I trust,  
Shall cause them soon to fall.

"As for any Aristarchus, Momus or Zoilus," cries Wilson in his address to the "friendly" and "courteous" reader of *The Passionate Century* (1582), "if they pinch me more than is reasonable, thou courteous reader, which art of a better disposition, shall rebuke them in my behalf." Moreover, in his "Vade, libelle!" Watson angrily introduces "Aristarchus mordaci ore."

Yet larger heed to Momus is paid by Thomas Lodge, who entitles his collection of satires and epistles (1595), *A Fig for Momus*,<sup>53</sup> "not in contempt of the learned, for I honor them, not in disdaine of the wel minded, because they cherish science; but in despight of the detractor, who having no learning to judge wanteth no libertie to reprove: who worthily deserving the name of Momus shall rather at my handes have a figge to cloake him then hee and his lewd tongue shall have a frumpe to check me. Sheepe are soonest worried by curdogs because they are mild: but he that nips him soundly that bites him cowardly, purchaseth his owne peace and escapes much perill." Lodge addresses the first of his

<sup>51</sup> "Candidus lector" and "lector amicus" are classical commonplaces (Ovid, *Tristia*, I, xi, 35; IV, x, 132; and III, i, 2), like the "lividus lector" of Apollinaris Sidonius (*supra*) and the "gravis lector" of Martial (XI, 20). "Gentle," "friendly," "courteous," "impartial," "judicious" and "judicial" readers abound in English prefaces. Le Sage, in *Gil Blas*, paves the way, by his "evil-minded reader" for the "wicked reader" of eighteenth-century fiction, and for Fielding's genial vocative, "my good reptile" (*Tom Jones*, Bk. X, Ch. 1).

<sup>52</sup> An Horatian reminiscence, *Epistles*, I, 18, 82. Fitzstephen turns it to account in the introduction to his twelfth-century *Life of Becket*.

<sup>53</sup> Compare the title of one of the Marlpelate pamphlets, *A Bayte for Momus* by Rev. T. Bland, entered in Stationers' Register, June 7, 1589.

epistles, *Ad Momum*.<sup>54</sup> "Tace at malevolum os male strepentis Zoili," comments "E. L." of Oxford in his lines upon Silvester's version of Du Bartas. "But sith we live in such a time," remarks Sir John Harington in the preface to his translation of *Orlando Furioso* (1591),<sup>55</sup> "in which nothing can escape the envious tooth and backbiting tongue of any impure mouth and wherein everie blind corner hath a squint-eyed Zoilus that can look aright upon no man's doings, etc." We have met Spenser seeking, in a dedicatory sonnet, Buckhurst's protection against "vile Zoilus backbitings vaine" and Barnabe Barnes asking the aid of Southampton against "back-wounding Zoilus his band." And Robert Burton thus assails "the critical reader" in the Latin lines, "Democritus Junior ad Librum suum," prefixed to *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621):—

Si criticus lector, tumidus censorque molestus,  
Zoilus et Momus, si rabiosa cohors;  
Ringe, freme et noli tum pandere, turba malignis  
Si occurrat sannis invidiosa suis.

Perhaps the best testimony to the vogue of the convention is found in the apparent girding of that free-lance Thomas Nash at its stock character in his *Have with you to Saffron Walden*.<sup>56</sup> "Thomas Deloney, the balleting silkweaver, hath rime enough for all miracles and wit to make a *Garland of Good Will* more than the premisses with an Epistle of Momus and Zoylus."

The "Envy" convention, so popular in Tudor and Jacobean prologues and epilogues, perseveres—yet with far less frequency—after the passing of James. Interestingly varied is Milton's use of the *motif*. In the swelling style of the Elizabethans he "congratulates himself and thanks the Author of all good for having placed him in a station which may be an object of envy to others rather than of regret to himself"—this and much more to the same tune in the Preface to *The Second Defense of the People of England*. In one of his Italian sonnets, *Giovane, piano*, he pictures his heart "self-wrapt round in adamant, as safe from envy and from outrage rude, from hopes and fears that vulgar minds abuse." And in traditional fashion he combines the envy theme

<sup>54</sup> See J. P. Collier's discussion of *A Fig for Momus* in *The Poetical Decameron*, 1820, I, 175.

<sup>55</sup> G. Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, 195.

<sup>56</sup> McKerrow, *Works of Thomas Nash*, III, 84.

with an adaptation of the "Vade liber" in his Latin ode to John Rouse, which Cowper has so pleasingly rendered:—

Ye then, my works, no longer vain  
And worthless deemed by me,  
Whate'er this sterile genius has produced  
Expect at last, the rage of Envy spent,  
An unmolested, happy home.

The detraction against which Milton protested in a memorable sonnet, his eleventh, threatened far lesser men among his contemporaries. At Lilly's *Christian Astrology* (1647) William Roe forbids "Envy's square or apposite aspect to shew a frowning look," and "W. W." welcomes the book as his "choice companion," though "black-mouthed Envy bark" and "carp at what's well done." And an admirer of William Davenant in 1658 breathes the stereotyped prayer:—

Let not loud Envy's sulphurous blasts cast forth  
Venomed aspersions on thy noble worth!

Though Momus and Zoilus gradually disappear from prefaces, they still live on as synonyms of the carping critic; and Envy still pleads classical precedent. Dryden alludes in the dedication of *Examen Poeticum* (1693) to "the ill-nature of those fellows who were then called *Zoili* and *Momi* and now take upon themselves the venerable name of censors. But neither Zoilus nor he who endeavored to defame Virgil were ever adopted into the name of critics by the ancients." Envy's scorn and vilification of contemporary poets is attested, declares Dryden, by the Horatian lines (*Epistles*, II, i, 88):—

Ingeniis non ille favet plauditique sepultis,  
Nostra sed impugnat, nos nostraque lividus odit.<sup>57</sup>

Pope tells us in *The Essay on Criticism*, II, 181 f., that "green with bays each ancient altar stands . . . secure from flames, from Envy's fiercer rage"—to which Warburton appends, "the fiercer rage of Zoilus<sup>58</sup> and Maevius and their followers against Wit"—and later in the same poem (II, 464 f.) Pope himself introduces the stock personification:—

Nay, should great Homer lift his awful head,  
Zoilus again would start up from the dead.  
Envy will merit, as its shade, pursue;  
But, like a shadow, proves the substance true.

<sup>57</sup> Walter Map, who knew his Horace well, harps upon the same string in the Prologue to the Fifth Division of *De Nugis Curialium*, p. 203.

<sup>58</sup> Swift's large mention of Momus and Zoilus in his two early satires has been cited. Compare, too, Parnell's *Preface to the Life of Zoilus* (1717).



Zoilus and his crew all "start up from the dead" not only at the lifting of great Homer's head, but at the up-bobbing of a very little eighteenth-century person, the dictionary-maker, N. Bailey. In the uncouth preface to his amazing version of Ovid's *Tristia* (1728), Bailey frames in the well-worn formula his unwarranted fear of envy:—"though I may not expect to be so happy as to escape the censure of every invidious Momus and snarling Zoilus, yet the well-meaningness of the design will, I hope, atone for anything may probably have escaped my notice, etc."

Any such eighteenth-century use of "Envy" formulas must be viewed as a sporadic revival of an outworn tradition. It is true that imputations of critical "hatred, malice and all uncharitableness" are written large across the prefaces of the suspicious and choleric Smollett; but these charges are temperamental rather than traditional, and, moreover, are not dressed in the conventional guise. It is also true that in so late a preface as the "Introduction" to *The Tales of my Landlord*, criticism is discounted on the old, familiar ground that "Envy always dogs Merit at the heels;" but Scott, writing in the person of the pompous "Jedidiah Cleishbotham," employs here and elsewhere (for instance in "the recommendations of my labors") antiquated formalities of phrase. English bards and Scotch reviewers may wrangle when the nineteenth century is well under way. But the man of letters is no longer so self-centered, so blind to his own limitations, as invariably to impute depreciation of his work to the jaundice of the critic. Moreover the tracker of error is now a reputable, often an illustrious, member of an established order, and can no longer be scornfully ruled out of court by stereotyped abuse leveled at base-minded detraction. Unable to persist, under modern conditions of authorship and criticism, the stock accusation of "Envy" disappears from prologues and epilogues, in which it once played so constant and conspicuous a part.

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# SOME NOTES ON THE USE OF CAN AND COUTH AS PRETERITIVE AUXILIARIES IN EARLY AND MIDDLE SCOTTISH POETRY

Students of Scottish literature are familiar with the use of *can* and *couth* with a following infinitive to form a compound or periphrastic preterite as is done to-day with *did*. Little information concerning the origin, development, or use of this idiom has been available to the student. The editors of the *New English Dictionary* have this to say of the idiom:

*Can* in M. E. and early Modern Eng. used for *Gan* pa. t. of *ginnan*, to begin. In the early MSS. of *Cursor Mundi* *gan* and *can* constantly interchange, but the evidence shows that *can* was fully established in Northern use early in the 14 C., and its beginnings were evidently in the period before 1300, from which no Northern documents survive. It was in its origin a variant of *gan*, apparently merely phonetic; in later times, when used as a simple auxiliary of tense, its identity with *gan* tended to be forgotten; it was, from its form and construction, curiously associated with the preceding verb *Can*, and this occasionally led to a forgetfulness of its being a past tense, and to a substitution of *couth*, *coud*, *could*, the pa.t. of that verb. *Can* prevailed in Northern and North Midland poets till the 16 C., and in the end of that century it was greatly affected by Spenser and his fellow archaists and followers. Its main function is now filled by *did*, though the original *gan* is still a favorite note of ballad poetry.

This comment on the history of the idiom provides no explanation for the unvoicing of the initial consonant. Little assistance can be got from the vocabularies of Northern English or Scottish. When the student comes across a word that seems to furnish a similar phenomenon, he finds on investigation that he has wrongly derived the word. Thus Scottish *callant* has been hastily identified with French *galant*. But the editors of the *New English Dictionary* have shown that it is identical with Flemish *kalant*, which is equivalent to French *caland*. A genuine case of the unvoicing of the initial consonant may occur in *caikie* which is reported in Jamieson's dictionary as being used in Peeblesshire for *gaikie*, which is used in Selkirkshire to mean *gawky*. Murray and his associates, however, say nothing of this form. The unvoicing that has taken place in *can*, then, remains an anomaly unless *caikie* is considered an instance. The attempt to discover the causes for it leaves the investigator face to face with the unknowable, which so frequently confronts the student of Scottish.

The time at which the form was adopted in Scottish is likewise uncertain. The editors of the *New English Dictionary*, speaking of its use both as Northern and Scottish, say that "the beginnings were evidently in the period before 1300." But this cannot be taken too literally as regards Scottish. In the Edinburgh manuscript of Barbour's *Bruce*, which was written by John Ramsay in 1489, the form *gan* is used almost exclusively throughout the first three books and rather frequently in the following books. This variation cannot be attributed to Ramsay himself, for in the previous year he had written the manuscript of Blind Harry's *Wallace*, in which *gan* is not used. If he is identical with J. de R. chaplain who wrote the Cambridge manuscript of the *Bruce* in 1487, there is even less reason to credit him with causing the variation, for *can* is used consistently instead of *gan* throughout this manuscript. *Gan* must have been in the manuscript Ramsay was following in 1489, and it must have been familiar to the man who put it there, whether Barbour himself or a scribe. The date cannot be determined any more definitely from the extant monuments. However, *can* had established itself as the usual form by the time Wyntoun wrote the first version of his *Chronykill*, which was before 1424, for in the Wemyss manuscript, the oldest of this version, *can* is used consistently. Barbour may have used *can* and *gan* interchangeably. *Gan* continued to be a familiar form throughout the period. It was used by Gawin Douglass apparently in preference to *can*. Moreover it survived both *can* and *couth*, and became a convention of ballad poetry.

The periphrastic preterite, whether formed with *can*, *gan*, or *couth*, was merely a metrical device of the poet for obtaining the requisite number of syllables to fill the line, or for throwing the desired word into the rime position; usually the latter. It is not used at all in the alliterative poem *Morte Arthur*, and it occurs only 4 times in *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knyght*. The form occurs in 189 lines of Barbour's *Bruce*, and in 185 of these the infinitive is the rime word. In 93 cases the auxiliary and the infinitive are the last words of the line; in 72 of these 93 cases the infinitive is monosyllabic, so that the periphrastic preterite occupies only the last two syllables of the line. The auxiliary and the infinitive, when not coming in immediate sequence, are usually separated by the subject of the auxiliary, the object of the infinitive, or an adverbial modifier. But more words may intervene.



In the *Bruce* the auxiliary does not appear in the first foot of the line; in 7 cases it appears in the second foot. It can take the accent or not, as the metre demands. Blind Harry used a longer line than Barbour, but in his writing much the same phenomena are to be observed as have just been described. The infinitive is the rime word in 266 cases out of 281 in which the periphrastic preterite with *can* or *couth* is used. In 168 cases the auxiliary and the infinitive are the last two words in the line. The auxiliary rarely occurs before the third foot of the line; but it may be found in either the first or the second foot. *To* does not occur with the infinitive in the *Bruce*; it occurs 2 times in the *Wallace*, and is found occasionally in other poems. In the *Wallace* the auxiliary and the infinitive in 80 cases are separated by the subject of the auxiliary or the object of the infinitive, but an adverb or a prepositional phrase of some length may intervene. When the auxiliary is in the first or second foot of the line, more words intervene.

It should be said before going into a more detailed study of the matter that this periphrastic preterite is essentially a narrative idiom. It is to be found most frequently in those poems that chronicle the progress of events. It is not likely to occur frequently in lyric poems that express moods and emotions; neither is it to be expected in dialog or conversation. It is rarely used in direct discourse. It is found almost universally in the third person. Furthermore, it is excluded from certain kinds of narrative. For instance, Blind Harry frequently wrote passages in which the movement of the narrative is very rapid and spirited to describe exciting or very important action; in such passages he carefully avoided any use of the periphrastic preterite, but used the simple preterite. There are, also, a number of short narrative poems, such as *Peblis to the Play*, in which the idiom does not occur at all.

The poems under discussion are to be examined in accordance with three tests. The *auxiliary test* will be used to determine in what proportion *can* and *couth* are used as the auxiliary of the infinitive. The *vowel test* will be used to determine the vowel quality of the accented syllable of the infinitive. In case that two syllables of the infinitive receive an accent from the verse, the one nearer the auxiliary will be considered. There are two parts of this vowel test; A shows the proportion of one certain vowel to all other vowels, B shows in what proportion *can* and *couth* are used with each vowel. No distinction for vowel quantity

will be attempted with *a, o, u*. In the case of *a*, the quality of the vowel remains the same; the other two vowels are used so rarely that nothing is to be gained from so elaborate a classification. The *vocabulary test* will be used to determine what words are frequently repeated as infinitives so as to become conventional phrases or something approaching rime-tags.

In the course of the investigation, however, two main difficulties will be encountered. The first of these will be caused by the variant readings of the manuscripts. The method of meeting this difficulty will be explained as it arises in each case. The second difficulty will be caused by the uncertainty as to the exact meaning of the auxiliary. In some cases it is evidently preteritive; in other cases it is indubitably potential. But in many instances, especially with *couth*, the possibility of potential signification is very strong, but there is also a possibility that the form is preteritive also. In such cases it would seem that the form has a double meaning, the potentiality of performance and this potentiality put into effect; that is to say, *he couth do it* meaning *he could do it and he did it*. In the same way *gan* is troublesome. In many cases it seems to have the double signification of inchoative action and continued action; that is to say, *he began to do it and he kept on doing it*. In each case, unless the possibility of preteritive signification is very strong, the form as a rule will be counted in the reckoning.

Before leaving the matter of introductory remarks and general explanations, perhaps another point should be considered. It not rarely happens that a single auxiliary is followed by two infinitives. In making the proportion of *can* to *couth* the reckoning, unless otherwise stated, is based on the number of infinitives instead of on the number of times the auxiliary makes a physical appearance. The number of double infinitives is not large enough at any time to disturb the balance.

The manuscript difficulty in the *Bruce* has been spoken of. The Cambridge manuscript, written by J. de R. chaplain in 1487, reads *can*; the Edinburgh manuscript made by John Ramsay in 1489 reads *gan* as a rule. But for the purposes of this study no attempt has been made to differentiate *can* and *gan*.<sup>1</sup> When the *auxiliary test* is applied, the proportion according to the reckoning

<sup>1</sup> However, the importance of *gan* in the Edinburgh manuscript is seen when the matter of variant readings for *couth* is considered. The present writer feels very strongly that a *gan* in the Edinburgh manuscript where the

previously described is *can* 185; *couth* 4. If the 4 cases of Edinburgh *couth* for Cambridge *can* are subtracted, the proportion stands *can* 181; *couth* 4: hence the assumption that *can* is more likely the original form. There are all told only 6 cases of *couth* as a variant for *can* in both manuscripts. Even if these were counted against the instances of *can* common to both, the proportion then would be only *can* 181; *couth* 10. It seems best, therefore, to adhere to the original proportion, *can* 185; *couth* 4. One can adopt one of two conclusions in regard to this proportion: either that Barbour consistently wrote *can* or *gan*, and that this has been corrupted occasionally by the scribes; or that *couth* was just entering the language, and that Barbour availed himself of it sparingly.

When the vowels in the accented syllables of the infinitives are examined, it is discovered that *a* occurs 118 times, *i* 25, *e* 27, *ɪ* 10, *ɛ* 5, *o* 1, and *u* 3. The preference for *a* is unmistakable. Vowel test A yields the proportion *a* 118; all other vowels 71. The results of vowel test B are postponed for the summary.

When the vocabulary test is applied, it is found that three words occur more frequently than others. Barbour used *tak* or *ta* 30 times, *ga* or *gan* 25 times, and *mak* or *ma* 21 times. He used *say* 12 times, *cry* 11 times, *sla* 7 times, *hy* 6 times, *se* 6 times. He used also, once or oftener, *assale*, *rass*, *umbecast*, *falze*, *fall*, *blaw*, *knaw*, *hald*, *chais*, *fair*, *stand*, *gnaw*, *schaw*, *thraw*, *payne*, *draw*, *rair*, *ryd*, *occupy*, *inbryng*, *dyng*, *thring*, *spryng*, *ficht*, *rely*, *flyng*, *abyde*, *schute*, *tell*, *ken*, *wed*, *row*, *purvay*, *assay*, *found*, *bet*, *pray*, *abandoun*, *appeir*, *dreid*, *ber*, *ressawe*, and *tret*. In all he used 51 verbs as infinitives.

In the case of Wyntoun's *Orygynal Chronykil*, a fresh difficulty meets the investigator. There seems to be three different versions of the work made by Wyntoun himself, which show many variations in wording and phraseology. Furthermore, the manuscripts are all later than Wyntoun's immediate time, and there is

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Cambridge manuscript reads *couth* is more likely to represent an original *can* or *gan* in Barbour's own version. Only the occurrences of *couth* common to both manuscripts have been counted. But when the Edinburgh manuscript reads *couth* for a *can* in the Cambridge manuscript, it has been assumed for reasons that are obvious, that *can* is more likely to be the original form and that the presence of *couth* is due to a scribal error. There are only 4 such cases of *couth* in the whole poem.



good reason to believe that the scribes were none too careful in their transcriptions and that they were not above tampering with the text. In addition, the manuscripts of each version differ among themselves on minor points. In order to avoid the difficulties of this general confusion, the Wemyss manuscript, which seems to represent the earliest version of the *Chronykil*, has been made the basis for this study. In all, 105 cases of the idiom were observed, a remarkably small number for a poem of so many thousand lines, but in 12 of these the meaning of *couth* is doubtful. If these cases are omitted from the reckoning, the score stands 69 in favor of *can* to 26 in favor of *couth*. It is to be noted that the proportion in favor of *couth* is much larger than in the *Bruce*.

When the vowel test is applied, it is discovered that *a* is the favorite. It is found in 42 cases out of a total of 95. This is a smaller proportion than in the *Bruce*.  $\bar{e}$  appears in 26 cases,  $\bar{i}$  in 13,  $\bar{e}$  in 9,  $\bar{y}$  in 3, *o* in 1, and *u* in 1. *Can* is used with *a* 31 times, *couth* 11 times; *can* is used with  $\bar{e}$  18 times, *couth* 8 times; *can* is used with  $\bar{i}$  10 times, *couth* 3 times; *can* is used with  $\bar{e}$  5 times, *couth* 4 times; *can* is used with  $\bar{y}$  3 times, with *o* 1 time, and with *u* 1 time, *couth* not appearing with any one of the three. No vowel appears with *couth* oftener than with *can*.

When the vocabulary test is applied, *pas* is found to occur 8 times, *mak* or *ma* 9 times, *ga* 5 times, *say* 9 times, *ta* 3 times, and *se* 3 times. All of these except *pas* and *tak* occur either with *can* or *couth*, but more frequently with *can*; *pas* and *tak* occur only with *can*. 63 different words are used as the second part of the compound; this number is an increase over the *Bruce*, and indicates an extension of the usage.

In the case of Blind Harry's *Wallace*, the investigator is spared the difficulty of variant readings, for there is only one manuscript of the poem. When the auxiliary test is applied, Harry is found to have employed the periphrastic preterite in all 283 times, 138 with *can* and 145 with *couth*. When the vowel test is applied, it is found that *a* occurs 140 times,  $\bar{e}$  63 times,  $\bar{i}$  33 times,  $\bar{e}$  12 times,  $\bar{y}$ , 19 times, *o* 8 times, and *u* 11 times. The proportion is *a* 140; all other vowels 143. *A* still maintains its lead, but the proportion is considerably smaller than Barbour's, being less than fifty per cent of the whole. *Can* is used with *a* 81 times, *couth* 59 times; *can* is used with  $\bar{e}$  22 times, *couth* 41 times; *can* is used with  $\bar{i}$  14 times, *couth* 19 times; *can* is used with  $\bar{e}$  3 times, *couth* 9 times;

*can* is used with *ɪ* 11 times, *couth* 5 times; *can* is used with *o* 1 time, *couth* 7 times; *can* is used with *u* 6 times, *couth* 5 times. *Can* exceeds *couth* only in the case of *a*, *i*, and *u*; in the latter case the score is nearly even. When the vocabulary test is applied, it is found that *far* occurs 26 times, *tak* 18, *pas* 14, *draw* 14, *gang* 12, and *ride* 6. *Mak*, a favorite with Barbour and Wyntoun, occurs only 4 times. *Can* is used 15 times with *far*, *couth* 11 times; *can* is used 10 times with *gang*, *couth* 2 times; *can* is used 12 times with *tak*, *couth* 6 times; *can* is used 8 times with *draw*, *couth* 6 times; *can* is used 5 times with *pas*, *couth* 9 times; *can* is used 3 times with *ride*, *couth* 9 times. *Couth* is the favorite auxiliary with only two words, *pas* and *ride*; but of the 131 verbs that serve as the infinitive *couth* is used with 76, *can* with 55. This number indicates an even wider extension of *couth*. Apparently *can* was the favorite auxiliary with the traditional verbs that had been used from the time of Barbour onwards, and *couth* was likely to be used when a new verb was used as the infinitive.

Holland's *Buik of the Howlat* was written about the same time as Blind Harry's *Wallace* or shortly before. The periphrastic preterite is found to occur with 17 verbs. *Can* occurs as the auxiliary only 1 time; then the form is inverted and the auxiliary made the rime word. Both manuscripts of the poem are very late. It is barely possible that a scribe was responsible for the great preponderance of *couth*, but it seems hardly necessary to account for the phenomenon in this way. If Blind Harry's usage indicates what was customary at the time, *can* would be expected to occur with any frequency only with *a* or *ɪ*. *Can* occurs with *fle*, a verb containing *ē*. The verbs used with *couth* are *haf*, *say*, *growe*, *argewe*, *wend*, *clos*, *hyng*, *deir*, *conquir* (rimed *conqueir*), *chewissh*, *perchess*, *cary*, *mak*, *werk*, *kyth*, and *ban*. *Couth* is used with *a* 4 times, with *ē* 4 times, with *ɪ* 1 time, with *ɛ* 4 times, with *ɪ* 1 time, with *o* 2 times. *U* does not occur at all. By the middle of the fifteenth century, it is evident, *can* was losing, and *couth* rapidly gaining, favor as the conventional auxiliary to form the periphrastic preterite.

The investigator was relieved of manuscript difficulties in the case of Blind Harry and Holland only to find himself beset with them in Henryson's poems.<sup>2</sup> Probably the best method of pro-

<sup>2</sup> There is no single complete manuscript collection of the poems; some of them are to be found in one manuscript or early printed edition, some in another,

cedure under these circumstances is to group the poems according to the date of the earliest versions extant and to determine the usage in each group. Accordingly, the first group will include the poems found in the Asloane manuscript, *Orpheus and Eurydice* and the fable, *The Uplandis Mouss and the Borowstoun Mouss*, which is usually entitled *The Twa Myis*. The few poems contained in the Makculloch and Gray manuscripts can well be placed in the second group which will contain the *Fables* according to the Charteris edition of 1570 and the shorter poems from various manuscript collections all of which are later than 1560. The third group will consist entirely of *The Testament of Cresseid* according to the Charteris edition of 1593, for Thynne's earlier version is corrupted with Southern forms.

When the auxiliary test is applied to all three groups, it is found that *can* is used with 66 verbs, *couth* with 57. In the first group the score stands *can* 22, *couth* 10; in the second group *can* 30, *couth* 39; in the third group *can* 14, *couth* 7. If the auxiliary test is any guide to chronology, the proportion of *can* to *couth* found here would indicate that Henryson's work is earlier than Blind Harry's or Holland's. It would lend support to the theory that the Henryson of the poems is identical with the "venerable Master Robert Henryson" who is named as incorporated member of the University of Glasgow, September 10, 1642.

The results gained from applying the vowel tests to the different groups can best be shown in a table.

and all of them of different dates. The oldest manuscript that contains any of Henryson's poem is the Makculloch, a notebook that belonged to Mangus Makculloch who was a student at the University of Louvain in 1477. The fly-leaves of this book contain various fragments of Scottish literature, but the palæographers and scholars have not informed the public at what time these entries were made. However, the spelling shows greater age than some of the manuscripts. The Bannatyne Draft shows great agreement with the Makculloch so far as they contain the same material, but it was much later. The Gray and Asloane manuscripts are next the Makculloch in age, both dating from the early sixteenth century. The volume of miscellanies published by Chepman and Myllar in 1508 contained Henryson's *Orpheus and Eurydice*, *Wani of Wyse Men*, and *Praise of Age*. The oldest extant version of *The Testament of Cresseid* is that published at the end of Thynne's edition of Chaucer in 1582. Other poems are found in the Bannatyne and Maitland manuscripts which are later than 1560. When the different versions fail to agree, the investigator has small chance of determining just what Henryson wrote.



Can		Couth	
With <i>a</i>	24	With <i>a</i>	22
Group I	9	Group I	4
Group II	9	Group II	14
Group III	6	Group III	4
With <i>ī</i>	7	With <i>ī</i>	9
Group I	1	Group I	2
Group II	6	Group II	6
Group III	0	Group III	1
With <i>ȳ</i>	11	With <i>ȳ</i>	7
Group I	5	Group I	1
Group II	4	Group II	5
Group III	2	Group III	1
With <i>ē</i>	12	With <i>ē</i>	12
Group I	2	Group I	4
Group II	9	Group II	8
Group III	1	Group III	0
With <i>ǣ</i>	4	With <i>ǣ</i>	1
Group I	2	Group I	0
Group II	0	Group II	1
Group III	2	Group III	0
With <i>o</i>	5	With <i>o</i>	3
Group I	2	Group I	0
Group II	2	Group II	3
Group III	1	Group III	0
With <i>u</i>	3	With <i>u</i>	3
Group I	1	Group I	0
Group II	0	Group II	2
Group III	2	Group III	1

The proportion of *a* to all other vowels is 46 to 77, a much smaller proportion than Blind Harry's. *A*, however, is still the favorite single vowel; the next in popularity is *ē*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> If, however, the poems contained in the Bannatyne manuscript are considered separately, and the Bannatyne version made the basis of an independent investigation, a different state of affairs is revealed. The auxiliary proportion stands *can* 39; *couth* 44. The proportion for vowel test A stands *a* 26; all other vowels 57. *Can* is used with *a* 9 times, *couth* 17 times; *can* is used with *ē* 7 times, *couth* 12 times; *can* is used with *ī* 7 times, *couth* 7 times; *can* is used with *ȳ* 5 times, *couth* 1 time; *can* is used with *ǣ* 7, *couth* 3 times; *can* is used with *u* 1 time, *couth* 1 time. The poems that are included in the Bannatyne manuscript were edited by Bannatyne himself as comparison with the Bannatyne transcript shows when a poem is contained in both. Bannatyne himself may have been responsible for these variations in the poems of Henryson; but he can be held accountable only for substituting *couth* in place of *can*. However, it is also possible that the originals from which he worked may have been responsible. Some support is given the latter supposition by the fact that *can* is used oftener than *couth* in *Orpheus* and *Eurydice* and the fable of *The Mous and the Paddock* even in the Bannatyne manuscript. Whenever the Bannatyne manuscript differs from an older manuscript for any author, it is usually found that *couth* is used for *can*.

When the vocabulary is examined it is found that Henryson in all used 72 different words as the infinitive in the second part of the compound. Not many words are repeated; *mak* and *cry* occur 6 times each, and are the only ones that occur oftener than 3 times. *Declair, call, pas, hyng, sing, say, and crepe* occur 3 times each.

*Can* and *couth* are found very rarely as auxiliaries to form a periphrastic preterite in the poems of Dunbar. This is partly accounted for by the fact that the idiom is peculiar to narrative poetry and that it occurs very rarely in lyric poetry. However, on most occasions in which Dunbar found it convenient to add an extra syllable to his line by using a compound form of the verb, he used *did*. In fact *did* so used, is to be found in the poems of Henryson. It is the usual preteritive auxiliary with Dunbar and Lyndsay, and a frequent idiom with Gawin Douglass. In the study of Dunbar's usage *The Twa Freiris of Berwick* has not been considered Dunbar's poem. Dunbar used *can* 3 times to form the periphrastic preterite, *couth* 8 times. *Can* is used 1 time with *ȝ*, 2 times with *ē*. *Couth* is used 3 times with *a*, 3 times with *ē*, and 1 time with *ȝ*. It also occurs with the word *nod*, but the exact quality of the vowel is difficult to ascertain; it rimes with *God* and *od*. *Say* occurs 2 times with *can* and 2 times with *couth*, in one of which for the sake of the rime it is spelled *seyne*. In making this reckoning the reading of the oldest manuscripts has been followed; thus 3 cases of *couth* in the Bannatyne version of *The Tournament between the Tailor and the Sowtar* have been omitted because the Asloan manuscript, which is the older, gives widely variant reading for the lines in which *couth* occurs.

Douglass, like Dunbar, had a strong liking for *did* as the preteritive auxiliary. The poems used as the basis for investigation in his case are *The Palice of Honour, King Hart* and the succeeding stanzas called *Conscience* and the first five books of his translation of the *Æneid*. In *The Palice of Honour*, *did* is the auxiliary in all but 1 case. However, in the case of Douglass's poems a fresh difficulty confronts the investigator. *Can* occurs in the shorter poems, but in the two manuscripts of the *Æneid* there is a variation between *gan* and *can*. The Edinburgh manuscript, which served as the basis for Small's edition of 1874, reads *can* for the first two books and the first 125 lines of the third

book, but *gan* thereafter with few exceptions; the Cambridge manuscript, which served as the basis of the edition for the Bannatyne Club in 1839, reads *gan* throughout with only a few exceptions. However, for the purposes of this study *can* and *gan* may be considered identical as in the case of Barbour. *Can* or *gan* occurs 160 times, *couth* 10 times if 4 doubtful cases are considered. Otherwise the proportion stands *can* 160; *couth* 6. This reminds one of Barbour's usage. When the vowel test A is applied and the doubtful cases of *couth* not counted, it is found that *a* occurs 46 times, *ē* 47, *ī* 28, *ē* 14, *ī* 7, *o* 9, *u* 14, and *oi* 1. The proportion of *a* to all other vowels is 46 to 160; but it is no longer the favorite vowel, being displaced by *ē*, which, however, exceeds it by only 1. It is useless to apply vowel test B when the proportion of *couth* is so small. Douglass's usage is seen to be decidedly archaic. When the vocabulary test is applied, it is found that Douglass was not given to repeating many verbs; *behold* occurs 9 times, *spreid* 5 times, *hald*, *say*, and *appeir* 4 times each, *declair*, *embrace*, *tak*, *beit*, *pray*, and *espy* 3 times each.

Douglass exercised a great deal of freedom with the idiom. He used more compound infinitives than his predecessors, and he more frequently placed the auxiliary in one line and the infinitive in the next. Furthermore, he took more liberty with the position of the auxiliary in the line. It is the first word in a number of lines. But the order of the auxiliary and the infinitive is rarely inverted so as to make the auxiliary the rime word.

Lyndsay's usage of *can* and *couth* can be dismissed in a few words. *Did* is the usual preteritive auxiliary in his poems. However, *can*, *couth*, and *gan* all three appear; but in the case of *gan* the inchoative signification of modern *began* is exceedingly strong in every case noted, and the form is therefore something more than a mere auxiliary of tense. *Can* appears 2 times, *couth* 4 times. The only vowels that occur are *ē*, *ē*, and *ī*. *Can* is used 1 time with *ē*, *couth* 2 times; *can* is used 1 time with *ī*, *couth* 1 time; *couth* only is used 1 time with *ē*. The words used are *crye*, *appreve*, *teche*, *confesse*, *keip*, and *ryde*. No word occurs more than 1 time.

A few words might be said here by way of summarizing the results obtained from this investigation. *Can* was the earlier form, but after its first appearance in Barbour's *Bruce* it began to lose ground steadily to *couth*. By the time of Henryson *did* had gained a foothold. It gained in popularity thereafter until it



ultimately displaced both *can* and *couth*. The results of the tests in the case of Barbour, Wyntoun, Blind Harry, Holland, and Henryson might best be placed in tabular form for the convenience of the reader.

#### THE AUXILIARY TEST

Barbour	<i>Can</i> 185; <i>couth</i> 44
Wyntoun	<i>Can</i> 69; <i>couth</i> 26
Blind Harry	<i>Can</i> 138; <i>couth</i> 145
Holland	<i>Can</i> 1; <i>couth</i> 16
Henryson	<i>Can</i> 66; <i>couth</i> 57

#### THE VOWEL TEST

##### A. PROPORTION OF *A* TO ALL OTHER VOWELS

Barbour	<i>a</i> 118; all other vowels 71
Wyntoun	<i>a</i> 42; all other vowels 53
Blind Harry	<i>a</i> 140; all other vowels 143
Holland	<i>a</i> 4; all other vowels 13
Henryson	<i>a</i> 46; all other vowels 77

##### B. Proportion of vowels used with *can* or *couth*.

##### B. PROPORTION OF VOWELS USED WITH *CAN* OR *COUTH*

<i>Barbour</i>		<i>Wyntoun</i>	
<i>a</i>	<i>can</i> 116; <i>couth</i> 2	<i>a</i>	<i>can</i> 31; <i>couth</i> 11
<i>ē</i>	<i>can</i> 25; <i>couth</i> 1	<i>ē</i>	<i>can</i> 18; <i>couth</i> 8
<i>ī</i>	<i>can</i> 25; <i>couth</i> 0	<i>ī</i>	<i>can</i> 10; <i>couth</i> 13
<i>ě</i>	<i>can</i> 5; <i>couth</i> 1	<i>ě</i>	<i>can</i> 5; <i>couth</i> 4
<i>ȳ</i>	<i>can</i> 10; <i>couth</i> 0	<i>ȳ</i>	<i>can</i> 3; <i>couth</i> 0
<i>o</i>	<i>can</i> 1; <i>couth</i> 0	<i>o</i>	<i>can</i> 1; <i>couth</i> 0
<i>u</i>	<i>can</i> 3; <i>couth</i> 0	<i>u</i>	<i>can</i> 1; <i>couth</i> 0

<i>Blind Harry</i>		<i>Holland</i>	
<i>a</i>	<i>can</i> 81; <i>couth</i> 59	<i>a</i>	<i>can</i> 0; <i>couth</i> 4
<i>ē</i>	<i>can</i> 22; <i>couth</i> 41	<i>ē</i>	<i>can</i> 1; <i>couth</i> 4
<i>ī</i>	<i>can</i> 14; <i>couth</i> 19	<i>ī</i>	<i>can</i> 0; <i>couth</i> 1
<i>ě</i>	<i>can</i> 3; <i>couth</i> 9	<i>ě</i>	<i>can</i> 0; <i>couth</i> 4
<i>ȳ</i>	<i>can</i> 11; <i>couth</i> 5	<i>ȳ</i>	<i>can</i> 0; <i>couth</i> 1
<i>o</i>	<i>can</i> 1; <i>couth</i> 7	<i>o</i>	<i>can</i> 0; <i>couth</i> 2
<i>u</i>	<i>can</i> 6; <i>couth</i> 5	<i>u</i>	<i>can</i> 0; <i>couth</i> 0

##### *Henryson*

<i>a</i>	<i>can</i> 24; <i>couth</i> 22
<i>ē</i>	<i>can</i> 7; <i>couth</i> 9
<i>ī</i>	<i>can</i> 12; <i>couth</i> 12
<i>ě</i>	<i>can</i> 4; <i>couth</i> 1
<i>ȳ</i>	<i>can</i> 11; <i>couth</i> 7
<i>o</i>	<i>can</i> 5; <i>couth</i> 3
<i>u</i>	<i>can</i> 3; <i>couth</i> 3

THE VOCABULARY TEST

Barbour	<i>Tak</i> 30; <i>ga</i> 25; <i>mak</i> 21; <i>say</i> 12; <i>cry</i> 11; <i>sla</i> 7; <i>say</i> 6; <i>se</i> 6.
Wyntoun	<i>Pas</i> 8; <i>mak</i> 9; <i>ga</i> 5; <i>say</i> 9; <i>tak</i> 3; <i>se</i> 3.
Blind Harry	<i>Far</i> 26; <i>gang</i> 12; <i>tak</i> 18; <i>pas</i> 14; <i>ride</i> 9; <i>draw</i> 14.
Holland	Data too slight to be of any value.
Henryson	<i>Tak</i> 6; <i>cry</i> 6; <i>declair</i> 3; <i>pas</i> 3; <i>hyng</i> 3; <i>call</i> 3; <i>sing</i> 3; <i>say</i> 3; <i>crepe</i> 3.

These tests may well be applied to three other groups of poems of uncertain authorship to see what results can be obtained and whether these results can be of any assistance in settling the question of authorship. The first group consists of those poems that have been attributed at one time or another to Barbour, the second group of those attributed to Huchown, and the third group of those associated in one way or another with the name of James the First. At the end of the study the tests will be applied to *The Twa Freiris of Berwick* and *The Thre Tailis of the Thre Preistis of Peblis* to see if the results justify the supposition that these, poems are by the same author, and to *Sir Orfeo* to determine, if possible, the chronology.

Barbour has been accredited with *The Legends of the Saints*, *The Buik of Alexander the Great*, and fragments of a poem on the subject of the Trojan War. A glance at the preceding table shows the canon of Barbour's usage.

Auxiliary test *can* 185; *couth* 4.

Vowel test A *a* 118; all other vowels 71.

B *a* with *can* 116; *a* with *couth* 2.

Vocabulary test *Tak* 30; *ga* 25; *mak* 21; *say* 12; *cry* 11; *sla* 7; *say* 6; *se* 6.

Fragment I of *The Trojan War* is short. It contains 1 case of *can* and 4 cases of *couth*, but a compound infinitive with *couth* in one case raises the number of verbs to 5. *A* occurs only 1 time, and then it is used with *couth*. *Can* is used with *ē*. *Couth* is used 1 time with *a*, 1 time with *ī*, and 3 times with *ē*. Fragment II is much longer than Fragment I. *Can* occurs 36 times with no double infinitives, *couth* 9 times with no double infinitives. If both fragments are considered the work of one man, the auxiliary test yields a result for both of *can* 37; *couth* 14. The vowel test A yields a proportion of *a* 17; all other vowels 24. However 5 cases of *o* that represents *a* in a genuine Scottish form have not been counted *a* in this reckoning. With them counted the score stands *a* 22; all other vowels 18. Vowel test B yields a proportion of *a* with *can* 14; *a* with *couth* 3. If the *o*'s in the text that represent Scottish *a*'s are counted the score stands *a* with *can* 17; *a* with

*couth* 5. The vocabulary test shows the following results; *mak* 5, *pas* 3, *tak* 4, *say* 4. The proportions obtained from these results are slightly similar to Barbour's but are not Barbour's.

When the prolog and the first five stories in *The Legends of the Saints* are examined, a different state of affairs is discovered. The auxiliary test shows a proportion of *can* 136; *couth* 8. This is nearer the proportion of Barbour's *Bruce* though not the exact proportion. The vowel test A shows *a* 47; all other vowels 97. This is not Barbour's proportion. Vowels test B shows the following results:

<i>a</i>	<i>can</i> 47; <i>couth</i> 2
<i>ē</i>	<i>can</i> 51; <i>couth</i> 3
<i>ī</i>	<i>can</i> 11; <i>couth</i> 1
<i>ē</i>	<i>can</i> 10; <i>couth</i> 0
<i>ȳ</i>	<i>can</i> 8; <i>couth</i> 2
<i>o</i>	<i>can</i> 1; <i>couth</i> 0

This test does not show anything like Barbour's usage. The predominance of *ē* over *a*, 54 to 49, is especially noteworthy. The vocabulary test shows that three words recur; *mak* 12, *tak* 12, *say* 19. *Mak* is spelled *may* 1 time and forced to rime with *say*. All three words were favorites with Barbour, but he used *say* much less frequently than *tak* or *mak*.

In *The Foray of Gadderis*, the first part of *The Buik of Alexander the Great*, the auxiliary test shows *can* 51; *couth* 11. Vowel test A shows *a* 32; all other vowels 30. Vowel test B gives the following results:

<i>a</i>	<i>can</i> 26; <i>couth</i> 6
<i>ē</i>	<i>can</i> 16; <i>couth</i> 3
<i>ī</i>	<i>can</i> 3; <i>couth</i> 1
<i>ȳ</i>	<i>can</i> 3; <i>couth</i> 0
<i>ē</i>	<i>can</i> 1; <i>couth</i> 0
<i>o</i>	<i>can</i> 0; <i>couth</i> 1
<i>u</i>	<i>can</i> 2; <i>couth</i> 0

The vocabulary test shows *mak* 9, *gang* 6, *tak* 5, *say* 4, *beir* 4. *Mak*, *tak*, *gang*, and *say* shows some resemblance to Barbour.

The tests when applied to these three monuments show a divergence from Barbour's usage in the *Bruce*. The evidence shows no reason for attributing them to Barbour. But it indicates, if the tests may serve as a guide for chronology, that the poems belong to a period, if not contemporary with Barbour's own, at least shortly following it.



The chief poems that Huchown has been accused or suspected of writing are the *Morte Arthure*, *The Gest Hystoryale of the Destruction of Troy*, the *Pistill of Susan*, the *Awntyrs of Arthur*, *Golagros and Gawane*, and *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knyght*.

In the course of this investigation notes were made on all these poems except *The Destruction of Troy*. No evidence is forthcoming from *Morte Arthure*. It is an alliterative poem with no rimes. Neither *can* nor *couth* is used in it as a preteritive auxiliary. A glance at pages chosen at random from *The Destruction of Troy* indicates the same state of affairs there. *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knyght* is also alliterative though written in stanzaic form; but 4 instances of *can* as a preteritive auxiliary were observed. It is used with *studie*, *onsware*, *enclyne*, and *roun*; *u* occurs 2 times, *a* and *i* 1 time each.

The *Pistill of Susan* is the poem that has been attributed most confidently to the unknown Huchown. The oldest manuscript is dated 1380 approximately. The extant versions are all in a Midland English dialect, but the poem has been claimed as Scottish on the plea that some of the rime-words are Scottish forms. Neither *can* nor *couth* appears as the preteritive auxiliary, but *gan* appears 6 times, in all of which the auxiliary and the infinitive are the last words of the line. The words used as infinitives are *playe*, *say*, *hyng*, *lende*, *mele*, and *apere*. Not a single infinitive confesses to *a* in the accented syllable, a state of affairs that is very surprising in a Scottish poem that in its original form must have been considerably earlier than 1380. This use of *gan* resembles the use of *gan* in the Middle English romances more than it resembles the use of *can* in the poems that are indubitably Scottish.

Three different poems have been proposed as being the poem of Huchown's referred to by Wyntoun as the *Awntyrs of Gawane*; they are *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knyght*, *Sir Golagros and Sir Gawane*, and the *Awntyrs of Arthur*. The first of these has been examined.

*Sir Golagros and Sir Gawane* was printed by Chepman and Myllar in their miscellany of 1508. There is no manuscript of it. When the auxiliary test is applied, the proportion is found to stand *can* 21; *couth* 11. But if 3 cases in which the meaning of *couth* is not clear are subtracted, the proportion stands *can* 21; *couth* 8. This proportion does not indicate an origin in the

fourteenth century, the time the *Pistill of Susan* was written. When the vowel test A is applied, it is found that the proportion is *a* 7; all other vowels 22. This is not a fourteenth century proportion. When vowel test B is applied, the following results are obtained:

<i>a</i>	<i>can</i> 6; <i>couth</i> 1
<i>ē</i>	<i>can</i> 3; <i>couth</i> 6
<i>ī</i>	<i>can</i> 3; <i>couth</i> 0
<i>ȳ</i>	<i>can</i> 3; <i>couth</i> 4
<i>o</i>	<i>can</i> 1; <i>couth</i> 0
<i>u</i>	<i>can</i> 4; <i>couth</i> 0

The preference for *couth* with *ē* indicates the time of Blind Harry as the time of composition. When the vocabulary test is applied, *say* is seen to occur 3 times, *daw* 2, and *found* 2.

The *Awntyrs of Arthur* exists in several manuscripts, but none of them is clearly Scottish. Here again the investigator is confronted with the difficulty of variant readings in the manuscripts. The periphrastic preterite occurs 7 times in the Thornton manuscript, but 4 of these are replaced by other words entirely in the Douce manuscript. The Douce manuscript reads *can* 1 time where the word is not used in the Thornton manuscript. The Thornton manuscript spells the auxiliary *gane* or *gune*; the Douce and Ireland manuscripts spell it *cane* or *con*. For the sake of argument, it might be well to accept all cases of the form found in all the manuscripts and to disregard the variant readings; there are then 8 cases to be considered. When the auxiliary test is applied, the proportion is found to be *can* 8; *couth* 0. When the vowel test is applied it is found that the proportion is *a* 4; all other vowels 4. When the vocabulary test is applied, it is found that *calle* occurs 2 times; all other verbs occur only 1 time each.

When the tests are applied to the Huchownian poems and the results are examined, it must be agreed that the evidence does not show common authorship. It must be confessed, however, that the material is rather slight, and that of itself it is not strong enough to prove or disprove authorship in this particular case.

*The Kingis Quhair*, *The Quair of Jelousy*, and *Lancelot of the Laik* form a small group of poems because of the contention on the part of some that *The Kingis Quhair* and *The Quair of Jelousy* are the work of the same author, and the contention on the part of others that *The Quair of Jelousy* and *Lancelot of the Laik* are

the work of the same man. The tests previously applied yield little in the way of definite results here. The periphrastic preterite, as has been said several times already, is essentially a narrative idiom. The narrative portion of *The Quair of Jelousy* is rather slight. *Can* occurs 1 time with *crye* and 1 time with *declare* to form what is undoubtedly a preterite; *gan* is used 1 time with *fare* preceded by *to*, but the signification may be inchoative rather than preteritive. In *Kingis Quhair* *can* is used 1 time when it is certainly the preteritive auxiliary, and then it is used with *swym*. *Gan* is used 15 times; 5 times with *a*, 3 times with *ȝ*, 2 times with *ē*, 2 times with *o*, 2 times with *u*, 1 time with *ē*, and 1 times with *ī*. *Couth* does not occur in a single case in which it might not be potential as well as or better than preteritive. In *Lancelot of the Laik* the state of affairs is not so badly confused though *gan* and *can* seem to be written interchangeably; no attempt will be made to distinguish them. *Couth* occurs only 1 time when it cannot be anything but preteritive. *Can*, or *gan*, occurs with 62 verbs; *couth* with 1. *Can* is used with *a* 11 times, with *ē* 19, with *ī* 9, with *ē* 9 with *ȝ* 2, with *o* 9, with *u* 3. *The Quair of Jelousy* contains too little material for comparison with *The Kingis Quhair* or *Lancelot of the Laik*.

Two other poems are to be associated with *The Kingis Quhair*, *Peblis to the Play* and *Christis Kirk on the Grene*, in that they are attributed to the same author. In the first of these poems the composer has shown great metrical dexterity in that he has been able to achieve his rimes without resort to the periphrastic preterite. There is no instance of *can* or *couth* so used in the whole poem. On the other hand *Christis Kirk on the Grene* contains *can*, *couth*, and *did*, but *couth* most frequently. *Can* occurs 1 time and is used with *rummill*; *couth* occurs 5 times and is used with *lans*, *steir*, *wary*, *fedder* and *quell*. The presence of *did* and the preponderance of *couth* would date this poem late. Neither poem according to these tests shows any affinity with *The Kingis Quhair*.

The *Thre Tailis of the Thre Preistis of Peblis* and *The Twa Freiris of Berwick* have been suspected of being written by the same man. They will be subjected to the tests that have already been used, and the results compared.

When the auxiliary test is applied to the *Thre Tailis*, the proportion is found to be *can* 17; *couth* 9. Vowel test A yields



the proportion of *a* 8; all other vowels 18. Vowel test B shows the following results:

<i>a</i>	<i>can</i> 6; <i>couth</i> 2
<i>ē</i>	<i>can</i> 5; <i>couth</i> 6
<i>ī</i>	<i>can</i> 1; <i>couth</i> 0
<i>ē</i>	<i>can</i> 2; <i>couth</i> 0
<i>ī</i>	<i>can</i> 2; <i>couth</i> 0
<i>o</i>	<i>can</i> 2; <i>couth</i> 0
<i>u</i>	<i>can</i> 1; <i>couth</i> 1

When the vocabulary test is applied, it is found that *mak* and *say* occur 2 times each and that no other word is repeated.

When the auxiliary test is applied to the *Twa Freiris*, the proportion is found to be *can* 3; *couth* 11. Vowel test A yields the proportion of *a* 1; all other vowels 13. Vowel test B yields the following results:

<i>a</i>	<i>can</i> 0; <i>couth</i> 1
<i>ē</i>	<i>can</i> 2; <i>couth</i> 5
<i>ī</i>	<i>can</i> 1; <i>couth</i> 2
<i>ē</i>	<i>can</i> 0; <i>couth</i> 1
<i>ī</i>	<i>can</i> 0; <i>couth</i> 0
<i>o</i>	<i>can</i> 0; <i>couth</i> 0
<i>u</i>	<i>can</i> 0; <i>couth</i> 2

When the vocabulary test is applied, it is found that *say* is used 5 times, *cry* 2 times, and that no other word is repeated. The evidence gained from these tests does not show that the poems are the work of the same man.

*Sir Orfeo* was printed by Ritson; it occurs in a manuscript of the fifteenth century. When the auxiliary test is applied, the proportion is found to be *can* 13; *couth* 1. Vowel test A, the only one of any value here, shows that *a* occurs 5 times. But *go* occurs 4 times. In a purely Scottish text, however, the vowel would be *a*. The vowel proportion, then, really stands *a* 9; all other vowels 5. When the vocabulary test is applied, it is found that *go* appears 4 times, *mak* 2 times. This evidence shows that the poem in its original form belongs apparently to the fourteenth century and that it was perhaps contemporary with *The Bruce*.

The results gained from this investigation are historical and critical. The historical results show that the periphrastic preterite was a highly artificial form. The reason for its invention is not evident; there was an idiom corresponding to it in Anglo-

Saxon. But once invented, it was used to lengthen the line or to throw the desired word into the rime position. At first it appeared most frequently in combination with certain words, but there is no evidence to show just why these particular combinations were so frequent. The usage was then quickly extended to other combinations. *Can* as the preteritive auxiliary was current and interchangeable with *gan* at the time when Barbour wrote *The Bruce* in the second half of the fourteenth century. Although *gan* continued in use throughout the whole period and survived in nineteenth century ballad poetry, *can* became the more usual auxiliary for a time; but it soon began to lose ground to *couth*. By the middle of the fifteenth century *couth* was slightly the more preferable form. Both *can* and *couth* gave way at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries to *did*. The critical results are the tests for chronology and authorship. These, however, should be used with great caution. In many cases the small amount of text makes exactness impossible. Furthermore, mathematical proportions and data gained from investigations of grammatical usage cannot be expected to yield absolutely accurate results. For these reasons the tests are valuable mainly as supplementary evidence and should not be used alone.

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## REVIEWS AND NOTES

### GRILLPARZER AS AN EXPONENT OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY THOUGHT. (Suggested by Tibal's *Grillparzer Studies*<sup>1</sup>)

In a recently published series of Grillparzer Studies, André Tibal claims for Grillparzer a place in the eighteenth century, and as this conclusion cannot be reached without being thoroughly conversant with Grillparzer's individual nature-sense (the full appreciation of which was initiated by my previously written dissertation,<sup>2</sup> I feel that on the basis of a cursory discussion of Tibal's book I may be able to throw further light on this subject.

Tibal centers his attention upon three particular aspects of Grillparzer's character as reflected in his literary message to the world: 1) Grillparzer's relation to Nature; 2) Grillparzer's Love-Life; and 3) Grillparzer's Estimation of Racial Values, or, better termed: Grillparzer *vs.* German Civilization of the Nineteenth Century.

Before taking up the discussion of these three papers I wish to express regret at M. Tibal's intentional omission of bibliographical footnotes, a fact rather unsatisfactorily explained in his preface where we are told: "J'ai supprimé systématiquement les notes et les références; elles ne convenaient pas à l'aspect que je désirais donner à l'ouvrage; . . ." While M. Tibal is the first scholar to draw a conclusion from the combination of the three above-named phases, he is by no means a pioneer investigator in any of these; and the mere admission on his part that he is acquainted with such authorities as Sauer, Glossy, Volkelt, Reich, Strich and Ehrhard sounds rather naïve. On the other hand, Tibal bases his essays very largely on the poet's own utterances, but as no references pave the way only those who have a more intimate acquaintance with Grillparzer's works (in particular, with his diaries, letters, epigrams, and political writings) will be able to identify them, and since only actual citations are placed between quotation marks, it will frequently be found difficult to appreciate just where Grillparzer stops and where his critic begins.

I. GRILLPARZER'S RELATION TO NATURE—Four years prior to Tibal, I published a minute and elaborate study of Grillparzer's nature-sense,<sup>3</sup> a subject which was then virgin soil since it had not occurred to anyone that Austria's foremost dramatist was in the deepest sense of the word a child of nature reflecting, both in his life and works, an incessant and intimate contact with Mother

<sup>1</sup> *Etudes sur Grillparzer*, par André Tibal, Annales de l'Est, 28<sup>e</sup> année, fascicule 1, Paris-Nancy, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> De Walsh, *Grillparzer as a Poet of Nature*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1910.

<sup>3</sup> v. s.



Earth. This individual trait of Grillparzer, which is so important for the appreciation of his personality and which explains, to a large extent, his misanthropy, his longing for solitude, his relation to woman, his negative criticism of contemporary developments in Germany—in other words, his utterly desolate position in the nineteenth century world—is unfolded before our eyes in the first part of M. Tibal's treatise. The methods the latter uses in evolving his theme are different from those employed in my book, but there are numerous points of similarity, if not identity, to some of which I should like to call attention; especially since M. Tibal claims all the credit for his work, possibly because he felt that the author of a doctor's dissertation could not very well be named in the preface, side by side with such authorities as Sauer, Volkelt, Ehrhard, etc. Or did M. Tibal ignore the existence of my study, and does the first portion of his Grillparzer essays represent the results of independent investigation? In the former case, his bibliography is woefully deficient; in the latter, I have every reason to feel flattered by this accidental concurrence of ideas which, on the whole, are harmoniously bound for the same destination.

On pp. 13, 14 Tibal says with regard to Grillparzer: "Et pour voir combien les paroxysmes ou les dépressions de son instinct amoureux sont en relation avec les états de la nature, reportons-nous à cette naïve confession"; and now follows the quotation of the same passage used by me, from Grillparzer's *Tagebücher*, II, p. 5,<sup>4</sup> which I preface, on p. XIII of my book, with the words: "He (Grillparzer) ascribed to nature an important influence upon his soul-life and upon his imagination . . ." p. 15: "Spartacus a pour confidente la nuit, mère des vastes pensées et des projets terribles; . . ."—With me, this reads as follows (p. 31): "Thus, night may be a source of inspiration to man; a thought which Spartakus expresses so well . . .," and (*ibid.*): "At night, when darkness condemns our outer senses to inactivity, our inmost feeling is more easily accessible to nature's influence than at any other time. It is again Spartakus who translates this thought into romantic language . . ." Cf. also pp. 69, 70 of my dissertation: "Every attribute of nature is now (at night) viewed from the standpoint of sympathy alone, and thus darkness is interpreted as the shielding, love-inviting confidente of man." At the bottom of the same page (15), Tibal remarks: ". . . Spartacus est devenu infidèle à son idéal de liberté et il subit autant que le jeune Grillparzer l'influence érotique du clair de la lune. Car, si la nature peut encourager de sombres pensées de vengeance et de révolte, elle favorise bien plus encore les doux rêves de l'amour." Or, as expressed by me (p. 81): "The fear-inspiring element of darkness here disappears altogether, and night is

<sup>4</sup> ed. Cotta.

associated only with the ideas of stillness and rest, which enable nature to deliver her message of love . . . The entire passage [and both Tibal and I quote the identical lines from *Spartakus*<sup>5</sup>] is one of those which show how much Grillparzer was influenced by romanticism."—On p. 16, Tibal refers to *Irenens Wiederkehr*, and when he states that "Chacun trouve dans la nature l'écho de ses pensées et de ses sentiments," he merely presents a digest of what is treated with great detail on pp. 83 to 88 of my dissertation. "Car l'amour est le grand maître de la nature," and *Irenens Wiederkehr* is (DeWalsh, p. 83) "a succession of paintings all of which have the same *sujet*, nature, but each of which shows a modification of the color-scheme." In *Irenens Wiederkehr* (as I have shown v. s.), Grillparzer's pantheistic interpretation of nature establishes her identity with Love and God.

The overpowering influence exerted by Nature Beautiful upon Grillparzer in Italy, to which Tibal calls attention on pp. 17 ff., and which has two culminating points, viz., the sea at Trieste, and Mount Vesuvius in eruption, has, of course not been overlooked by me. On p. 38 of my dissertation will be found the following reference: ". . . the poet leaped from his carriage when he arrived at the top of the hill which was the last obstacle between him and the object of his longing. Like a wild, resounding shout of joy, a second Thalatta, thalatta! there comes from the bottom of his heart the utterance: Ah! und da lag es vor uns weit und blau und hell, und es war das Meer!"<sup>6</sup> while Tibal voices the same thought thus (p. 18): "On gravit une colline et c'est l'exclamation *des Dix Mille*: 'Devant nous de l'espace et de l'azur et de la clarté, et c'était la mer.'"—And relating to the feeling which thrilled the poet as his eyes gazed upon the sublime spectacle of the great volcano, I quote from my book (p. 44): "He . . . climbs higher and higher, until he finally stands with his feet on the superficially cooled surface of a fresh lava-stream. Instead of horror, his heart is full of enthusiasm and awe. He kneels at the throne of nature's majesty" (then follows the well-known passage from Grillparzer's *Tagebuch auf der Reise nach Italien*,<sup>7</sup> beginning with the words: "Habe Dank, Natur, dass es ein Land giebt, wo du herausgehst aus deiner Werkeltagsgeschaeftigkeit . . . etc.") Tibal cites the same lines introducing them thus (p. 19): "Il trouva le volcan non pas horrible, mais sublime; il le gravit dans un état d'enthousiasme continu, voulant pousser toujours plus haut malgré les flammes, les exhalaisons sulfureuses, la lave encore brûlante . . ."

When Tibal says (p. 22): "Jamais plus, après son retour d'Italie, Grillparzer ne devait sentir le même enthousiasme en face de la nature," he exaggerates the facts; for there are land-

<sup>5</sup> XI. p. 141.

<sup>6</sup> IXX. p. 198.

<sup>7</sup> IXX. pp. 226 ff.

scapes which Grillparzer describes with far greater enthusiasm and love than is reflected even by the just cited picture of Vesuvius; and, in a mere suggestion of Grillparzer's relation to nature, Adolf Foglar<sup>8</sup> emphatically states: "The first and last, from which Grillparzer always derived the greatest pleasure, was and remained his immediate home-territory. There were the very roots of his existence, and everything appeared glorified by his most faithful love for Austria." And under no circumstances, no matter in what environment, was the idealized picture of his native land absent from Grillparzer's mind. In his poem *Zwischen Götta und Capua*, for example, he draws his inspiration from a foreign landscape, but while he endeavors to express his ideal through an Italian medium he makes qualitative and quantitative allowances for Austria: "Was bei uns schreitet, Schwebt hier im Tanz."

The influence of *Stimmung* upon the relative intensity with which nature reacts upon Grillparzer's super-sensitive soul has only been adumbrated rather than expounded by Tibal. There were times when Grillparzer was utterly incapable of appreciating nature because of his temporary mood; so, for example, on his hurried trip through Germany, in 1826. In his poem *Jugenderinnerungen im Grünen*,<sup>9</sup> Grillparzer expressly calls attention to the fact that nature had temporarily lost her language for him, or rather he was for the time being unable to understand it. To draw from this admission, or from the fact that Grillparzer felt little attracted by German landscapes, the conclusion which Tibal arrives at (p. 22), viz.: "Mais, en 1826, l'âme de Grillparzer n'avait plus cette fraîcheur, cette vivacité d'impressions," would be rash, and contrary to what the poet has recorded in his diaries and letters. From these we know that, provided he was in the proper receptive mood, nature exerted a powerful influence upon him *throughout* his life, and his appreciation was as keen in 1809 as in 1852 or 1865.

On the other hand, Tibal duly emphasizes (pp. 28 ff.) the fact that nature is frequently made use of by Grillparzer for the purpose of lending color to otherwise dull pictures, and my dissertation proved conclusively (p. XVII) that the poet's nature-sense "entered into and colored the texture of his plays." And it is very interesting to observe the skill employed by the poet in adapting the background of nature to the *Stimmung* of the respective drama. Natural phenomena are used symbolically; and the mystic background of nocturnal nature-scenes is shrewdly linked (cf. *Die Ahnfrau* and *Medea*) with the personality of the principal characters. Here, also, M. Tibal has made no new discovery, for going further than Tibal I showed<sup>10</sup> a conscious

<sup>8</sup> Lit. Jahrb. d. dtsh. Schulvereins, 1896-97, p. 85.

<sup>9</sup> I. p. 232.

<sup>10</sup> De Walsh, v. s., p. 33.



attempt on the part of Grillparzer to introduce through Medea a personification of Darkness and Night.

Since Grillparzer regards nature as the ideal of love and beauty, he frequently dwells upon the conscious sympathy of nature for man, and, in particular, for the human being who loves. To demonstrate this, M. Tibal quotes a few characteristic passages (p. 43) from *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* and from *Sappho*, but his commentary is quite meagre, and he fails to explain why the same nature which apparently favored the clandestine meeting of Hero with Leander becomes ultimately the instrument of their destruction. The point is that Grillparzer who sought in nature a *kalokagathia* could not allow Poseidon (Water) or the goddess of Love (All Nature) to grant Leander's prayer for protection inasmuch as (although the demand of permanent virginity made upon the priestesses of Aphrodite in Sestos is in itself perverse) Hero had wantonly broken her sacerdotal vows and thereby forfeited any claim to nature's sympathy.

The last thirty pages of Tibal's first essay are also largely covered in my priority where they appear in different chapters since, as I said at the outset, Tibal's arrangement does not agree with mine. And whereas I was careful to separate, wherever possible, the discussion of purely descriptive references and those from which conclusions may be derived with regard to Grillparzer's nature interpretation, Tibal does not follow this plan for he is working from the start with a different purpose; my study is wholly individual, Tibal's is comparative. The goal he has in mind is an attempt to prove the intimate relation of Grillparzer to Rousseau, and to show that Grillparzer was really a product of the 18th century in which he felt more at home than in his own modern age.

There are numerous passages, then, in these last thirty pages, expressing substantially the same results which I arrived at. Tibal there animadvertes upon Grillparzer's conception of the relation of nature to man; upon the poet's conscious effort to describe nature as the embodiment of immutability and harmony; the identification of nature with love, beauty and truth; and, finally, nature as the poet's source of inspiration *par excellence*. On the other hand, it is a matter of surprise to me that Tibal fails to stress the vocal message of nature to which Grillparzer's musical ear was so sensitive.

What my investigation purports to prove, Tibal sums up on p. 59: "Tous les sentiments du jeune Grillparzer (this had better read: "*de* Grillparzer" since he did not exhibit these characteristics only in his youth) trouvent, nous l'avons vu, une résonance dans la nature. L'amitié, l'amour, l'ardeur patriotique, l'enthousiasme de l'idéal, l'éveil de l'instinct poétique, sont inséparables de paysages, d'aspects de la nature vus ou imaginés."

Tibal's second study, *Grillparzer's Love-Life* is, in many respects, linked with the first, and it seems fairly impossible to understand Grillparzer's views on love, and his sexual experiences without thoroughly appreciating his individual nature-sense.

We know how great a part heredity plays in Grillparzer's personality: his intense love of nature forms part of his paternal heritage, whereas his mother's neurasthenia must be held largely responsible for the depth of his musical appreciation, but also for his melancholia and the paroxysms of persecutorial mania which explain his other-wordliness and the unspeakable suffering of his life. Without love, Grillparzer would have ended a suicide, like his mother and one of his brothers. Love is thus the constant object of his semi-conscious longing. It first takes hold of him when, at the age of puberty, he loses his heart to an obscure singer in an even more obscure Vienna music hall; and love still dwells in the old man's soul who draws his last breath in Kathi Fröhlich's house.

Grillparzer was never hypercritical in his numerous love affairs. As a matter of fact, he went in quest of love because his very nature required the experience, while the person furnishing this experience generally remained of secondary importance. Tibal charmingly expresses this as follows (p. 83): ". . . peu lui importe le flacon; il ne demande que la sensation de l'amour." As Grillparzer was often careless in the choice of a subject for his affection, and since his natural inclination was inconstancy, we frequently find him disappointed and dissatisfied. His jealousy is easily aroused; his self-love offended by a misinterpreted act or gesture; and his idol of yesterday, incapable of complying with the impossible demands of the poet's imagination, is thrown from its pedestal to-day with the childish rage of an iconoclast, and trodden under foot. Selfish is Grillparzer's love at all times; so selfish, in fact, that he does not shrink from hypothecating the happiness of Kathi's whole life, of his *ewige Braut*, whom he failed to marry because of cowardice.

Grillparzer could not love platonically. His sensuality which was largely influenced by nature rendered this impossible; and the suddenness with which love takes possession of the human heart, a principle which he illustrates both in his plays and early fragments, is never an attraction of soul by soul, never the gradually acquired conviction of an existing *Wahlverwandschaft*, but an impetuous manifestation of sex-consciousness. So, Phaon forsakes Sappho—intellectual, but *passée*—for the youthful fragrance of her mental antipode, Melitta; and so, Hero—her heart aflame with passion aroused by a youth whose physical characteristics appeal to her feminine fancy—breaks her vows, and eagerly sacrifices her virginal body to Leander's male appetite.

Love, according to Grillparzer, is not only *in* nature, but all nature is love. And as the overpowering realization of this truth

comes only to him who loves, maturity, or as Grillparzer calls it—humanity, presupposes the sensation of love. It is the aged man of the fragment *Spartakus*<sup>11</sup> who lends poetic expression to this philosophy:<sup>12</sup> "Du liebst! Du bist vollendet! Die Natur hat dir ihr Siegel aufgedrückt. Du liebst! O, sei willkommen, Mensch, im Namen der Menschheit." (Tibal says on p. 87: "Nul cependant n'est homme tant qu'il n'a pas connu l'amour," and he, also, illustrates this sentence by the above quotation.)

Grillparzer's diaries contain frequent references to the impressions made upon him by the fair sex. On his travels he was not interested solely in the beauty of nature: a pretty chambermaid at an inn where he happened to be stopping; a fair damsel at a window past which he strolled; the beautiful complexion, blond hair and blue eyes of the women in the vicinity of Gaeta; and a fourteen-year-old nymph bathing in the waters of the Lago di Perugia accelerated the beats of his heart. But "aus den Augen, aus dem Sinn" and "andre Städtchen, andre Mädchen" were the theories held by the young Grillparzer. It is true, however, that he fell seriously in love a number of times, and in these cases his inconstancy and his egotism, in one instance also his absolute indifference, spelled disharmony, misery, despair and death. "Le trait générale et caractéristique de ses amours," says Tibal (p. 92), "est qu'il a fait souffrir, sans beaucoup s'en émouvoir, les femmes qu'il a aimées et qui l'ont aimé." It is Grillparzer's natural disposition, a boundless desire for independence and the almost perpetual need of solitude, which help posterity solve the problem presented by his numerous love affairs. Grillparzer was also obstinate and incapable of granting the right of existence to any opinion other than his own. No wonder, then, that—as Grillparzer himself remarked—there was only one woman with whom he could live in undisturbed harmony: his mother, who always yielded to her darling's will.

Grillparzer's more serious attachments are well-known. His liaison with Marie Daffinger, and his adulterous love for Charlotte Paumgarten, his own cousin's wife, need merely be alluded to here. More interesting for the present discussion, however, is Grillparzer's frame of mind at the time when his relations to these women terminated. Utter indifference in the case of Marie Daffinger whose home he continues to visit, and in the re-establishment of whose domestic felicity he plays the part of a satirical comedian; utter indifference, also, toward the more pathetic fate of Charlotte Paumgarten who died from a broken heart. Grillparzer indulges, to be sure, in self-reproach when the news of Charlotte's death reaches him, but his egotism easily drowns the voice of conscience, and the dominant key-note of his brief dirge is that he "was unaware of the depth of Charlotte's passion for

<sup>11</sup> ed. Cotta, XI, p. 142.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. p. 79, my dissertation.



him." More stupendous even than this is the poet's attitude toward the memory of sweet Marie Piquot who revealed her love for Grillparzer in her last will and testament addressed to her parents. Every word of Marie Piquot's letter is a love-song overflowing, not with passion, but with gentleness and tender care. And what is the effect of this angelic message upon Grillparzer? He courteously accepts the poor girl's portrait; he listens to her parents' sad recital of the circumstances; and he goes home unmoved, dissatisfied with his absolute lack of sympathy for this life tragedy, where others would have wept.

But the full extent of Grillparzer's selfishness was measured, and balanced, by the self-sacrificing love and rare forbearance of Katharina Fröhlich. "Un effroyable égoïsme" Tibal calls, (p. 103) the dominant trait of Grillparzer's relations with the other sex. Like many men who, from cradle to grave, depend upon woman's affectionate ministrations, it never occurred to Grillparzer that woman has as much claim to happiness as man. Grillparzer unhesitatingly took possession of Kathi's love, and her lifelong devotion as well as her submission to his multitudinous whims, he accepted as a matter of course. Gretchen-like, Kathi would gladly have given her innocence to the man she loved, but a peculiar perversity practiced by Grillparzer casts a pathological gloom over his early relations to this girl: Grillparzer virtually possessed her in his imagination; and the nervous shock inevitably resulting from the satisfaction of the sex-impulse through unnatural agencies rendered Grillparzer unwilling, if not unable, to go as far with Kathi Fröhlich as he had gone with Marie Daffinger and Charlotte Paumgarten.

An attitude similar in perversity to that which Grillparzer took toward Kathi is occupied by the poet toward his Muse. Her, also, he treats as his imaginary slave who is ever-ready to do her master's bidding.

It is self-evident that such a man seeks solitude; that the contact with human society chills his heart; and that he feels at all times a homeless wanderer through life. However, his love for nature is not the only motive which induces him to commune with her alone. We understand the melancholy disposition of the poet; his great sensitiveness; his uncommunicative character; and the utter lack of contemporary appreciation for his genius. Tibal (pp. 109 ff.) establishes a parallel between Grillparzer and Rousseau, but while there are many points of contact between the two, and while no one will dispute the great influence exerted by Rousseau on Grillparzer, their attitude toward solitude is not identical. The vital difference between both poets is pointed out on pp. 58 ff. of my dissertation: Rousseau seeks solitude with his intellect; Grillparzer with his soul. Rousseau is contented with what he finds; Grillparzer remains unsatisfied. In his *Faust*<sup>13</sup> he sums up

<sup>13</sup> ed. Cotta, XI, pp. 255, 256.

his disappointment: "O Einsamkeit, wie hast du mich betrogen, Als ich an deinen stillen Busen floh, Du hast mir Ruh und Friede vorgelogen, Und ach! nun find' ich dich nicht so!" And the reason why Grillparzer never found rest and peace, or the main-spring of his "égoïsme d'artiste," as Tibal fitly calls it (p. 110), is to be sought in the contrast between art and life, which Grillparzer presents in *Sappho*, and which his whole life reflects. We know that Goethe's *Tasso* made a deep impression upon Grillparzer, and possibly suggested the treatment of this theme. But we are also aware of the difference between Grillparzer's conception of the term *life* (as expressed in *Sappho*) and that of Goethe. To cite Ehrhard:<sup>14</sup> "Das, was Grillparzer das Leben nennt, ist nicht, wie in Goethes Stück, diese Summe von Umständen, die den Menschen beherrschen, der mit seinesgleichen umzugehen gezwungen ist, nicht das System unterdrückter Leidenschaft und besonnener Tätigkeit, wie es Antonio verkörpert, sondern *das einfache Gemütsleben*, die Idylle von Phaon und Melitta, das Leben der Instinktmenschen . . ." In other words, it is again the heart which, with Grillparzer, rules the head.

Two phases of love, as Tibal demonstrates (pp. 115 ff.), are generally considered in Grillparzer's plays: the beginning and the end. And both are abrupt and rarely motivated, for Love, according to Grillparzer," says Tibal (p. 121), "is nature, nature within ourselves." And, as we have seen, it is in accord with this theory that Grillparzer emphasizes the physical aspects of love, and that the sensual element is assigned a prominent part in his love-scenes, just as it was an important consideration in his life.

Sensuality, then, is with Grillparzer a *conditio sine qua non*, and by no means confined to the male. All of Grillparzer's love-stricken female characters are enveloped by an atmosphere of voluptuousness: Bertha, Sappho-Melitta, Melusine, Medea-Kreusa, Erny, Elga, and even Libussa whose prototype, in many respects, was Katharina Fröhlich. But whereas, according to our poet, both man and woman have a share in sensuality, the attitude of the two sexes toward love is nevertheless sharply differentiated, and it is again nature which supplies the basis for this differentiation. Woman's life centers in love; with man, however, love is but an episode, and in the very arms of his Beloved his mind is apt to turn to things which, according to nature's decree, are of the utmost importance to him: his work and the concomitant satisfaction of his ambition. "Und findet er die Lieb', bückt er sich wohl, Das holde Blümchen von dem Grund zu lesen."<sup>15</sup> These lines from *Sappho* fully characterize, to my mind, Grillparzer's attitude toward woman. It should be observed that the little flower is not removed from the mother-soil together with its roots. Grillparzer does not say: "Ich grub's mit allen den Würzlein

<sup>14</sup> Franz Grillparzer, transl. by Moritz Necker, p. 77.

<sup>15</sup> ed. Cotta, IV, p. 174.

aus," and it is quite apparent that it "soll zum Welken gebrochen sein." This egotistic attitude of man who regards woman as a mere pastime; this "domination de l'homme sur la femme" (Tibal, p. 137), is Grillparzer's point of view. Phaon turns from Sappho to Melitta; Jason from Medea to Kreusa; and male brutality is the cause of Sappho's and Medea's death.

On p. 140 of his book, Tibal cleverly likens the women of the Melitta-Kreusa-Rahel type, in which Grillparzer was particularly interested, to Schnitzler's *süßes Mädel*, and this sweet, but insignificant specimen of femininity, the child-woman, is Grillparzer's outspoken favorite. Woman's relative inferiority to man, and the consequent necessity of her unconditional submission to her superior: those are the two premises from which Grillparzer draws his conclusion. It is a matter of fact that all women who cannot, or will not, comply with Grillparzer's postulates are doomed. This is not true only of his dramatic characters, but also of those women with whom history connects his name.

Domesticity and servility are two traits of feminine character which Grillparzer could not do without. As a true native of Vienna, he was fond of a good *cuisine*. We know how much he appreciated Kathi's culinary accomplishments, and how much he depended upon her for the little comforts of home. Still it would be wrong to believe that Grillparzer who merely circumscribes the domain of woman's activity does not grant woman an important position in life. On p. 88 of my dissertation, I call attention to the fact that, with Grillparzer, man and woman together form one unit, and that the thus established symmetry of nature is considered as a part of her ideal beauty. While man and woman move in two altogether different spheres, they are each of equal importance, and only when they overstep the boundaries drawn for them by nature does their position become untenable. This is Grillparzer's theme in *Libussa*, which should by no means be interpreted as an attempted demonstration of woman's absolute inferiority. Libussa's failure is not so much due to the fact that she is a woman, as to her womanly endeavor to replace civilization by nature, i.e., to substitute naiveté and sentimentality for the laws of reason. When she realizes the futility of her efforts she humbly kneels before Primislaus whom she accepts not only as her husband, but also as her lord.

It is manifest that Grillparzer's point of view with regard to woman has nothing in common with contemporary opinion on this subject. In this respect, also, as Tibal states on p. 149, Grillparzer belongs to the eighteenth rather than to the nineteenth century, and to Grillparzer's lack of sympathy with the great political and social reforms which a more modern era was preparing Wilhelm Schlegel's parody on Schiller may well be applied:

Ehret die Frauen! Sie stricken die Strümpfe,  
Wollig und warm, zu durchwateten die Sümpfe,  
Flicken zerrissene Pantalons aus.



If Grillparzer's nature-sense roots largely in the eighteenth century (although we believe Tibal goes too far in his attempt to establish a Rousseau-Grillparzer identity where only certain characteristic similarities exist); and if also Grillparzer's applied theories concerning woman reflect the attitude of the eighteenth century world which, in this respect shares the point of view of the ancients; Tibal's third subject of discussion, *Grillparzer's Estimation of Racial Values*, represents another important link in the chain of evidence proving Franz Grillparzer to be a typical eighteenth century mind.

On his trip to Germany in 1826 Grillparzer felt little attracted by nature, and the people made him feel uncomfortable. Forty-four years later, when the third Napoleon was a prisoner at Wilhelmshöhe, and when the unification of Germany under Prussian hegemony heralded the advent of a new world-power, Grillparzer was utterly incapable of appreciating the momentous hour in which he lived. With a shrug of his shoulders he remarked to Foglar: "Ich bin ein Oesterreicher . . . ein Wiener." This is not the expression of local patriotism which so eloquently appeals to us in *Ottokar* and other plays, but lack of sympathy based upon failure to understand. The events of 1866 were fresh in Grillparzer's mind, we are ready to admit, and the poet who took a narrow-minded pride in never having had anything published abroad, particularly not in Germany, must have been deeply affected by his country's defeat; but what he failed to grasp was the new order of things arising immediately from the gigantic forces of progress which form the rockbottom of the ever-ascending path of culture. To Grillparzer, the Germany of the nineteenth century (if we eliminate from it the name of Goethe) presented a spectacle of unnaturalness, insincerity, pedantry, megalomania and artistic incompetence. And German literature, according to Grillparzer, is an entity wholly separate from the German people, whereas Austrian poets—closer to nature in every way—continue to reproduce that naïve charm and fragrant verdure by which Southern climes link nature with man. Hence, Grillparzer's love for Lope de Vega and for the Romance literatures in general. Hence, his unlimited admiration of the French whose eighteenth century encyclopedists profoundly impressed him. Tibal (pp. 159, 160) draws attention to Grillparzer's opinion of French civilization which, the poet believes, is comparable only to that of ancient Greece.

What was it that made Grillparzer shrink from German literature of the nineteenth century? In 1829, he spent part of his mornings reading Homer and Lope; in 1846, he called the Greeks and the Spaniards, Ariosto and Shakespeare, the comforters of his solitude. Nature, with Grillparzer, is life, and (Tibal, p. 163) "il ne veut pas avoir devant lui un livre, mais la vie elle-même. . . ." The manifestation of practical energy and the astounding

advance along the lines of pure reasoning; in short, the cultivation of a critical mind, is a source of great discomfort to Grillparzer. He scoffs at this critical spirit of his age; at this establishment of reason as the essential nature of reality; and the illustrious name of Georg Hegel is the bugbear who frightens Grillparzer back into the sheltering arms of the eighteenth century in which he sought *his* categorical imperative: "Return to Nature!"

The Germans, so Grillparzer believed, display an utter lack of originality. They are the commentators and critics *par excellence*. They know everything, and make use of their vast stores of information by borrowing details from others, which they then convert into something they like to call their own. When Lessing proved that the French Classic Drama is based on a misinterpretation of Aristotelian principles, he blundered, and Grillparzer champions the French cause. To be sure, Lessing was not a nineteenth century product, but his far-reaching influence upon nineteenth century thought need hardly be mentioned.

This peculiar attitude on the part of the poet toward all things German, and toward nineteenth century development in particular, is not based solely upon the contrast between North and South, between Germany and Austria, although climatic influences here play a prominent part; but upon the ever-increasing distance which, in his opinion, modern Germans came to place between nature and themselves. Grillparzer, as I should like to put it, did not possess an abstract mind. German genius was, therefore, something quite problematical with Grillparzer; in fact, he utterly failed to grasp it. He would not admit that criticism may construct new values where it destroys the old; and therefore he had no patience with the German mind which treats God as a hypothetical quantity, thus regarding Him as an object, rather than as the subject of creation. The Germans, according to Grillparzer, are never satisfied until they have shattered the ideals in which they yesterday so faithfully believed; and like children, they destroy their toys in the hope of replacing them with new ones. Could we expect from anyone who, like Grillparzer, holds such undigested views, a fair-minded estimate of German literary, social and political ambitions in the nineteenth century? Such a race as Grillparzer believed to see, could have no future, and (Tibál, p. 175) "il (Grillparzer) ne peut croire que ces hommes si peu viriles soient aptes à accomplir une grande oeuvre nationale."

The Germans of the nineteenth century, Grillparzer believed, stand on their heads. As soon as they succeeded in casting off the yoke of Bonaparte, a delirious spirit of unparalleled conceit and self-adulation began to permeate every avenue of German life. Common sense no longer exists, and yet—it sounds paradox—reason rules supreme. "Tous les défauts du génie allemand se résument dans un système qui contribua à son tour à leur donner un nouvel essor, dans l'Hégélianisme. Grillparzer n'a peut-être

pas eu de plus grand ennemi que Hegel." (Tibal, p. 179) And to a total misunderstanding of Hegel's logical mind, as Tibal goes on to show, is due the great majority of erroneous conclusions which the conservative Grillparzer, inebriated with the nature-cult of the eighteenth century, arrived at.

In politics, Grillparzer played the part of an aristocrat, and he was the pronounced enemy of all democratic and socialistic reforms which mark the beginning of political freedom in the nineteenth century. The State of the future, and—at the same time—the State which Grillparzer dreamt of, is revealed at the end of *Libussa* as a sort of amalgamation of reason with nature. That Grillparzer, the poet who suffered so intensely from the political and intellectual censorship exercised by the Austrian authorities, really regarded freedom of speech as essential, we have every reason to doubt. It was he who called German academic freedom an absurdity, and he vigorously contested the right of university professors to present truth in the light of their individual scholarly experience. And yet Grillparzer claimed for himself the privilege of originality and independence; and his whole life shows him to have been, in every sense of the word, an individualist!

Education, according to Grillparzer, should be practical rather than theoretical; and the country's universities have but one purpose, viz., to act as incubators for future public servants. The educational ideals cherished by nineteenth century Germans, which find their profoundest expression in the truth-for-the-sake-of-truth policy of modern higher institutions of learning, Grillparzer accepted at a discount, so as not to say that he rejected them entirely.

Historical, political and educational developments in German nineteenth century life were looked upon by Grillparzer with scepticism, where he did not consider them as wholly condemnable. And the religious movement which characterizes the first half of the century left him cold and indifferent. Especially pronounced was Grillparzer's anticlericalism which we may gather from a number of epigrams directed against the clergy and, especially, against the Jesuits. Hero's uncle, also, is an incarnation of Grillparzer's dislike for the Christian priest. As a matter of fact, there was for Grillparzer no such thing as the Christian State, since the State shall not be representative of one form of faith, but of all. Tibal (p. 203) concludes on good grounds that if the fragment *Esther* had ever been finished it would have contained considerable material dealing with tolerance and the religion of the State, and might have borne striking resemblance to Lessing's *Nathan*.

For the Middle Ages Grillparzer had no admiration, for he could not appreciate the spirit of religious fervor which dominated the Christian world in those days, and he refused to believe in



Christianity as the broad foundation upon which rests the superstructure of modern civilization. Thus, the depth of religious feeling in Germany meant nothing more than a passing fashion to the poet who, like the wanderer of *Irenens Wiederkehr*, sees in nature the only end worth striving for.

Grillparzer's negative criticism of contemporary German literature has previously been alluded to, but it is interesting to note that the poet held the same point of view as Frederick the Great for whom German literature, as compared with French, Italian, English and Spanish literatures, did not exist. To mention one instance, Tieck is not a poet, according to Grillparzer, but a mere imitator of Shakespeare; a representative of that philological, critical and commentating German spirit which Grillparzer despises. Let me borrow Tibal's characterization (p. 214) of Grillparzer's judgment: "Quand on arrache à l'âne la peau du lion, on découvre l'Allemand du dix-neuvième siècle qui est une créature assez misérable, pas beaucoup plus qu'un zéro." We must also appreciate that, with Grillparzer, the terms *literature* and *poetry* are identical, and whatever he called *prose*, for example the novel, does not deserve consideration as a form of literature.

Grillparzer's aversion to German scholarship appears not only biased, but absolutely out of temper with the spirit of his age. Gervinus' *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, in which Grillparzer saw nothing but an attempt to evaluate literary genius in proportion with the importance of service rendered to the Teuton cause, inspired him with horror; especially, as he believed to see between the lines the spectre of Hegel, that abhorred embodiment of abstract reasoning. And just as Grillparzer loathed the nature and aims of German scholarship, he likewise evinced profound contempt for its achievements. The Middle Ages, as we have seen, brought him no message, and the impetus given by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm to the study of mediaeval German literature, and the constantly growing interest in *Volks poesie* which obviously resulted in the strengthening of national consciousness was as offensive to Grillparzer as it seemed incomprehensible. Even the *Nibelungenlied* met with but abject criticism at his hands. "Nous voyons ici l'abîme qui sépare le classique du médiéval" (Tibal, p. 221). This sentence is as significant as true, and it is this conclusion that undermines the whole theory of Tibal, which represents Grillparzer as the Austrian Rousseau. The fundamental difference existing between Grillparzer and the French apostle of Nature is inadvertently admitted by Tibal, p. 222: "Grillparzer est un aristocrate et un classique; il aime la nature, mais cultivée, le jardin, non la brousse, de même que son idéal humain n'est pas le sauvage de Rousseau, mais l'Hellène." On pp. 58 ff. of my book, a theory such as proposed by Tibal has been anticipated and rejected. It is there that I call particular attention to the fact that in spite of many similarities in character there is no actual

relation (of identity there can be no question at all) between the two poets; and that Grillparzer who called himself the brother of Rousseau was nevertheless conscious of the aforesaid fundamental difference in their point of view. This consciousness is strikingly expressed through the words of Grillparzer's Mephistopheles:<sup>16</sup>

Muss doch ein wenig spionieren,  
Wo mein vertrackter Doktor ist,  
Der nach Rousseau auf allen Vieren  
Hier unter dieses Waldes Tieren  
Des Glücks, ein Mensch zu sein, genießt  
Und Wasser säuft und Eicheln frisst.

The fact that Tibal's argumentation in favor of a Rousseau-Grillparzer identity is not convincing, is after all of minor importance. As a comparative study, Tibal's book is a valuable contribution to our understanding of the far-reaching influence of eighteenth century thought. Only if we place Grillparzer in that century of which he is really a belated exponent, can we come to a full appreciation of his character and life-message; and we should clearly bear in mind that his eighteenth century nature-sense bears the burden of responsibility, and explains the gap which separates this nineteenth century poet from his contemporary environment.

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**SOCIALISM IN GERMAN AMERICAN LITERATURE.** By William Frederic Kamman, Ph.D. *Americana Germanica* [ed. by M. D. Learned] No. 24. *Americana Germanica Press*, Philadelphia 1917. 124 pp.

Genau genommen passt der Titel nur für die zweite Hälfte des Buches, d.h. die ersten 63 Seiten sind Einleitung. Diese Einleitung zerfällt in vier Kapitel: 1. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION. *Early Communism. The Transition to Modern Socialism. Modern German Socialism in America* (S. 9-33); 2. SOCIALISM AND THE GERMAN AMERICAN PRESS (S. 34-50); 3. THE INDEPENDENT CONGREGATIONS AND SOCIALISM (S. 51-57); 4. THE TURNERS AND SOCIALISM (S. 58-63). Es ist also eine reinliche Scheidung durchgeführt zwischen den sozial- und geistesgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen der im Hauptteil zu besprechenden Poesie und dieser Poesie selbst. Und das ist möglich; denn es handelt sich hier nicht um die ästhetische Würdigung einzelner Gestalten in ihrem ganzen Lebenszusammenhang, sondern um die Vorführung einer Masse von Gedichten verschiedener Verfasser unter dem einheitlichen Gesichtspunkt eines rein stofflichen Interesses. Der erstrebte

<sup>16</sup> Faust, XI., pp. 255, 256.

und jedenfalls erzeugte Gesamteindruck ist denn auch lediglich, dass die deutsche Literatur in Amerika sich im xix. Jh. in grossem Umfang von sozialistischen u.ä. Themen genährt habe. Ob im einzelnen der Natur der Sache nach mehr zustande kommen konnte als eine Kompilation von äusseren Tatsachen mit eingesprengten Glossen, steht dahin. Alle Stoffgeschichte bleibt Kompilation, wenn man in dem *Stoff* nicht den *objektiv gegebenen Geist* sieht, Themen und Motive, die jedem greifbar in Traditionen und Verhältnissen vorliegen, woraus sich natürlich die Notwendigkeit einer kulturhistorischen Behandlung ergeben würde. Vermutlich hätte eine solche in diesem Falle zu weit geführt; gleichwohl können wir uns nicht ganz mit der Behandlung einverstanden erklären, die Dr. Kamman seinem Gegenstand hat angeeignet lassen.

In der Einleitung bietet Vf. allerdings wertvolle Ergänzungen zu den Werken von Sartorius, Schlüter, Hillquit usw., die sich mit der Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung in den Vereinigten Staaten befassen. Mit wahren Bienenfleisse hat er hier aus Zeitungen, Zeitschriften, Kalendern und sonstigen Veröffentlichungen, die gemeinhin unzugänglich sind, eine Masse von Materialien zusammengetragen, die besonders für die ersten Stadien des amerikanischen Sozialismus von hohem Interesse sind. Ihre Einordnung in den Zusammenhang des bereits Bekannten muss der Leser jedoch selber auf sich nehmen, da Dr. K. eine gründliche Kenntnis der wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Entwicklung dieses Landes im xix. Jh. stillschweigend voraussetzt. Vorausgesetzt ist ferner eine gründliche Kenntnis, man möchte sagen: des ganzen Ideen-Kodex' von Sozialismus und verwandten Strömungen überhaupt; das Buch selber begnügt sich mit der Anwendung geläufiger Schlagwörter, ohne auf genauere Definitionen einzugehn. Der Vf. vermeidet es denn auch, die Geschichte des deutschen Sozialismus in Amerika, deren dichterischen Niederschlag wir im Hauptteil besprochen finden sollen, im Lichte einer Entwicklung aufzufassen. Vielleicht war das Material für ein solches Verfahren zu spröde; jedenfalls besteht die Tatsache, dass uns fast nichts geboten wird als eine Aufreihung vornehmlich biographischer, statistischer oder zeitungsgeschichtlicher Daten an keinem andern Faden als dem chronologischen.

Das äussert sich sofort im Stil, der geradezu annalistisch wirkt; jeder Satz beginnt, als sei er der Anfang zu einem neuen Paragraphen. So entsteht eine Langweiligkeit, die alles Interesse ertötet. Vf. sagt selber im Vorwort: "The usual [!] difficulty of clothing an accurate statement of fact in a readable garb presented itself constantly"; aber warum deshalb die häufigen Germanismen (die wohl aus sprachlich unzureichender Verarbeitung deutschen Materials stammen) nicht haben getilgt werden können, ist nicht einzusehen.



Im einzelnen sind die Kenntnisse des Vfs. auf dieser Seite des Wassers zuverlässiger als drüben. So wird auf S. 15 behauptet, Julius Fröbel sei schon vor 1844 in den Vereinigten Staaten gewesen; er landete das erste Mal Anfang November 1849. Kurz vor dieser Stelle ergibt sich der Anschein, als sei Marx' *Rheinische Zeitung* erst 1844 unterdrückt worden; das richtige Datum ist März 1843. Auf S. 74 heisst es: "Heinzen corresponded with Freiligrath in London, and in 1846, when the revolution broke out in France the latter sent him his poem, *Im Hochland fiel der erste Schuss*, which was published in the *Schnellpost*" — klingt, als ob Heinzen damals schon in New York gewesen wäre, ist also in der Hinsicht zum mindesten schlecht gewandt. Das Datum 1846 indessen ist kein Druckfehler, sondern die ganze Angabe *revolution in France* beruht auf Irrtum, gemeint ist der Schweizer Sonderbundskrieg. Oder: (S. 76) "Another author... was Paul Harro-Harring (1798-1870), a restless soul and native of Sleswick-Holstein [!]. He took part in the Greek Revolution of [!] 1822, and the Polish Revolution of 1832." Der polnische Aufstand war schon Ende 1831 erloschen und Harro Harring (ohne Bindestrich) längst aus der fraglichen Weltgegend verschwunden.<sup>1</sup> Das alles sind in diesem Zusammenhange Kleinigkeiten, aber sie machen doch stutzig, denn sie verraten eine recht sporadische Lektüre auf Nebengebieten. Einige andre Fehler in Eigennamen und Daten halten wir für Druckfehler, die leicht zu bessern sind.

Das fünfte Kapitel, also der Hauptteil, hat den genaueren Titel SOCIALISM REFLECTED IN GERMAN AMERICAN LITERATURE, der das Thema wohl am vorsichtigsten und richtigsten angibt. Fleiss und Gründlichkeit des Vfs. in der Herbeischaffung des Materials ist von neuem anzuerkennen, die Art der Vorführung zu bedauern. Stoffliche Auswahl, chronologische Ordnung, biographische Schilderung; dazu Proben von Gedichten der bedeutenderen Autoren, mit einigen kritischen Bemerkungen bei den besten; das ist alles. Die Übergänge ganz mechanisch — "Another . . ." Kein systematischer Versuch die Masse und auch die Güte der vorgeführten Produktion in ein inneres Verhältnis zur deutsch-amerikanischen Dichtung überhaupt zu setzen. Zuweilen ein Hinweis auf Vorbilder in der deutschen Poesie (*Mignon*, Heine!) — wo die Beziehung auf der Hand liegt. Zuweilen ein Hinweis auf direkten Einfluss von Deutschland — wo die Biographie das Faktum aufdeckt. Also vom Studium der Formen keine Spur. Im übrigen die Proben einander bis auf wenige erschreckend ähnlich, an Inhalt, Ton und Tiefe. Das liegt nun allerdings am Stoff. Aber wenn dem allem so ist, warum nicht konsequent sein und das ganze Kapitel lexikalisch anlegen? Statt dessen ist nicht ein-

<sup>1</sup>Tatsächlich verliess Harring Warschau schon 1830, hoch vor dem Ausbruch der Revolution, an der er sich aktiv gar nicht beteiligt hat; vgl. Harro Harring, *Poland under the Dominion of Russia*, London 1831, S. ix f., 270 ff.; Werke, Auswahl letzter Hand, N. Y. 1844 u. 1846, I, iii, 88, 306; II, 259, 263 f., 287.

mal ein Register vorhanden, mit dessen Hilfe man die vielen Einzeltatsachen des Buches nach einem andern, fruchtbarern Gesichtspunkt anordnen könnte als dem der absoluten Chronologie.

Die Bibliographie umfasst über 130 Titel (S. 119-124); der Vf. gibt selbst zu, dass sie nicht vollständig sei. Er hat ohne Zweifel geleistet was dem einzelnen möglich ist. Auffällig ist sicher, wenn Brümmers *Dichterlexikon* genannt wird, dass die *Allg. Deutsche Biographie* ganz fehlt; sie hätte mit Vorteil benutzt werden können!

Die Korrektur ist im englischen Text von hinreichender Sorgfalt. Auf S. 95 fehlen ein paar wesentliche Worte in dem Satz: "Besides other poems often by obscure or nameless authors occur constantly," zur Illustration folgen solche Namen, wie Rückert, Herwegh, Prutz usw. Die deutschen Zitate, von denen die Arbeit natürlich voll ist, lassen hie und da zu wünschen, u.a. auch in der Interpunktion. Es ist aber möglich, dass viele dieser Druckfehler aus den Originaldrucken stammen, Vf. folgt z.B. auch überall, entgegen unsrer Gepflogenheit, der veralteten Rechtschreibung. Von Textkritik, die auf S. 72, 96, 111, 114 offenbar ganz angebracht gewesen wäre, ist natürlich keine Rede.

Alles in allem, ein Werk, das man wird brauchen müssen, ob man mag oder nicht. Zu wünschen wäre freilich, dass Dr. Kamman uns selber eine kritische Verarbeitung seines Materials liefern möchte, das in dieser Fülle keiner so leicht wieder unter die Augen bekommen wird. Ein lohnendes Ergebnis steht ausser Frage.

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**THE LITURGICAL ELEMENT IN THE EARLIEST FORMS OF THE MEDIEVAL DRAMA.** With special reference to the English and German plays. By Paul Edward Kretzmann, Ph. D. Minnesota Studies in Language and Literature No. 4, 1916.

After a brief survey of the work of earlier scholars Dr. Kretzmann gives this statement of his thesis: "The plays were either based directly upon the liturgy and taken from it, as were the early Latin plays, or the suggestion for their composition and their episodal structure was taken from the liturgy of some festival day or from some minor liturgical cycle clearly discernible in the breviaries. The Judgment Plays belong to the Advent season, the Annunciation and Visitation to Advent and Christmas, the Prophetæ to Christmas, the Pastores to Christmas, Rachel to the Feast of the Innocents, Magi to Epiphany, Purification of Mary to Candlemas Day, Christ and the Doctors to the first Sunday after Epiphany, the Old Testament Plays to Septuagesima and the beginning of Lent, the Ministry Plays to the Lenten season,

and the Passion Plays to Holy Week. The Planctus is built up of Great Sabbath material. The Resurrection Plays belong to Easter and its Octave. The Ascension and Pentecost Plays are based on services of that season. The Mary Plays are based on material of the Mary festival services." In the body of the investigation the author devotes a chapter to each of these classes of plays, attempting to show in each case that the plays developed from the liturgy of the day or season with which he connects them. Each chapter has about the same scheme of presentation—a list of texts examined, a few words upon earlier research, a general liturgical survey of the day or season concerned, a discussion of the plays, Latin, German and English, with regard to their liturgic elements, and then a statement of the conclusions. Anyone who knows the number of plays and the variety of problems concerned, will realize what a huge task is involved in this program, if it is carried out in an adequate way.

The question of liturgic influence upon plays other than the Latin liturgical plays is just beginning to get the attention it deserves. The tendency of earlier scholars was to attribute all biblical content directly to the Vulgate. In most of the recent editions and studies the attempt is made to determine whether Vulgate or liturgy was the immediate source. Dr. Kretzmann's interest, however, is so centered upon the liturgy that he tends to the extreme of attributing everything biblical to liturgic sources without considering carefully enough the possibility of a direct use of the Vulgate.

The relation of liturgy to medieval drama raises certain general questions that are not discussed, and makes desirable certain distinctions that are not taken into consideration in this study. Some distinction is desirable between the Scriptural lections, the chanted antiphons and responses, and the Latin hymns as sources of liturgic influence. In view of the constant possibility of the Vulgate as a direct source, it is not safe to attach much significance to the Scriptural lections of the liturgy unless a careful comparison of the scope of the complete system of pericopes with the content of the plays as a whole shows convincing evidence that the pericopes have influenced the scope of the plays. On the other hand the influence of the responses can often be clearly proved even in late texts in the vernacular by pointing out some significant deviation from the Bible or some combination of different Bible passages common to the play in question and to the responses of the liturgy. It is a defect of Dr. Kretzmann's study that so little use is made of similar critical methods, methods that have been used so convincingly in other recent studies. As a rule the work shows a good knowledge of the liturgy but only a superficial study of the texts of the plays. All too often the reasoning is substantially this: the liturgy contains sufficient material and



suggestion to serve as a basis of the plays in question, therefore the plays were based on the liturgy.

A large and uncritical use is made of what the author calls 'Latin tags' or 'liturgical tags' without sufficient inquiry into their exact nature and origin. While the Latin tags are doubtless usually from the liturgy, there is reason to believe that at times, as in the Heidelberg passion play, they are taken directly from the Vulgate. And are they necessarily surviving parts, a sort of framework, from an earlier, possibly all-Latin version, of which, the speeches in the vernacular are paraphrases and expansions, or may they not at times have been introduced later into a purely vernacular text as musical interludes or adornments? In the Alsfeld play there are scenes with Latin tags where the corresponding speeches of its source, the Frankfurt *Dirigierrolle*, do not have them and where the German text of the speeches was taken originally from the old epic poem *Erlösung*, which is without the Latin sentences. In this case it is clear that the tags, while they may be spoken of as a 'liturgical element,' cannot be used as evidence of the liturgical origin of the scenes in which they occur.

The value of such a study as this, which avowedly moves along broad lines, will depend in a considerable measure upon the completeness with which the field is covered, and it is a serious fault of this survey that, in the German field at least, it omits many of the most important texts and also fails to use important studies of other scholars. Among plays connected with the Christmas season there is no mention of the St. Gallen *Kindheit Jesu*, the oldest completely preserved German Christmas play, with its interesting relations to the liturgy, as shown in Klapper's careful study. Other plays of this season that are omitted are the Hessian Christmas Play, easily accessible in Froning, the Sterzing play of 1511, two of the Erlau plays, the Innsbruck so-called Corpus Christi play which is essentially a prophet play, the prophet scenes in Immessen's *Sündenfall*, and several early fragments of plays. Although the author devotes a special chapter to the plays of the Purification or Presentation, he does not mention the only separate Purification play that has been preserved, the Tyrol *Lichtmeszspiel*, nor does he mention the presentation scenes in the *Kindheit Jesu*, or in the Kreuzenstein fragments published by Strobl. The only German play that he mentions as having this scene is the Eger play. For this play to which he alludes often throughout his study, he does not use the complete text published by Milchsack but only the very inadequate summary in *Germania*, Vol. III.

Under passion plays there is not the slightest mention of the oldest preserved German passion play, that of St. Gallen, or of its relations to the liturgy, as shown in Emil Wolter's study. Among other omissions are the Donaueschingen, Augsburg, and Freiburg plays, Gundelfinger's *Grablegung*, the fragmentary

Kreuzenstein play, and the Heidelberg play with its interesting Old Testament prefigurations and its unusual abundance of Latin tags.

Neither under Resurrection plays nor in the special chapter on the Harrowing of Hell is there any mention of the Klosterneuburg play, the most complete and interesting of Latin Easter plays and the only one that contains the scene of the Harrowing. Other omissions in this Easter season are the Innsbruck, Sterzing and Vienna Easter plays, the two Erlau plays that belong to this season, and the Redentin play, which is undoubtedly the most important version in German of the Harrowing of Hell. For the Ascension and Pentecost plays, no German plays are analyzed. The allusion to the St. Gallen Ascension play is based upon Creizenach and not upon the text itself in Mone. There is no mention of the Tyrol Ascension play or of these scenes in the Alsfeld play. The Alsfeld play is in general too little used and seems to be known only from the few selections in Volume III of the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*.

In the chapter on the Mary plays, where at its best the material is scant, there is no mention of the only separate German play, the Innsbruck *Himmelfahrt Mariä*.

There are numerous details that call for comment or correction. Only a few can be mentioned here. On page 17 the two versions of the German Ten Virgin Play are spoken of as two entirely distinct plays, and the author shows no acquaintance with Becker's critical study and text. An indication of the author's superficial knowledge of the texts may be found in the fact that on pages 27 and 28, as well as in several other places, he discusses both Du Méril's *Passio de Francfort* and the Frankfurt *Dirigierrolle* in Froning without knowing that they are one and the same text. In numerous footnotes as well as in the bibliography there is mention of a work by Froning entitled *Frankfurter Passionsspiele*, a work which does not exist. On page 23 and again on page 76, in speaking of the general acceptance of Sepet's theory of the Prophetæ and the Old Testament plays up to the time when Professor Craig advanced his new theory, the vigorous objection of Wilhelm Meyer to Sepet's theory is completely ignored. The assertion on page 4 that Meyer in his *Fragmenta Burana* "bases his remarks to a great extent on Sepet and Gautier" is a grotesque misstatement. His attempt on page 92 to disprove Meyer's statement that the *Ludus breviter de passione* is taken directly from the Gospel narrative is not convincing. On page 20 the Frankfurt Antichrist play of 1468-69, which is known only from archival notices, is mentioned as a preserved text published by Froning. The statement on page 40 that in the Coventry Incarnation the line, "Here this name Eva is turned Ave," is taken from the hymn "Ave maris stella" is probably not true; at least this word play was widespread in the Middle Ages and is

older than the hymn, going back to the Church Fathers. On page 46 allusion is made to Du Ménil's text of the Rouen *officium pas-torum*, "which is not mentioned by Professor Young in his notes." A reference to the Bibliographical Notes in Professor Young's article in *Modern Philology* VI (p. 227) will explain the failure to mention this text in this later study. On page 136, for the Trier Easter play, instead of the good and convenient text in Froning, the author uses the incomplete text in Davidson's study, and also uses the old and unfamiliar title, *Ludus de nocte pascha*. On page 128 the author's statement regarding the subordinate importance of the Gospel of Nicodemus for the Harrowing of Hell scenes in the German plays is not justified by the facts, and would scarcely have been made if the author had been familiar with the evidence presented by Duriez in his *Les Apocryphes dans le Drame Religieux en Allemagne*.

In the discussion of the *Descensus* Dr. Kretzmann fails to understand, or at least to present the real nature of the question concerning which he differs so emphatically from Professor Young. The incontrovertible fact is that the *Descensus* scene occurs in vernacular cycles over a century before it is found in any preserved Latin text of the liturgical-dramatic office and over two centuries before any of these texts except the earliest one. No one can deny the ritual elements in the early versions of this scene in the vernacular, but the question is whether there was an unbroken tradition of Latin liturgico-dramatic versions reaching back and ante-dating these early versions in the vernacular, and thus serving as a bases for them, the early Latin texts having been lost or not yet brought to light, or whether the first versions of the liturgico-dramatic offices were of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, after the dramatic representation of the scene was already familiar from the plays in the vernacular. If the latter is the case, as the evidence available at present seems to indicate, then, even if the dramatic office was built up entirely of liturgic material, it would doubtless have been suggested by, and be in a sense an adaptation of the vernacular versions of the scene. It may be mentioned that Wilhelm Meyer (*Fragm. Bur.* p. 64, note) states more confidently than Professor Young his belief that we have here a case where the drama suggested the liturgico-dramatic office.

In addition to a too superficial treatment of many subjects, and possibly as a result of this, there is at times a disturbing lack of coherent sequence of thought. I can not refrain from quoting an entire paragraph to illustrate this. On pages 128 and 129 is given a brief survey of the non-dramatic influence of the Gospel of Nicodemus in various countries. The following truly wonderful paragraph is all that is said about Germany and is thus complete in itself, except for the fact that the antiphon



*Cum rex glorie Christus* has previously been shown to be from the liturgy and not from Nicodemus.

"So far as Germany is concerned, Wülcker makes the assertion that the poem, "Anegenge," of the twelfth century is based upon the Gospel of Nicodemus (page 34). That his claim lacks the foundation which would seem necessary, appears from the poem, "Die Urstende," of the beginning of the thirteenth century (about 1205). The author is Konrad von Heimesfurt, and the Descensus is described in lines 1489-2162. In line 1698 we read:

Cum rex glorie Christus:  
Do der eren chunic Christ,  
der aller tugende orthab ist,  
ze der helle chomon solte. . . .

It will suffice, for the present, to call attention to the "Cum rex glorie Christus," and to state that a German poem of the year 1465, entitled "Von der Beschaffung diser Welt bisz auf das jungst gericht gereymt," which has the Harrowing of Hell incident, is undoubtedly based upon liturgical sources. The first complete metrical translation of the Gospel of Nicodemus in German was that by Hessler, written about 1300 to 1330, containing the characters Adam, Isaiah, Simeon, John the Baptist, David, Habakkuk, Micha."

While this study has not been carried out with the thoroughness that is desirable, the reading of it gives one nevertheless a large realization of the extent of the liturgic element in the medieval drama. Some of the parts which concern liturgy more than drama, such as the tables of antiphons and responses with their location in the liturgy, are very useful. What is needed, however, at present, at least in the German field, is more such investigations as those of Klapper, Wolter, and Dinges, in which a single play is thoroughly studied from all points of view, including its relation to the liturgy, and until the field is more completely covered in this way, it is questionable whether the time is ripe for such a survey as has been attempted in this work.

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*THE PHONOLOGY OF THE DIALECT OF AURLAND, NORWAY.* By George T. Flom. University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 1915. Vol. 1, nos. 1 & 2.

Notwithstanding the considerable impetus given to the study of Norwegian dialects by the *landsmaal* movement, little more has actually been accomplished in dialectology than a survey of the regions to be explored in detail. A half dozen monographs comprise the total list. In many instances, certain lack of funds for publication has been a deterrent to natives. It is a splendid help, therefore that a series of studies published by an American University is open to publications of this nature. And Professor Flom, himself a native of the Aurland region, has by his work

nobly repaid the debt he owes to the land of his birth. It is a continuation of investigations carried on for some time, the first fruit of which was a discussion of the nominal and pronominal inflections of the Sogn dialects in general (*Am. Dial. Notes*, 1905).

Granting the truth of the maxim that the reviewer of a book ought to know as much of the matter in hand as its author, if not more, the present writer really has no business to review this work; for his knowledge of Sogn dialects is restricted to a few weeks' sojourn in those regions. He is in no position, whether to approve of, or contradict, the statements of the author, except from his general knowledge of Norwegian dialects, and as to methods.

The Aurland dialect forms a part of the southern group of the dialects of Inner or Eastern Sogn, being spoken on both sides of the Aurland Fjord and the Nærø Fjord, in the valleys to the south that lead to these fjords and in the inhabited parts of the surrounding heights. The parish is one of the most sparsely settled regions even of mountainous Western Norway, the cultivated and inhabited area measuring but 0.6% of the whole area! Though one of the most easterly of West Norwegian dialects, it is distinctly different from its nearest neighbor to the east, the speech of the Hallingdal, from which it is effectually separated by wild mountains and glaciers; whereas the branching arms of the great Sogn Fjord offer comparatively easy avenues of communication on the west and north, and the low pass of the Stalheimsklev, on the south. Hence its closest relatives are the other Sogn Fjord dialects, and the Voss dialect directly south of it.

The phonology of the Aurland dialect exhibits many ancient features, especially in its vowel system. In addition to no less than 22 distinct single vowel shades there are preserved all the numerous Old Norwegian diphthongs, both rising and falling, augmented by the diphthongizations of the Old Norw. long vowels *ā*, *ō*, (*ū*), *ī*, *ȳ*. While this is, in the main, true of the whole group of dialects, certain half-diphthongs (\**u*, *ø*y, \**i*) are peculiar to this one. Their first element is a *Vorschlag*—a beat of mid-vowel quality preceding the longer part of the vowel which is of high vowel quality. The equivalent of Old Norw. long *ō* is a diphthong with a *u*-vanish. In this and certain other respects this complex vowel system furnishes a remarkable corroboration of the "Wellentheorie," showing unmistakable approximation to English conditions; just as, e.g., the consonants of the southernmost dialects of Norway to Danish conditions.

The mass of material is well displayed in the two main chapters, of which the first, on the distribution of the vowels and consonants, furnishes a conspectus of the whole speech material; and the

second, on etymological phonology, tabulates the sounds with regard to their derivation from Old Norw. sounds and discusses the laws involved. Both statement and presentation are absolutely reliable, as far as I have been able to control them. These chapters are followed by 2 pages of very interesting texts in phonetic transcription—an Alp-Horn Call, Riddles, and Proverbs; and by an index of undefined words.

After thus showing the scope of this excellent investigation I may be permitted, with above reservations, to touch upon a few points on which a difference of opinion is possible.

1) In some instances, the definition of phonetic quality is not happy. I note the following points: the open *e* (*ē*), as in Norw. *hest*, *lett*, is found in Engl. *best*, rather than in Engl. *let*, Germ. *fett*, both of which are slightly more closed.—The sound of Dan. *y* in *lykke* ought to come under wide, not narrow, *y*.—The vowel heard in Norw. *søt*, French *peu*, Germ. *Söhne* certainly is not that of Scottish *guid*—which is approximately that of Swed. *y*.

2) Neither in the chapter on the distribution, nor in that on etymological phonology, is there any reference whatever to the treatment of vowels in unstressed position, though their quality is painstakingly indicated in the phonetic notation of each word. I also note a confusion or uncertainty concerning the quality of the murmured *e*. Without wishing to be dogmatic I question the propriety of writing *ē* (instead of *e*) in such words with Old Norw. *i* as *nåken*, *bjelke*, *merke*, *vånde*, *vånle*, *venle*—when, on the other hand, we find the spelling *dørlø*, *fjyründälø*, *råielø*, *skrøplø*. Indeed, the schewa vowel (with *e* quality) is what we should expect in the unstressed vowels of Sogn dialects.

3) Strictly speaking, the phonology of a Scandinavian dialect ought also to indicate the *tonelag* (musical accent) of every word. Possibly, however, Professor Flom may have reserved this for his promised Glossary of the dialect.

4) There are a considerable number of words in the treatise whose meanings certainly ought to have been explained in the index. I wonder how many of those who are intimately acquainted with Norwegian, and even Norwegian dialect forms, can readily guess the meaning of e.g., *dånn* (present), *dåtta*, *slåvå*, *fesē*, (p.p.), *gnøkå*, *putå*, *båmbådl*, *bråt'l*, *prøljå*, *spåied'l*, *tjebbå*, *jåiplå*, *klåft*, etc., etc.—On the other hand, unavoidably perhaps, a great number are printed there which every one certainly knows. E.g., to confine myself to the letter *e* (not quite one column, in some 22 columns): *eltå*, *endrå*, *erm*, *ert*, *ertå*, *ess*, *esjå*, *ellå*.

5) In the case of loanwords, we are not primarily interested, (in a study of this kind) in the primary source, but rather, and



only, in the probable direct antecedent form, e.g., *jébúrsdæg* not <L.G. *Geburstag* (sic), but <Dan., *Rigsmål Geburtsdag*, *rijerá* not <L.G. *regêren*, but <Dan. *Rigsm. regere*, etc.

6) The scattered inhabitants of the fjord districts are exclusively mountain farmers on a small scale on whom the influence of transients and of the foreign tourists is practically nil. Hence the inclusion of vocables such as *sjåmpåni* ('champagne'), *åksjon* (action), *mågnit*, *elefanti*, *nêger*, *båisik* (defined as "company of bicycle riders"), *Eskemo*, *Jøda*, *pøbel*, *Jåppan*, *Græsk*, etc., seems highly questionable; for who will believe that they have been steadily and universally acted upon by the speech habit of the people?

7) Some of the meanings of words given in the Index are startlingly different from those given by Ross and Aasen. I note a few: *bêla* vb. 'charivari' (sic); *dirk* 'club'; *ensa* 'touch' (vb?); *hurre* 'troll'; *huttetu* 'alas!'; *jåse* 'squirrel'; *nånnå* 'to wave to'; *råmstêrâ* 'play havoc'; *råbb o stûbb* 'stock and stone'; *søkna* 'to sound for'; *snåpt* 'verily'; *vål'n* 'stiff with cold.' I do not call in question the reliability of this information, but hope that in the forthcoming complete glossary it will be stated whether these values are general or sporadic.

8) A small number of misprints and minor inaccuracies have been noted: 'to knead' is consistently misspelt; write *norpr* instead of *nour* p. 62; *Þróndr* instead of *Tróndr*, p. 63; p. 70, 'none' instead of 'noone' p. 81; omit 'not' in the explanation of *finst* 'is not found, does not exist.'

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A *REALISTIC UNIVERSE*. By John Elof Boodin, Professor of Philosophy, Carleton College, New York; The Macmillan Co., 1916.

When John Dewey archfoe of all Absolutes was reproached for having pledged himself publicly to 'absolute and unconditioned loyalty' to a certain authority, he is reported to have remarked that he took the term 'absolute' in a pragmatic sense. In the same sense, we suppose, a guilty criminal might declare himself innocent or a lady of pleasure consider herself chaste. And it seems that Mr. Boodin has a similar temper of mind when he proclaims his philosophy to be 'pragmatic realism.' The ill-mated couple is found after several hundred pages of interesting life together to have produced still another philosophical soul, christened 'teleological idealism,' an offspring whose parentage demands psycho-analytic treatment.

Mr. Boodin's book is remarkably fresh and readable, especially in the linking of recent scientific speculation and experiment with philosophy. It will furnish the general reader with an amazing amount of helpful guidance through the bewildering jungle of radical scientific hypotheses and around the scrap heap of discarded scientific concepts that have been abandoned by advanced theorists but are still the staple of textbooks and of 'popular' science. He introduces us, in a way to inspire confidence, to the analysis of physical chemistry, speculative biology, mathematics and other difficult disciplines. There is much to commend the style to the philosophical amateur who has specialized in, let us say, literature or the languages. Quotations in the modern tongues, quotations and even improved renderings from English poetry (see page 303 for example), allusions and references to the treasures of art, thought, and nature belonging to ages and to regions other than those of the western prairies are richly interwoven into the thesis of his great argument. The admirer of prose rhapsody is referred to chapter I.

The technical philosopher also has joys in store for him. Keen and vigorous criticism of traditional views, as well as of attitudes fresh from the lecturer's platform and his publisher's press, delights the heart of iconoclast and of constructive thinker. For example, in criticizing radical empiricism, he considers the concept of 'possible experience' only to dismiss it in these words: "The phrase 'possible experience' only hides the problem; and if it means anything when pressed home, it is that experience sometimes leans upon processes that are not experience." The criticism of vitalism may be cited as another instance (p. 41), and so likewise the demolition of the time-honored distinction between primary and secondary qualities (p. 84-89). An excellent specimen of constructive criticism is the treatment of the cause-effect tangle (p. 100-105).

What a pity, and yet how inevitable, that the work as philosophy is a brave failure. Let us first consider some serious faults in the progress of the argument, and then indicate what may be the general causes for the sorry end to which we are finally brought.

The treatment of consciousness and mind in part II is selected for closer criticism. Pragmatic realism, Mr. Boodin tells us, "is an attempt to apply scientific method to philosophic problems." We should expect then that, when a thing is talked about, it must really exist in some verifiable way or else be properly labelled for what it is. Yet we find constant references to a mind that acts, that "passes in survey the motley array" of things (p. 4), a mind that is will hypostatized (p. 171), a mind that uses the body as an instrument (p. 192), a mind that "dominates matter" (p. 193), a mind that "discovers what it really means" (p. 203), etc. We have not merely subconscious but *unconscious* mind (p. 131). There can be no objection to terminology of course, if

confusion with commonly accepted usage is avoided when a writer departs from it, and then talks about something that can be really talked about. Mind is regarded as the texture of conative tendencies, cognitive and esthetic contexts (p. 132). Now here is an example of loose nomenclature, it seems to me, that needs attention. First, consciousness is distinguished from mind: "This [consciousness] is a non-mental fact" (p. 165); then mind is made three parts will (p. 174); then will is made a conative 'tendency' which may exist even when we are asleep (p. 165); then it becomes disembodied and spread out over the group and controlling, in that way, the "operations of the various brains involved" (p. 202); and then finally we reach, as the tough-minded reader must long have feared, and the tender-minded anxiously hoped, the "Master mind," with an appropriate quotation from Emerson introducing us to the 'wise silence' (p. 384). In the modern philosophical Aeneid, the ascent to cloudy Parnassus is indeed facile, and a return is not even attempted. God knows (if he be the Master mind) how we finite beings flounder in our attempt to apply scientific method to the philosophic problem of consciousness. The usual result has been to generate more heat than light. Boodin glories in this and even calls his product a neutral light which "shines upon the just and the unjust" (p. 142). The functional view of consciousness is dismissed in a footnote because "it does not define consciousness as such" (p. 120), but if it is not a mode of behaving but rather a colorless precondition of value, we are greatly in need still of a definition of consciousness as such. For what eye does this neutral light shine? Can we have unconscious meaning? The second question is answered in the affirmative (p. 122), the first is completely ignored, so far as a rather careful rereading of this part of the book could reveal an answer. Yet it is plain that we must adopt functionalism or else answer that question.

Why should a work marked by exceptionally praiseworthy intentions, enriched by great learning, and following as a sequel on another volume (*Truth and Reality*, 1912), finally wallow at the close in the stagnant tepidity of such doughy optimism as this:

"We need the sense of comradeship, the sympathetic participation by the larger world in our fleeting and disproportionate striving. We need to feel, not only that the universe enforces an impersonal order, but that, somehow, a power greater than ourselves, and representing the more of our best helps us to realize our creative destiny. . . . There is real evil in the world, real maladjustments, false viewpoints. But though the wicked flourish like a green bay tree, their type shall not prevail. The servant of Jehovah shall eventually triumph, though perhaps through labor and suffering. The righteous remnant shall survive and inherit the kingdom. Only the just state can maintain itself. And because the mills of the gods grind exceeding fine though perhaps slowly, we can afford to be tolerant and to wait. . . . The divine direction of history will see to it, in the struggle of ideals, that the superficial and ephemeral are eliminated. Thus man can labor and wait with confidence as regards the final outcome. And if he is made of the right kind of



stuff, he will be willing to have his own ideals, yea, even himself, eliminated if unworthy to survive." (p. 357)

The answer seems to me to be found in a radical faintheartedness of the author, noticeable also in his friend and teacher, Josiah Royce, to whom he dedicates this book. Neither wants to venture on the brave enterprise unless he has assurance in advance that the right side will win out. A genuine hazard is averse to these daring gamblers with loaded dice. Royce strives with desperate futility in several works to reconcile bona fide struggle with a guaranteed outcome. And Boodin writes through almost a thousand pages, ever supported by the faith that "certain values prove permanent and necessary . . . because . . . they prove themselves intrinsically superior or higher" (p. 342), to establish a 'teleological idealism' that is a quack narcotic for the souls too sick to take their dose of this world straight.

One hesitates to prescribe a nostrum for a pragmatic realist. There are, however, two treatments that come to mind, moral surgery and psycho-analysis applied in Dewey's "Nature of Good" in his volume of essays entitled *The Influence of Darwin on Philosophy and Other Essays*, and Kallen's "Value and Existence" in the volume of essays in the pragmatic attitude entitled *Creative Intelligence*. I hope the reader, if not the author, will pardon my apparent ill-nature. In these times of terror and wickedness, pseudo-scientific Victorian optimism must be harshly dealt with or the ostrich world with its head in the sand will be made completely mad and ultimately destroyed.

CARL HAESSLER.

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**CHAUCER AND THE CONSOLATION OF PHILOSOPHY OF BOETHIUS.** By Bernard L. Jefferson. A dissertation presented at Princeton University in 1914 and later revised. Princeton University Press and Oxford University Press, 1917.

If there was any part of the Chaucerian field calling for immediate and extensive study, it was that of the influence of Boethius. Many scattered traces of this influence have been indicated here and there in Chaucer's works from time immemorial and each new scholar has pointed out a new parallel, but the number and the significance of these echoings was liable to remain unappreciated; and yet the task of making satisfactory deductions was so many-sided that it required a critic of unusual versatility as well as of some restraint and poise. It is no easy thing to estimate the quality of so pervasive an influence, which was spiritual as well as philosophical, as that of Boethius on Chaucer. Mr. Jefferson's book serves admirably to satisfy our demands in all

these ways. He has certainly gone far beyond mere "lists of specific verbal borrowings," and his methods have been cautious and sound.

With the matter that he has so far been able to present, Mr. Jefferson gives fairly sure proof that Chaucer was helped in his translation of the *Consolatio* by Jean de Meun's French version and from that derived some of his glosses as well as from Trivet's Commentary. The argument is so good that we can practically accept it without waiting for the full detail of the complete transcription from the French. The study of Chaucer's occasional inaccuracies and of his prose style is indeed illuminating, although Mr. Jefferson lays more stress on Chaucer's failures in translation and in expression than on his successes. Perhaps it would have been juster to emphasize less the "rhetorical" and "pretentious" element and more the "enthusiasm," the "dignity" and "symmetry." Certainly in the fourteenth century in England such attempts at adornment of prose style as alliteration and rhythm are extremely remarkable, and more worthy of notice than the unfortunate but commonplace looseness and diffuseness of style. In fact Chaucer's prose, with all its faults, shows a very marked distinction in its own period, no less than parts of the *Ancren Riwele* at an earlier time and some of the prose of Rolle—examples of good Middle English prose which are more commonly mentioned.

Mr. Jefferson is, however, often creditably on his guard against extreme appreciations of his author and he presents the facts clearly enough for one to arrive at one's own conclusions. His chief ingenuity and, more than that, his critical power most show themselves in the following chapters of the book. Here he makes evident how great a part Boethius played, not merely in the works of Chaucer, but in Chaucer's own thought. He presents this with striking reserve on the whole, considering how far-reaching the influence was, and, I think, he presents it in a way that cannot be disputed. From his great philosophic guide Chaucer seems to have derived his views on most of the ultimate problems of existence—on the "heavenly powers," Providence, destiny, chance, the justice of heaven, and true and false happiness, however much he modified those views to suit his personal needs. Mr. Jefferson follows the topics of concern in Boethius and shows how they are also the topics of chief concern to Chaucer. Thus the influence on the English poet was a matter of both point of view and interest. On the problem of Fortune the study is as exhaustive as may well be expected in proportion to the whole study; but it seems rather vague and often cannot go into sufficient detail. I might recommend my own article on Fortune and her rôle in the Divine Comedy (in the Thirty-third Annual Report of the Dante Society, Cambridge, Massachusetts) to clear up what Mr. Jefferson means (or ought to mean!) by the "deeper significance of Fortune." I must postpone taking up the details of his

discussion until the appearance of my own study of Fortune in Mediaeval Literature, which I hope to publish before many years and which has the advantage of covering a much wider field. There is a great deal more to be said on the question of Chaucer's use of Fortune than Mr. Jefferson finds space to say. As for the *Roman de la Rose*, Jean de Meun does not wholly dispense with Fortune the goddess in the passage quoted (somewhat reminiscent of Juvenal); Lydgate and Gower are not represented fully or even adequately by the discussion; the figure in the *Cursor Mundi* has approximate parallels or similarities in Beaudoin de Condé's *Prisons D'Amours*, in the passage perhaps related to Beaudoin in the *Kingis Quhair*, in a passage in a Cassamus fragment, and in another in a Romeo and Juliet story.

Although I shall have to pass over other details, I must observe here that in revising his dissertation Mr. Jefferson did not introduce into his study of Fortune certain corrections available from Professor Kittredge's article on "Guillaume de Machaut and the *Book of the Duchess*," (*PMLA* xxx, 1 ff.). According to this study Chaucer used at least three other poems of Machaut beside the *Remede*. The device of having Fortune play the game of chess is not "peculiarly Chaucer's own." And figures which Chaucer, "apparently, has added" are found in Machaut. Furthermore, in discussing the use of Fortune in the *Troilus* and in the poem *Fortune* Mr. Jefferson apparently implies (p. 57) that the latter is distinguished from the former in its use by having the "deeper significance" and thus he seems to ignore the meaning for the *Troilus* of stanza 89, Book III, (to which he himself refers curiously in a footnote concerning Boethius, p. 89, note 30), and of stanza 221, Book V, (which he cites in a different connection, p. 123, note 4). The latter passage, to be sure, shows the influence of Dante in striking manner, but it should all the more have received some attention in that connection.

In regard to the study of *gentillesse*, Mr. Jefferson treats Professor Lowes fairly enough, perhaps, but it might be said that while he accuses Mr. Lowes of neglecting the influence of Boethius, he himself minimizes the influence of Jean de Meun or ignores it during most of his study. One needs to keep Fansler's book (which seems to have been Mr. Jefferson's model more or less) ready at hand to check him up or balance his assertions on such matters as the stories of Nero and Croesus, the full significance of the borrowing from the *gentillesse* passage in the *Roman*, and the indirect use of Boethius that might well have come through this channel. One must remember that Chaucer also made a translation of the *Roman*. Passing over the French influence too hastily is, however, a natural fault here and certainly does not much impair the real conclusions.

The conclusions of the book as a whole are of the greatest value, and, temperately as well as fully, they show how Boethius



entered into the noblest thought of the poet. We may even go so far as to agree that in *Truth* Chaucer "was giving to Sir Philip la Vache as counsel the *Consolation of Philosophy* in epitome." This analysis of the Boethian philosophy in *Truth*, in the *Troilus*, and in the *Knight's Tale*, whether we agree with it wholly or not, is more than competent and sometimes powerful. There does seem to be some inconsistency in the study of the element of Fate in the *Troilus*: we read that "The fate of Troilus and Criseyde is the more terrible, because they themselves, aside from human frailties, do nothing to bring on the catastrophe." But where is the point of the poem if not in those very frailties? While Mr. Jefferson says that "Troilus and Criseyde, thus, are the victims of a concatenation of circumstances largely outside of their own control," he himself admits that Criseyde although she "commits no overt act" (terrible phrase!) "is led on from step to step by Pandarus, by circumstances, and by her own spirit of curiosity, succumbing throughout to a tenderness of heart . . . and to her weakness in character, her 'slyding corage.'" What else is needed? What other motive has tragedy ever had at the beginning except the weakness of human character? Mr. Jefferson seems to have laid too much emphasis on the element of fate or else wrongly interpreted it. Furthermore, he certainly goes too far when he says lightly, "It is possible even to suppose that Chaucer translated the *Consolation* for the express purpose that *Troilus* might be the better interpreted." That sort of conclusion is what comes from having one's eye on two objects! The study in general, however, does reveal the vast influence on Chaucer, of this one philosophical treatise and tempers in our minds Professor Lounsbury's statement that "Altogether, Ovid may be called the favorite author of Chaucer." Our answer to Professor Lounsbury would be, that it depends entirely in which mood Chaucer happened to be, and that perhaps more of his moods were satisfied after all by the philosopher.

In the final reckoning of this dissertation, one may of course complain as always that more has not been given us than we find here. I do not believe that this book along with a number of other volumes studying influences from other fields and with a final volume on Chaucer himself, side by side on our shelves, will close the poet's account and nothing will thereafter need to be said about him. Perhaps Mr. Jefferson should have gone into further detail on the problem of fate or of fortune in Chaucer's works; or on the significance of some of Chaucer's additions from Boethius in special places. As for other deficiencies, he is certainly rather arbitrary in his dating of the *House of Fame*: here is one place where his discussion needs much more documentation. He often seems to neglect all other studies but those most directly concerned and his notes are meager to the point of weakness. As a result perhaps, his Bibliography is extremely selective, omit-

ting as it does such works as the *Étude* of Sandras, Ten Brink's *Studien*, although it includes the English translation of Plato and Godefroy's *Dictionnaire*! I regret that he does not take kindly to the theory that Boethius was a Christian (on whose "pagan elements" he might have consulted Professor E. K. Rand's article). The belief that Boethius was no pagan rests on much more than the ascription of the five theological tracts (see Jefferson, p. 47, note 1). The idea that he was a Christian saint does not seem to have arisen from the general Mediaeval conception of his doctrines but rather to have sprung from certain local traditions at Pavia, a mighty argument on the Catholic side of the question. Of misprints in the work, I note a few: p. 33, third line from the bottom, read "repe-" (tition); p. 46, fourth line from the bottom, read "Chaucer"; p. 56, third line from the bottom, the line numbers seem to be wrong: should they not be (as above on the same page) ll. 718-20; p. 65, last line, read "without"; p. 81, first line, read "Philosophy."

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**POETRY AND THE RENASCENCE OF WONDER.** By Theodore Watts-Dunton. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. [1916.] 8vo, pp. xix, 296.

For more than forty years Theodore Watts-Dunton was a writer of poetic criticism for London periodicals. For some time he was connected with *The Examiner*, under the editorship of Professor Minto, and for many years, as is well known, he was a member of the staff of *The Athenæum*. For the latter he wrote all the reviews of Swinburne between 1877 and 1899, all the reviews of William Morris between 1888 and 1897, and reviews of Tennyson's later work, of most of Victor Hugo's work between 1877 and 1882, and of many minor writers. In 1884 he contributed the valuable article on Poetry to the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; and in 1904 he published his well-known essay on The Renaissance of Wonder in English Poetry in the new edition of Chambers's *Cyclopædia of English Literature*. Long before his lamented death in 1914 he had conceived the idea of reprinting his two essays on poetry together with selections from his *Athenæum* criticism. He lived to see the arrangements completed for the publication of the book, but not to correct the proofs. It is a great pity he could not have completed this part of the task also; for seldom have we seen a book so disfigured by misprints of all kinds, bad grammar, sentences with the comma fault, and inconsistencies of every kind. It is evident that whatever may have been Mr. Thomas Hake's qualifications for the

post of private secretary to Mr. Watts-Dunton, experience in proof-reading was not one of them. Even in the ordinary work of editing he fails. Here is one of his triumphs: "Hence, with all Mrs. Browning's metrical blemishes, the splendour of her metrical triumphs at her best [remains]," (p. 34). From the context we feel certain that the author meant to suppress the verb, probably "arises," for the sake of compactness of expression; by inserting the wrong verb, the editor has spoiled the sentence. On the other hand here are two others which he leaves as they were (if the printer has not obscured the meaning): "With regard to Tennyson, who in his tremendous poem of 'Rizpah' depicts the mother beneath the gibbet picking up the bones of her dead son and treasuring them, and goes through it without one false note, would never have failed where Keats fails in his story of 'Isabella.' But he does so in his 'Lover's Tale' " (p. 138). "Byron has had many imitators, and as many failures" (p. 49). The American publishers will not add to their reputation by handling so poor a specimen of book-making. It was printed at the Devonshire Press, Torquay, England. The war may partly explain, but does not excuse the fault.

From the point of view of content the book is a welcome addition to our critical literature. The reprints from *The Athenæum* fill about two-fifths of the volume. They are easily distinguished, since they are printed solid, while the essays forming the framework of the volume are leaded. It is to be regretted that no references to the original text in the periodical are furnished; for it seems very doubtful if the original has always been correctly reproduced. Some repetition was inevitable; but there is very little of it. We shall comment on two or three of the additions.

In the chapter on What is Poetry? he introduces some useful remarks on rhyme. He divides English poets into those for whom rhyme was a spur and those for whom it was a curb; of the latter Coleridge is a good illustration. If an image suggested by a proposed rhyme be only feebly relevant, it must be at once rejected; he who hesitates is lost. A rigid rhyme selection is one of the first requisites of rhymed poetry; yet a too rigid selection of rhymes, he thinks, as in the case of Tennyson, often results in a failure of inspiration. Blank verse, dispensing with rhyme, must have in its place a natural elevation of style. In speaking of Tennyson's blank verse, Watts Dunton is perhaps too sweeping when he says that "from the publication of 'Guinevere' [in 1859] Tennyson's style stiffened with every poem, became more mannered and more cold." There are certainly some exceptions to this: *Tiresias*, for example, *The Ancient Sage*, and many passages in the plays.

In connection with the limitations of poetic art (pp. 36 ff.) Watts-Dunton has some important things to say about avoid-



ing the suspicion of difficulty overcome—of concealing art in high poetry. Here is a reason for justifying an occasional imperfect rhyme; Burns once "actually exchanged a perfect for a less perfect rhyme, as he tells us, merely in order that the song might have the effect, by its artistic deficiency, of being the natural, spontaneous expression of feeling." But Mrs. Browning, though her loose rhymes may give the effect of spontaneity (as the author suggests, p. 40), carries them too far, and offends on the other side, paining the fastidious ear too frequently. With these remarks of our author should be connected his further discussion of rhyme on pp. 71-3.

Under the difference between prose and poetry (pp. 61-3) are some words that should be pondered by the vers-librists. In some of their work "lawless freedom" has "become anarchy." But perhaps the worst thing about vers libre is that it gives the impression of being affected—of not being genuine and sincere.

In discussing the Great Style, Watts-Dunton has, we think, either misunderstood or misquoted Matthew Arnold. The latter does not say that the Celt has the grand style. For examples of the grand style Arnold goes to Homer and Dante. He does say that the Celt rather than the Teuton has a gift of style, in the sense of "a peculiar recasting and heightening, under a certain condition of spiritual excitement, of what a man has to say, in such a manner as to add dignity and distinction to it." And he proves his case. Nor is Watts-Dunton any nearer the truth when he says that we cannot turn for the Great Style "to those whose languages, complex of syntax and alive with self-conscious inflections, bespeak the scientific knowingness of the Aryan mind—not, certainly, to those who, though producing Æschylus, turned into Aphrodite the great Astarte of the Syrians." This seems to be going directly against Arnold, who, we think was right. Indeed, can we say (p. 144) that the great style is a product of "unconsciousness"? Was Sophocles conscious of style and inflection, and did this prevent him from achieving the great style? And what shall we say of Pindar when he sings, "And swift the act and short the ways of gods who are eager to an end"?

In what Watts-Dunton goes on to say, he certainly fails to make out any case for the force of heredity in determining qualities of style; and he virtually admits that it is largely a matter of environment, thus coming round to the position of Taine. The English Bible is what it is largely because of the temper of the nation when the Bible was translated. And the temper of the nation was what it was, less because a part of the people was of Teutonic extraction than because the whole of the people had been steeped in Hebraism—even the second hand Hebraism of the Vulgate and the translations based on it—ever since the days of Caedmon, for a thousand years.

With regard to the sonnet, it has sometimes been argued—among others by Spedding in his essay on the sonnets of Charles Tennyson Turner—that the number of fourteen lines was purely a convention; that if we only agreed on ten or eighteen lines, we should still have sonnets, and as good as now. Against this view Watts-Dunton takes a firm stand, and we think with justice. As he says, “a chief part of the pleasure of the Shakespearean sonnet is the expectance of the climacteric rest of the couplet at the end (just as a chief part of the pleasure of the sonnet of octave and sestet is the expectance of the answering ebb of the sestet when the close of the octave has been reached); and this expectance is gratified too early if it comes after two quatrains, while, if it comes after a greater number of quatrains than three, it is dispersed and wasted altogether.”

At the risk of finding too much fault with an excellent book, we shall record just one more point of difference. In *The Renaissance of Wonder*, the author criticizes Gray's *Elegy* because it lacks individual humanity. But does it lack this any more than *In Memoriam*? Does not Gray describe himself as accurately as the speaker or Arthur Hallam is described in Tennyson's poem? We believe with our author that Gray's omission of the redbreast stanza was unfortunate; it was due perhaps to Gray's feeling that at this point more structural compression was needed, or that the stanza interfered with the continuity of thought; yet as it is, the poem has far more individual humanity than most other poems of its time.

But we must here take leave of a book remarkably illuminating and suggestive. We can only regret that the author should not have been spared to complete not only this but other works in the field of criticism, a field for which he was admirably fitted by temperament, by enormous reading, and by constant association with the greatest poets of his time. Even as it is, however, he has made for himself a name which will long endure in the annals of critical literature.

CLARK S. NORTHUP.





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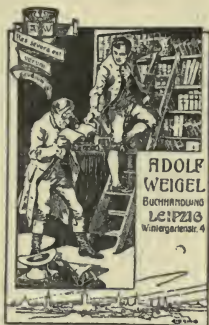
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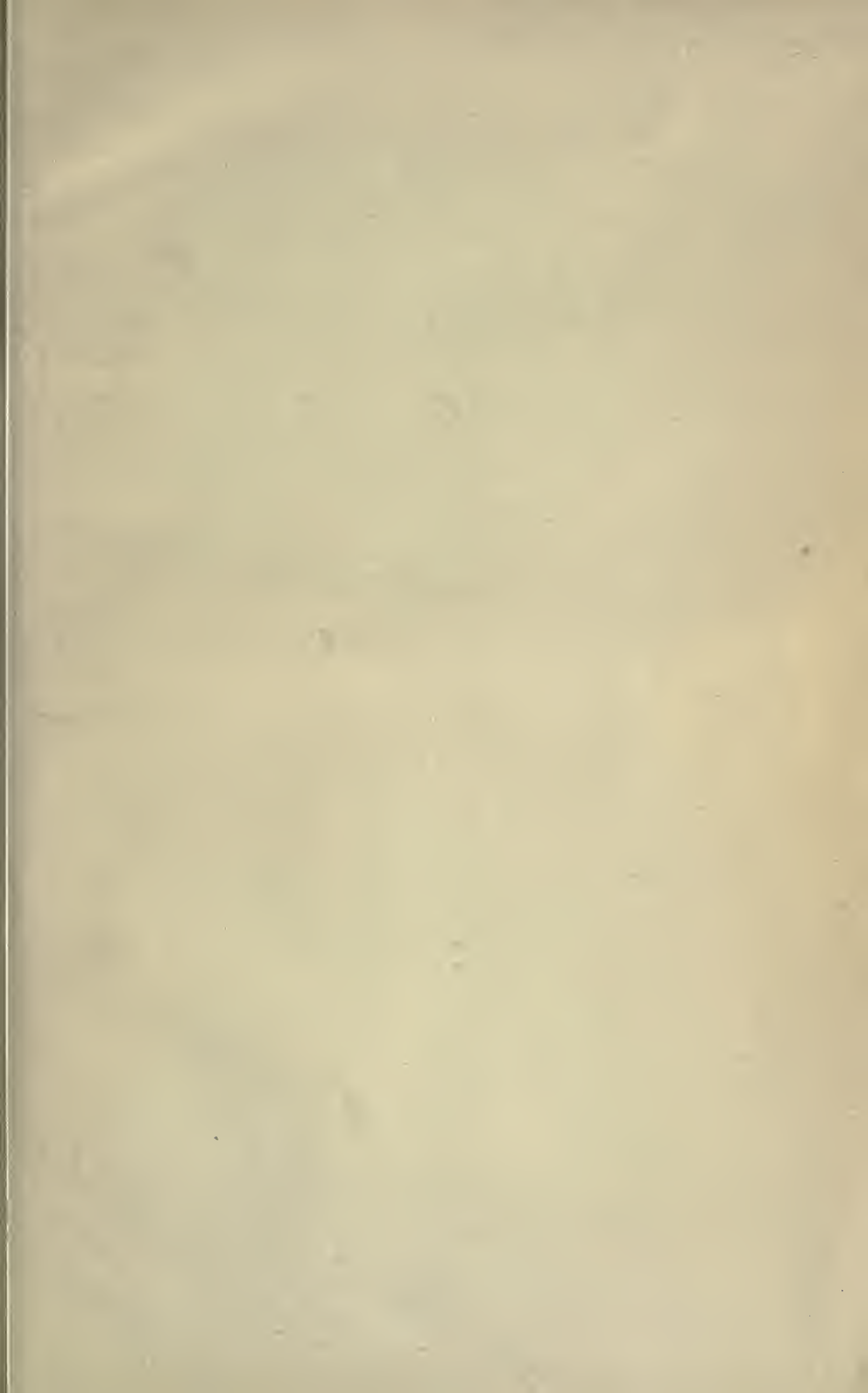
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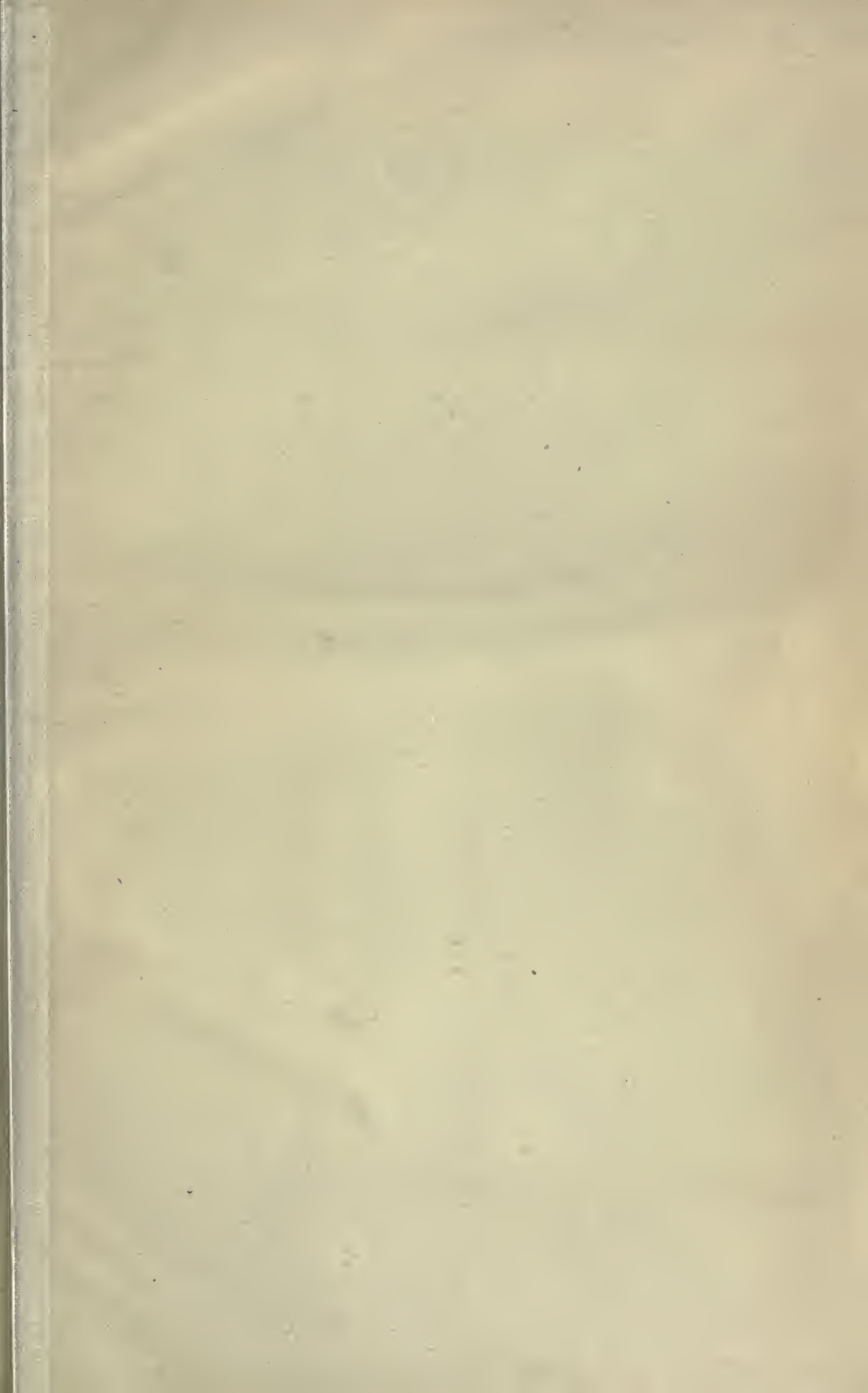
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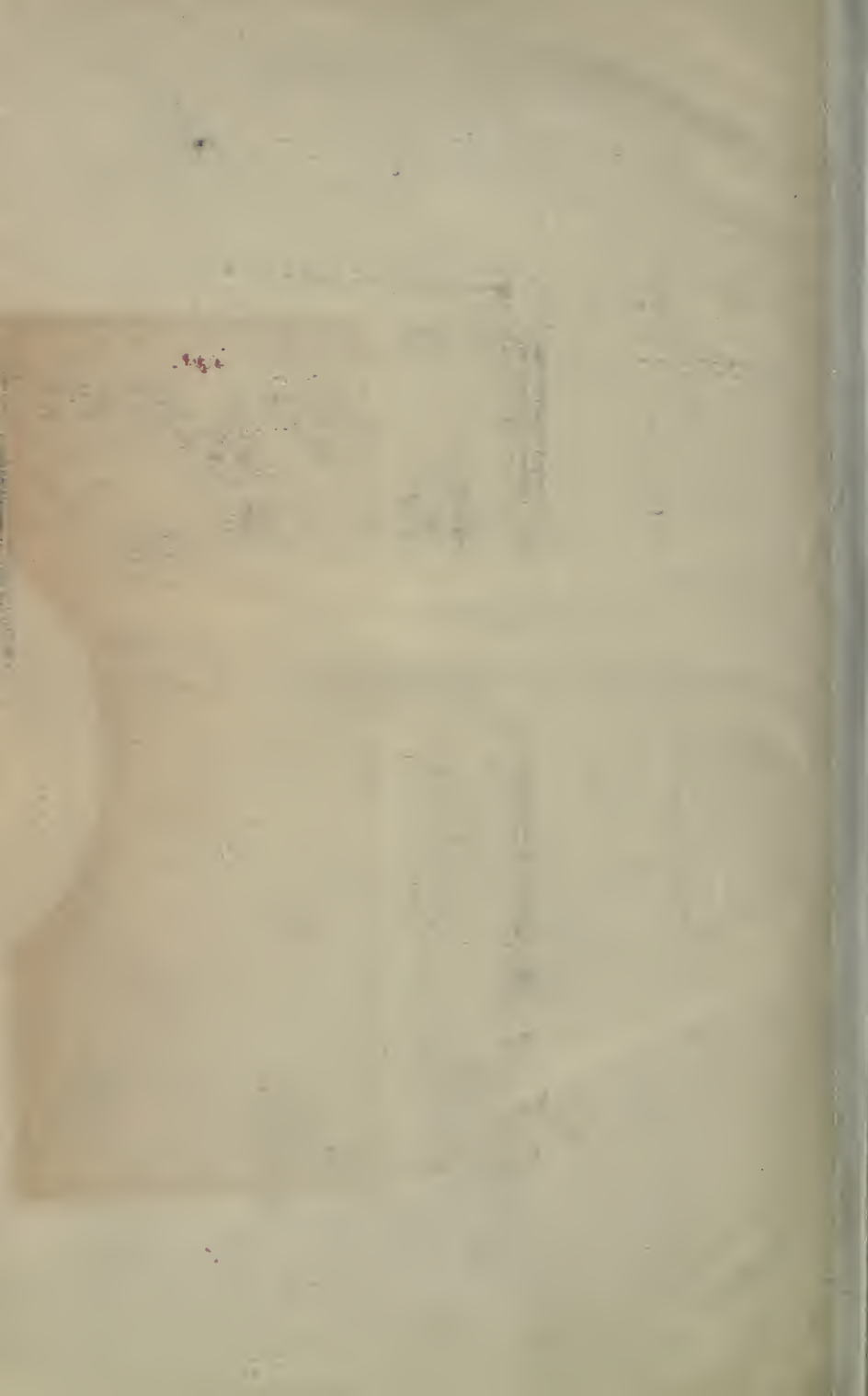














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